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THE *Nation*

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THE ARGENTINE CRISIS BY CLAUDIO VELIZ

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THE *Nation*

July 2, 1955
20c

Mr. Nixon's "Man to See"

The Amazing Mr. Chotiner

by William L. Roper

Russia's New Leaders	*Merle Kling*
The Romantic Rebel	*J. Alvarez del Vayo*
Those British Strikes	*Asa Briggs*

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

THE Nation Bulletin Board:

KAY BOYLE, one of America's finest novelists and a frequent Nation contributor—her short story, A Puzzled Race, appeared in the June 4 issue—will be giving courses in creative writing this summer at the Thomas School in Rowayton, Connecticut. In addition, she will offer special fortnightly evening classes and individual lessons. Interested readers can get further details by writing directly to Miss Boyle at Little House, 98 Wilson Avenue, Rowayton, Connecticut. (Miss Boyle's new novel, "The Seagull on the Step," has just been published by Alfred A. Knopf.)

WITH HIS ARTICLE on Schiller in this issue, J. Alvarez del Vayo returns to his regular writing schedule following an absence of several weeks due to an operation on his eye. Now completely recovered, he will send stories on the "meeting at the summit" in July and on the United Nations atomic-energy conference in August. Both meetings are scheduled for Geneva.

FROM TIME TO TIME readers inquire about the state of our circulation. I am happy to say we have maintained the level of paid subscriptions. However, newsstand sales present a problem. The newsstand business has developed into a frantic scramble for space by the major publications, which need the circulation in order to maintain their advertising guaranties, and by the pocket-book industry. As a result, the smaller publications are literally crowded off the stands or hidden from view by the mass-circulation magazines, which are infinitely more profitable to the dealers. The Nation is distributed by the American News Company, which itself has been facing increased competition from other major distributors. The result is that American News, seeking ways to cut overhead, is distributing fewer copies of less profitable publications. Even where they are distributed, sales are lost because the copies are not displayed. As sales are cut, the amount of copies distributed goes down. It is a never-ending cycle. Frankly, if you want to be sure of getting The Nation regularly, I suggest you subscribe. The rates are $7 for one year; $12 for two years; and $17 for three years.

AS IF LIFE weren't difficult enough for a liberal journal, I'm informed we have a new competitor. Ian Ballantine of Ballantine Books, which publishes "The Mad Reader," a collection of satires on comic strips in pocketbook form, showed me the following letter from a man in Evanston, Illinois: "I have just enjoyed a perusal of 'The Mad Reader'. . . . It seems to satisfy that urge to find something different and believe me—this is! So, say I, to hell with The Nation and the New Republic—for I have at least found my medium." To make matters worse, I checked our files and discovered the man is a subscriber. Now we'll be hovering anxiously over the renewals to see what he does. (And, by the way, have you sent in your renewal yet? Summer is a lean time in the publishing business and renewals during July and August are doubly appreciated.)

HIGH LIGHTS of last Sunday's successful dinner forum on "Atoms for Peace" will appear in the July 9 or July 16 issue.

MARTIN SOLOW

Letters

From Madame Sun Yat-sen

Dear Sirs: I see from press reports that at a United States Senate committee hearing concerned with Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Powell, respected American journalists long associated with the China Monthly Review in Shanghai, Senator Jenner saw fit to mention my name. He made a blanket insinuation that Americans associated with me or my work over the years, of whom there were many, were somehow traitors to their country—and this compels me to make a comment.

Everyone familiar with China knows of the organizations I had the privilege of leading at various times—the China Defense League, China Welfare Fund, and China Welfare Institute. They made it possible for friends from all over the world to join us in medical and other services to the Chinese people in critical periods of our history, when China was subjected to Japanese invasion, civil war aggravated by foreign intervention, famine, and economic ruin. This work, because of the spirit in which it was always conducted, was also a symbol of friendship between the peoples based on the right of each to build its own destiny.

During the anti-Japanese war, the sponsors of our China Defense League included Americans of every point of view, from Paul Robeson to Clare Boothe Luce, as well as such international figures as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The organization with which we then had most contact in the United States was headed by Mrs. Anna Roosevelt, mother of the late President. Afterward some of the Americans who then helped our work began to think that they could dictate to China the government she ought to live under; so our ways parted. Others dropped away because of the pressure they were subjected to in the United States. Some who continued to act on their conviction that the Chinese and American peoples could and should live in peace on the basis of mutual respect, and who spoke up against any encroachment, were subjected to vicious persecution.

The case of the Powells, whose American magazine published in China for thirty years espoused such ideas and who did not fear to bring them forward among their own countrymen upon their return, will be recognized everywhere as an outstanding instance of such persecution. Mr. Powell is being threatened with "treason" charges, his wife has been caused to lose her job by public baiting, and even their infant children have been dragged in. Senators Jenner and Welker and other inquisitors in the case are apparently pursuing the wider purpose of presenting as "traitors" all who speak up for peaceful understanding among peoples pursuing differing political and economic paths.

Are we to think that the only Americans their government regards as patriotic are those whose interest in our country is confined to scouting for war and the subversion of institutions we have established after a century of struggle, and which we have found by practice to suit us very well? If so, the situation in America is a very bad one for world peace. I for one, and I know this to be true of the vast majority of our countrymen, do not believe that reasonable and liberty-loving Americans share such a view.

In China, to speak for good relations and peaceful coexistence internationally, the good old principle of "live and let live," is regarded as being as much a part of patriotism as standing up for our inalienable right to arrange affairs in our own territory. We think this is a part of patriotism in all countries. The Powell case, like others in the United States, indicates how violent an effort is being made there to deny this axiom of humanity and common sense, so long accepted in

(Continued on page 20)

VOLUME 181, NUMBER 1
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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Special Forum Supplement

Extensive extracts from the speeches made at *The Nation's* ninetieth-anniversary forum on Atoms for Peace, held the evening of June 19 at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York, will be carried in a special supplement to be published in connection with our next issue. Meanwhile the editors want to take this opportunity to extend heartfelt thanks to all who helped make the occasion an auspicious one—the eminent co-chairmen, the sponsoring committee, the speakers, chairman Harold Taylor, and the more than eight hundred friends who attended. *The Nation* and the Nation Associates have furnished the occasion for many forums in the past; none surpassed this one in the intellectual level of the speeches and in the responsiveness of the audience.

The forum was also significant in another way. It revealed the hunger of sentient Americans for free and open discussion of the problems affecting their destiny and the world's. "Your meeting was like a breath of fresh air," a friend said at the affair's close. "One got the feeling that people can talk again from their hearts." Perhaps it was a case of "summit freshness" percolating downward. In any case it was gratifying to us on *The Nation*, who have often felt that we were fighting in a rather isolated sector in the last few years, to realize that we have never really been alone and will be less and less so with the passage of time.

Progress at San Francisco

The United Nations tenth-anniversary reunion at San Francisco was neither the commemorative get-together its organizers intended nor the political free-for-all they feared. Politeness was the general rule, but politics obtruded almost from the start. It was not only the Russians who ignored the ground rules. Such rasping local problems as Kashmir, Arab-Israel hostility, and North African nationalism were raised by bitterly interested parties, the Soviet Union was harshly attacked by Cuba, and George Yeh, Formosa's aggressive foreign minister, tossed into the arena the explosive issue of Communist China's menace to the rest of Asia. Several speakers, Dr. Yeh included, were called to order by Dr. Van Kleffens, the presiding officer. But it was Mr. Molotov, in his long speech on Wednesday, who focused attention and debate on the central international question: who is to blame for continued East-West tensions and what are the proper means of reducing them. Significantly, he was not admonished by the chair. The Molotov speech was provocative neither in language nor tone; nor did it name names. But it added up to an all-round defense of Soviet moves toward ending the cold war and an attack on Western policies allegedly blocking them. It made a reply by Mr. Dulles inevitable. And by the time his position had been reinforced by M. Pinay of France and Mr. Pearson of Canada, the "commemorative" note had been pretty well submerged.

In spite of this the results of the San Francisco meeting were more good than harmful. It provided an opportunity for private conferences in which plans for the "summit" meeting at Geneva were—despite polemics—harmoniously completely. It emphasizes the overpowering demand for peace that presses on all of them. And if the U. N. itself was temporarily shoved somewhat to the side by the political rehearsal for Geneva, it was brought abruptly back into the picture by the Big Four's request, at the close of the commemorative meeting, that Dag Hammarskjold handle all the arrangements for the coming talks. The U. N. Secretary General's plea for "private diplomacy" practiced within the framework of the world organization seems to have borne fruit very quickly.

Not With a Bang

Senator McCarthy has unwittingly created an extraordinary freedom of negotiation and maneuver for the Administration at the forthcoming Big Four conference. The President and Mr. Dulles will not be able to plead that the sound and fury of domestic demagogues interfered with their freedom to negotiate and if necessary to compromise. By presenting a resolution which would in effect have advised the President not to attend the conference, Senator McCarthy provided the Democrats with a magnificent opportunity to demonstrate their responsibility in the matter of foreign relations, and at the same time to dramatize the decline in influence of the Republican Party's right wing. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee rejected McCarthy's resolution unanimously, but the Democrats insisted that it be brought to a vote on the floor, where it was resoundingly defeated by a roll-call vote of seventy-seven to four. During the debate Senator McCarthy said he was "surprised, shocked, and disappointed" at Senator Knowland's opposition to the resolution. "It is not the position of the Republican Party," he added, "to backtrack, whine, and whimper when it touches the hot stove of Communist aggression."

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Senator Knowland was on his feet instantly shouting that he was not going to permit anyone to say that he was a whiner or a whimperer. "I'll lay my record of opposition to communism alongside his," he said. "Not today you won't," McCarthy snapped.

Some future historian will be grateful to both Senators for staging this scene, for it marks, in most dramatic fashion, the nearly complete isolation of McCarthy as a force in the Republican Party in Congress. Only the "four mule men" of the G. O. P.—Jenner, Langer, Malone, and McCarthy—voted aye on the resolution. One of the most surprising aspects of the swift decline of the Republican right wing is the haste with which in the last three weeks Senator Knowland has been trying to scurry back to a position of relative safety from the far end of the isolationist, anti-United Nations limb to which he had so recklessly advanced. No doubt the senior Senator from California has been impressed by the tremendous interest and enthusiasm which Californians have shown in the anniversary ceremonies of the United Nations in San Francisco.

What Price Allies?

The Associated Press reports that in the last two years nearly $1,500,000,000 in foreign funds—the bulk of it from the United States and from thirty-three other U. N. member states—have been poured into the "rebuilding and rearming" of South Korea. Since the population of South Korea is approximately 19,000,000, the foreign aid amounts to about $40 per capita per year for the two-year period. No one would deny the pressing needs of the Korean people. What needs emphasis is that one-half the total foreign aid—about $720,000,000—was in the form of direct United States military aid to the Seoul government.

Last month the Senate approved the Administration's current $3,500,000,000 foreign-aid program, comprising $2,595,500,000 for military aid, $337,000,000 for economic aid, and $273,000,000 for miscellaneous expenditures. Also included is the President's special fund of $200,000,000 for Asian economic development to be expended over a period of years in an area where hunger is the dominating factor in human lives. The $200,000,000 indicates the scale of official American concern with that part of Asia lying outside our protectorates—South Korea, Formosa, and South Vietnam. The billions indicate our main interest—the strengthening of our allies for a possible war against communism.

But it seems legitimate to question whether the United States is choosing the right allies in Asia. South Korea persistently feuds with our other great ally, Japan; in South Vietnam the Ngo Dinh Diem regime is maneuvering the United States against NATO ally France; and the Nationalists on Formosa are seeking to convince Washington that India is practically as dangerous as the Chinese Communists themselves. But if war came, how much would Syngman Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek, and Ngo Dinh Diem be worth if the Japanese and Indians were neutral or on the other side? May we not in any event be paying the wrong currency to the wrong people, considering that we hold a seven-billion-dollar agricultural surplus in our storehouses, and so many millions of Asians are hungry? There are numerous signs that Asians prefer butter to guns.

THE ARGENTINE CRISIS

Peron Rides the Storm . . *by Claudio Veliz*

FEW developments in Latin American politics have been more distorted and misunderstood abroad than the struggle between President Peron and the Catholic church in Argentina. To suggest, for instance, that Peron has greatly weakened his position by attacking the Catholic establishment is to misunderstand the character of religious belief in Argentina and the history of that country for the past century and a half. Far from being a solid outpost of Catholicism, Argentina, like other Latin American nations, acquired its independence after a bitter struggle against not only the Spanish Empire but its powerful ally, the Catholic church. General San Martin, the liberator of Argentina, was branded as a "shameless heretic" by the Argentine clergy, who compared him to that other Martin, "the devilish Luther." For more than half a century Argentina did not even have diplomatic relations with the Vatican, and until 1946, when Peron established it, religious education was forbidden in the public schools.

Until six months ago, when Peron first attacked the activities of the church, the strongest opposition to his regime came precisely from the anti-clerical Radical Party. Now he has brought this important group to his side, and it is probable that he will emerge from the present crisis more powerful than ever.

When Peron became President, there were few doubts about where his real strength lay. While claiming a large measure of popular support, he relied heavily on the aid of the church and army and on at least the tacit acquiescence of the great landholders. Since then, the situation has changed considerably, and the only traditionalist group that remains solidly on Peron's side is the army. This realignment has been brought about by the strong reformist features of the Peronist program.

Peron has survived two general elections since he came to power. Whether these elections were free or not is open to question, but in both he had the wholehearted support of the Catholic church. Priests thundered from their pulpits against the Radical Party candidates, calling them "atheists," instruments of freemasonry, and the like, and asking their parishioners to vote for General Peron, the Christian leader, creator of "justicialism," the Christian alternative to communism and capitalism. The help of the church was effective, and Peron repaid it generously. Religious education was made compulsory in the public schools, the state subsidy for Catholic schools was increased, and unprecedented encouragement was given to the activities of the church.

Between 1946 and 1952 church and army were united in their support of the regime. The landowners and the traditionalists in general comforted themselves with the thought that Peron was just one more demagogue who appealed for popular support in blood and thunder speeches but, knowing which side his bread was buttered on, did little to translate talk of reform into action.

The strongest ally of the church was Evita Peron. She was the devout member of the family. When she visited Europe she was unable to obtain an audience with the British monarch but was received by the Pope. Her death in 1952 marked the end of the honeymoon between Peron and the *ancien regime*. Soon her proteges in the trade-union movement and other government departments were dismissed; even her brother chose suicide when told that his financial dealings would be investigated.

This purge was followed by the enforcement of reform laws which had long lain dormant—among them a minimum-wage law and a law making membership in a union compulsory for farm workers. The latter was a direct blow against the landed interests. In Argentina as elsewhere in South America the peasants have traditionally "belonged" to the landowner and the church—their bodies to the landowner, their souls to the priest. Peron's attempt to enforce these laws aroused bitter opposition among the landowners, who went so far as to threaten a nation-wide stoppage of agricultural production. Peron answered by calling on the people and the trade unions to support his reforms. In a famous speech in Buenos Aires he so incited the multitudes that they stormed the sumptuous premises of the Jockey Club and razed the building.

With the countryside opened to trade-union influence and political indoctrination the church found itself in a dilemma: either it must remain passive and allow the Peronists to deprive it of all power over the peasantry or it must enter the struggle and defend itself with the more up-to-date weapons of Christian socialism. By that time, 1952-53, the activities of the South American branches of the International Confederation of Christian Trade Unions had been intensified with great success. The Utrecht secretariat of the confederation inaugurated a widespread campaign of proselytizing in which Latin America occupied a prominent place. In Argentina the Christian trade unions came into conflict with the government-spon-

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sored General Confederation of Workers, and as a result Peron launched his first attack on the Catholic church "for interfering in political affairs." The church overestimated its power and tried to fight back. A Christian Democratic Party was formed which was expected to oppose Peron in the coming elections. The dictator answered by attacking the Catholic establishment at one of its weakest points—the divorce and legitimacy laws.

Divorce was illegal in Argentina as it still is in Chile, but those with enough money to obtain the services of a lawyer could easily find one of the many loopholes in the law. The people knew this and felt there was one law for the rich and another for the poor. By striking at this injustice Peron, far from weakening his popularity, has increased it markedly. The bill giving equal rights to legitimate and illegitimate children has had the same effect. These reforms were followed by the abolition of compulsory religious education in the public schools, the withdrawal of state subsidies from church schools, the abolition of the tax-exemption privileges of the Catholic church, and other anti-Catholic regulations. With these decrees Peron has weakened the opposition of the large anti-clerical element in Argentina which had heretofore sided with the Radical Party.

It is idle to try to relate last week's uprising to the religious controversy. There was probably some communication between rebel leaders in the navy and church authorities, but it is quite clear that the initiative and the leadership lay outside the church. The conspirators mistakenly believed that the time was ripe for revolt. Argentine navy officers are recruited from the upper layers of society, while the army has been traditionally a "shopkeepers' " preserve. In 1953 several changes were made in the Admiralty after an earlier naval plot had been uncovered. No one in Argentina was surprised that the navy was the one to revolt while the army remained loyal.

The greatest mistake of Peron's enemies and also of the majority of foreign observers has been to underestimate the dictator's power. To think that Peron could be overthrown by a navy coup was as unrealistic as it would have been to believe that Mussolini could be overthrown by an uprising of the Italian navy in 1936. Even the useless massacre caused by the strafing of Buenos Aires by naval planes will probably work to Peron's advantage; he will have a tacit mandate to take strong measures to suppress disorder. Thus the dictatorship will become more firmly intrenched, and Peron, a youthful sixty, will be able to look forward to several more years in power with the army and the trade unions solidly behind him.

NIXON'S "MAN TO SEE"

Meet Mr. Chotiner . . *by William L. Roper*

ON SEPTEMBER 25, 1952, the *Wall Street Journal* described Murray Chotiner, forty-five-year-old Beverly Hills attorney and politician, as Vice-President Nixon's closest adviser. Chotiner, whose firm can boast that it has had some of California's best-known "bookies" as its clients, managed Nixon's campaigns for the Senate and for the Vice-Presidency. He is likely to be Nixon's chief brain-truster in the campaign of 1956, whether the G. O. P.'s boy wonder is running for the Presidency or merely to succeed himself.

During the 1952 campaign it was Chotiner who saw Nixon through the crisis caused by the revelation that he had been the beneficiary of a $25,000 fund to defray miscellaneous political expenses: Chotiner stage-managed the famous TV speech in which the Vice-Presidential candidate in an emotion-choked voice acknowledged the existence of the secret fund. It was Chotiner also who arranged for the pre-convention poll conducted by Nixon which did more than anything else to doom the Presidential chances of Governor Warren of California. The 23,000 letters sent out under government frank undoubtedly tipped the scales against Warren. Nixon's reward was his selection as Ike's running-mate.

According to Mrs. Nixon, Chotiner was with her husband in his hotel room in Chicago when Herbert Brownell telephoned that the "committee had met and unanimously agreed on Nixon." Chotiner was on hand too when forty G. O. P. leaders met with Nixon at dinner at the Malibu Beach home of Kyle Palmer, political editor of the Los Angeles *Times*, to plan the strategy of the 1952 campaign in California. Governor Goodwin J. Knight of California says that he has dealt with Chotiner as Nixon's representative since 1950. Clearly the tie between Nixon and Chotiner is intimate and long-standing.

Despite the attention which the Vice-President's past political activities have invited, Chotiner, his master-mind, has been neglected by the California press. Consequently this man who has become a real power in California politics and acknowledged spokesman for the Nixon forces has remained something of a mystery. An investigation of his career reveals a number of interesting facts—for example, that the firm of Chotiner and Chotiner—Murray M. Chotiner and Albert J. Chotiner—appeared in the Superior Court of Los Angeles County in the period from 1949 to June 1, 1952, on behalf of the defendants in approximately 220 bookmaking cases. The criminal dockets of the Los Angeles Superior Court are so voluminous

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that it is difficult to check them thoroughly, but a preliminary examination indicates that these approximately 220 bookmaking cases were the only criminal cases in which the firm appeared in that period.

One of the notorious cases handled by Murray Chotiner grew out of the murder of Sam Rummel, the shrewd and influential attorney for the California racketeer Mickey Cohen. According to the Los Angeles *Examiner* of December 12, 1950, Sheriff's Captain Carl Pearson had just revealed that he and Sergeant Lawrence Schaffer of the Los Angeles County sheriff's office had held a secret rendezvous with Rummel shortly before the lawyer was killed. Pearson said he and Schaffer had discussed with Rummel certain information concerning the Guarantee Finance bookmaking scandal. The grand jury was scheduled to begin inquiry into the scandal on the morning after the rendezvous. The chief question was whether Guarantee Finance, a gigantic bookmaking syndicate, had paid $108,000 to certain officers for protection. When Pearson began to talk, Sergeant Schaffer realized that he was in a bad spot. So what did he do? He called for Murray Chotiner. Chotiner did his stuff, and Schaffer was soon in the clear again. The mystery of who got the $108,000 from the bookie syndicate and who murdered Sam Rummel before he could "talk" is still unsolved.

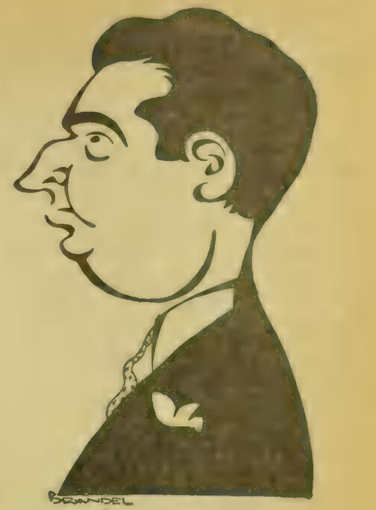
NIXON went to see Chotiner when he made his first try for political office in 1946, seeking to represent the Twelfth District of California in the United States Congress. A political amateur, he had taken on a veteran campaigner, Representative Jerry Voorhis. Mrs. Nixon later described this period in her husband's career as the time when he had only one suit.

Wearing his one suit, Nixon found Chotiner at the Knowland-for-Senator campaign headquarters and told his story. He was badly in need of finances, publicity, and a working campaign organization. He also needed a red-hot issue. Chotiner, who had been president of the California Republican Assembly in 1944 and chairman of the Southern California field organization for Governor Warren's campaign in 1942, was able to give the necessary help. Nixon soon became known as the man who was going to save America from the Communists.

The 1946 campaigns of both Knowland and Nixon showed that Chotiner had discovered a new way to make the Red smear an effective campaign weapon. Knowland faced stiff competition from Will Rogers, Jr. Seeking ammunition to use against Rogers, Chotiner discovered that several years ago the *People's World*, a California Communist daily, had boasted in a front-page editorial that Will Rogers, Jr., had contributed to its sustaining fund. Chotiner had the statement reproduced and arranged that William Richman, a member of the Democratic State Central Committee, should send copies of it with a covering letter to other members of the committee. Immediate fireworks resulted. Richman was bitterly denounced and died of a heart attack. The trick, however, was successful in that it weakened Rogers's standing with many leading Democrats. The fact that young Rogers had demonstrated a high devotion to the United States and had resigned from Congress to serve in the army during World War II was overlooked by those duped by this smear.

In fairness to Senator Knowland, it should be pointed out that there is nothing to indicate that he knew of this low attack on his opponent. Knowland had repeatedly expressed himself as opposed to mud-slinging of all kinds. But if he was blind to Chotiner's methods, his father, Joseph Knowland, publisher of the Oakland *Tribune*, and other members of his campaign organization were soon disturbed by another aspect of Chotiner's operations.

At the time of this campaign (1946) Chotiner was attorney for and a member of the board of directors of the Lockwood-Shackelford Advertising Agency; he was also, of course, active in the Knowland campaign. To officials of the agency Chotiner suggested that fees for handling the billboard advertising should be split with him. These officials took a dim view of the proposal and reported the suggestion to Joseph Knowland, who insisted that the account remain in the hands of Lockwood-Shackelford, and it did. Chotiner, however, resigned as counsel and board member of the agency. When William Knowland won, all was forgiven, and in 1952 Chotiner was again employed in the Senator's campaign. After Knowland was successful in the primary, Chotiner accompanied Nixon on his nation-wide speaking tour.



Murray Chotiner

BY THAT time Nixon had become a master of his mentor's campaign strategy. No longer did Chotiner need to suggest that votes could be garnered by shooting oratorical fireworks at the Red flag and screaming "Treason!" By then Nixon's greatest worry was that Senator Joe McCarthy might steal the show.

Always jealous of his reputation as the No. 1 Red-hunter and the nemesis of Alger Hiss, Nixon was also disturbed by the rise of California's local champion Red-hunter, Jack Tenney. As chairman of the California legislature's un-American activities committee, Tenney had won the commendation of the Hearst papers and aroused Nixon's envy. So when Tenney ran for Congress in the twenty-second District in 1952, Nixon and Chotiner decided to eliminate him. Nixon threw his then impressive prestige behind Joseph F. Holt, the son of a wealthy dairyman who had contributed to Nixon's secret fund. Chotiner master-minded Holt's campaign.

In a letter to Cobina Wright, a columnist for the Los Angeles *Herald and Express*, published September 4, 1952, Chotiner boasted of his and Nixon's aid to Holt. He wrote: "I am convinced beyond any question that if it had not been for the support of Senator Nixon, Joseph Holt would not have been able to defeat Tenney."

It is significant that during the run-off contest the old Red charge was hurled at Holt's Democratic rival, Dean E. McHenry, a professor of political science at the University of California. This smear undoubtedly helped Holt to win. But afterward Dr. McHenry brought a libel suit and on May 25 of this year announced that he had received $5,000 and an apology in an out-of-court settlement.

CHOTINER'S success in combining the practice of criminal law and politics is amazing, for the two seldom mix well. Sometimes he has narrowly escaped coming a cropper. In 1952 he appointed his old friend Dave Cannon, who had been a defense counsel for certain members of the notorious Guarantee Finance "bookie" syndicate, to the key political job of chairman of an attorneys' committee for Knowland. Several Republican leaders raised their eyebrows at this, though in the end they let Chotiner get away with it. One still wonders what Cannon or his client, Guarantee Finance, could do for Knowland. After all, officials of the "bookie" syndicate had been convicted in a federal court only a few months before, and their position in the community was hardly of the kind to swing votes. Many California Republican leaders see nothing wrong with Chotiner's peculiar shenanigans. But when Maurice Shenker, a St. Louis attorney, tried to practice politics and criminal law at the same time in 1950, he was widely condemned. His case was different from Chotiner's: he was a Democrat.

In spite of all that Chotiner's' political cunning has done to advance Nixon's fortunes, the lawyer-politico may prove to be the Vice-President's Jonah in 1956. Certainly he is the key figure in Nixon's long-standing feud with Governor Goodwin J. Knight of California. And Governor Knight, as head of the big California delegation, with seventy votes and an early place in the roll call, will wield decisive power at the Republican convention in San Francisco next year.

Under California law the consent of the candidate to whom a set of delegates is pledged must be filed with the Secretary of State before petitions can be circulated to place the slate on the ballot at the primary election. This will be held June 5, 1956. The law also provides that delegations can be organized "not more than ninety nor less than sixty days" before the Presidential primary. This means that the circulation of delegates' nomination papers would begin next March. Under the law, however, the delegation is merely pledged to support a given person for President. The Vice-President does not appear on the primary ballot. It is quite possible, therefore, that if Eisenhower should decide not to run again, a wild rush to organize delegations might start next January.

Recently Governor Knight, who was chosen as Republican spokesman at this year's Gridiron Club dinner in Washington, presented the President with a set of resolutions by the California Republican State Central Committee and other G.O.P. organizations urging him to seek reelection. Although one of the resolutions contained mild words of praise for Vice-President Nixon, it is a safe assumption that Governor Knight did not ask the President to urge Mr. Nixon to seek reelection. While in Washington, the Governor was the guest of honor at a luncheon given by Nixon in an obvious attempt to put an end to the feud which has existed between the two men for some time. Not long before that the Governor had pointedly declined to appear at a luncheon honoring the Vice-President and chose, instead, to attend a luncheon and TV show with officials of the teamster's union. On this occasion, the Governor was accompanied by the Lieutenant Governor and the state's constitutional officers as well as by the members of the Republican state committee—indicating the degree to which Nixon has lost influence with the state organization.

Representative Hillings, a Nixon protege, has been quoted in *U. S. News and World Report* as saying that the reason G. O. P. candidates did not do better in California in 1954 was that "they got no help from the Governor." The feud came out into the open in 1954, when Knight and the Nixon forces clashed over the choice of a vice-chairman for the Republican State Central Committee. Knight won, but only after he had accused Chotiner of lying and had taken some bitter back talk from Hillings. Until the recent "love feast" luncheon in Washington, California political reporters were saying that "the Vice-President and the Governor just aren't speaking to each other—politically, that is."

If Nixon's interests are to be protected in San Francisco in 1956, he must have substantial representation in the California delegation. But since the delegation will be organized by Governor Knight, it is not likely to include many ardent Nixon supporters. Senators Knowland and Kuchel, on the other hand, will have generous representation on the delegation, although it is safe to say that Governor Knight will call the signals.

If the President chooses to run again, the delegation will be pledged to him, and he will undoubtedly be able to force the nomination of Nixon as Vice-President. If he declines to run, two rival delegations may be entered in the California primary, one pledged to Governor Knight, the other to Nixon. If the President should delay in making up his mind, Governor Knight would unquestionably enter a slate of delegates pledged to himself as California's "favorite son." Being on the scene and having more direct contact with the local Republican leadership than Nixon, Knowland, or Kuchel, the Governor has a distinct advantage. And he has another source of power in his strong ties with important elements in the labor movement.

GOVERNOR KNIGHT'S hostility is only one of the unpleasant political realities now facing the Vice-President. Recent Gallup polls have shown that voters prefer Adlai Stevenson to Nixon 61 to 39 per cent, and Senator Estes Kefauver to Nixon 58 to 42 per cent. Doubts that the President can be induced to run again have been strengthened by his talk at the breakfast of Republican women, by Senator Margaret Chase Smith's suggestion that he might not run, and by rumors that Stevenson will shortly announce his candidacy for the Democratic Party nomination. ◆

Nixon's popularity has declined among minority groups and independent voters. The political-fund scandal of 1952 is far from dead. His slanderous campaign against Democratic nominees in 1954 is certain to bring retaliation. Added to these liabilities is his relationship with Chotiner. Can the "Fighting Quaker" and his miracle man overcome these difficulties? Can they win Knight over? Will Governor Knight's labor friends ever accept Nixon? These are questions upon which Nixon's political future depends.

A closely related question, and one that should be of interest to the Democrats, is this: If President Eisenhower should decide to seek reelection and also insist on Nixon as his running mate, would he thereby run the risk of losing California's key block of electoral votes? In 1916 Charles Evans Hughes, favored to win, lost to Woodrow Wilson by ignoring the California political situation, and in 1948 the Dewey-Warren ticket lost the state, despite the great popularity of Mr. Warren, largely because the Dewey-Warren campaigners had made the mistake of alienating some of the real powers in the Republican Party in California. The President may have to pay a high price indeed if he insists on the renomination of Mr. Nixon.

If Eisenhower decides not to run again, and Nixon by some stroke of luck becomes the next President of the United States, you can count on one thing. Murray Chotiner will be the Man to See.

RUSSIA'S NEW LEADERS

Rise of the Technician . . *by Merle King*

WHO makes the important decisions in the Soviet Union? For the past two decades there have been three popular answers—(1) Stalin, (2) Malenkov, (3) persons shrouded in mystery and obscured by enigmas. Two of the guesses can now be decarded.

If we are willing to curb our appetite for names and personalities and be satisfied with a description of the type, we can identify the Soviet decision-makers fairly accurately. The available data suggest that despite the persistence of the legendary version of the Communist leader, the man who participates in crucial decisions today has not been a life-long professional revolutionary. He is not primarily an agitator or a seasoned manipulator of verbal symbols—facility in expression is not required. He does not—as Lenin did—enter "journalist" as his occupation on his party card. Unlike Communist intellectuals of an earlier era, he shows no strong personal slant toward a literary or broadly humanistic orientation. At the same time, his background is not that of a semi-literate peasant or a rank-and-file soldier or an unskilled worker. Nor does his literary output—in contrast with Stalin's, for example—reveal an intense absorption with ideological controversies.

The modern Soviet decision-maker is first of all a technically trained specialist. Specialized competence is the outstanding common trait of those who occupy important posts in the U. S. S. R. Evidence for this conclusion is available with regard to the Communist Party, the Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, and education. Much of it can be found in the columns of the Soviet press as translated into English in the *Current Digest of the Soviet Press,* published by the Joint Committee on Slavic Studies in the United States.

The most powerful party leaders meet in the party congress. Of the 1,192 voting delegates at the last congress, held in 1952, 709 had graduated from an institution of higher education and 84 had studied at such an institution. The 709 who had graduated included 282 engineers, 68 agronomists, zootechnicians, and related agricultural specialists, 98 teachers, 18 economists, 11 physicians, and 7 lawyers. Sixty-five delegates had received higher degrees. "Such a large proportion of trained specialists in various branches of economy and culture," reported N. M. Pegov for the Credentials Committee, "shows once more that in our country educated people who know their work well and are capable of advancing it are highly valued and boldly promoted." Among the fifty-eight Stalin prize-winners at the Congress, Pegov also noted, were "prominent workers in science and technology."

Reports to the congress on the composition of local party organizations stressed the number of technically trained intellectuals. D. G. Smirnov pointed out that whereas in 1939 there were 6,532 Communists in Gorky Province with higher as well as secondary education, by 1952 there were 34,000—although the total membership of the provincial party had only tripled. About 80 per cent of party and Soviet executive officials in Gorky Province, according to Smirnov, had benefited from "higher, incomplete higher, or secondary education." Similarly in the Leningrad party organization, according to a statement of A. I. Kozlov, "about 80 per cent of the administrative officials now have had a higher or incomplete higher education, and in Leningrad all the district secretaries have had a higher education."

A leading member of the Moscow party organization revealed more explicitly the kind of higher education which is valued in the Soviet Union today. After reporting that 70 per cent of the secretaries of district and city party committees in Moscow had had a higher education

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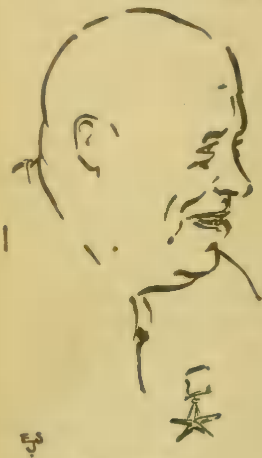
and that the remainder had gone through secondary schools, he said: "The office of secretary of the party unit at industrial enterprises is generally held by engineers or technicians familiar with production."

The composition of the party body with the greatest responsibility for the initiation of policies, the Presidium—formerly the Politburo—reveals the same emphasis on specialization. Two recent additions to the Presidium, M. Z. Saburov and M. G. Pervukhin, have concentrated in the fields of economic planning and economic administration. Even some of the senior members of the Presidium have developed different functions based on specialized knowledge: Molotov, foreign affairs; Khrushchev, agriculture; Kaganovich, transportation; Mikoyan, trade.



Khrushchev

The Young Communist League values the same qualities as the party. When the twelfth congress of the league convened last year, the Credentials Committee called attention to the presence of 578 delegates (43.8 per cent) with higher and incomplete higher education and of 395 delegates who were "studying in higher and secondary educational institutions while holding jobs." "The Young Communists," the committee observed, "elected as delegates to the Congress leading young representatives of the intelligentsia."

LIKE the party, the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R. contains a steadily increasing percentage of intellectuals. Since the adoption of the present constitution in 1936 there have been four elections for the Supreme Soviet. The resulting changes in its social composition are shown in the following table:

Year	Workers Pct.	Peasants Pct.	Office Workers, Intellectuals Pct.
1937	42	29.5	28.5
1946	38	26	36
1950	32	20	48
1954	24	16	60

In the present Soviet of Nationalities, a division of the Supreme Soviet, 294 deputies out of 639 have a higher education and 51 an incomplete higher education; in the Soviet of the Union 357 deputies out of 708 have a higher education and 44 an incomplete higher education. Perhaps more significantly the Soviet of Nationalities now includes only 133 workers and 106 peasants; the Soviet of the Union, 188 workers, 114 peasants, and, in the words of the chairman of its Credentials Committee, "406 representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia—engineers, technicians, officials in party and Soviet organizations, workers in science and culture."

Whereas the Supreme Soviet meets infrequently and in brief sessions, the Council of Ministers exercises continuous responsibility for applying and elaborating decisions which originate in the Communist Party. It is in the Council of Ministers that the identity of party leaders and high government officials is most apparent; seven of the nine members of the party Presidium are members of the Council of Ministers. Examination of the available data on the qualifications of the ministers again discloses the premium placed on *expertise* in the operative Soviet system. After Malenkov's resignation as chairman, the Council of Ministers was extensively reorganized under Bulganin. In his capacity as secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, N. M. Pegov reported to the 1955 session of the Supreme Soviet on the changes in personnel. Repeatedly he stressed the technical competence and experience of the new ministers. For example, he said of the new Minister of Transport Construction: "Comrade Kozhevnikov worked from 1936 to 1945 as chief engineer and director of a number of large construction projects"; of the new Minister of Urban and Rural Construction: "Comrade Kozyulyu is a professional construction engineer, highly experienced in urban and rural construction"; of the new Minister of the Merchant Marine: "Comrade Bakayev has had more than twenty-five years' experience in constructing and operating shipping facilities"; of the new Minister of Power Plant Construction: "Comrade Loginov is a hydroelectric engineer. He was in charge of constructing the Chirchik hydroelectric stations in the Uzbek Republic."

In describing the appointments to the Supreme Court of the U. S. S. R. Pegov again stressed the new members' education and professional experience. All of them, he said, "have completed their higher education in law and have had considerable administrative experience in agencies of Soviet justice." In an earlier day the proletarian origins and revolutionary services of these new officials would have been cited.

THE prominence of the specialist in party and government reflects the Soviet emphasis on specialization in education. There has been no counterpart in the U. S. S. R. of the campaign in behalf of general education carried on by some professional educators in the United States, for whom Robert Hutchins has been spokesman and philosopher. When *Pravda* takes notice of the commencement month of June, it boasts: "The higher educational institutions of the country are graduating new contingents of young specialists."

Soviet concentration on scientific and technical training has recently received considerable publicity in the United States, and ominous comparisons have been drawn. According to some estimates, the Soviet Union graduated 54,000 engineers last year, while the United States graduated but 20,000. Moreover, while the number of engineering graduates in the U. S. S. R. has almost doubled since 1950, the number has declined here more than 50 per cent. Dean John R. Dunning of the Columbia University School of Engineering believes that the Soviet Union already has 80 per cent as many engineers as the United States. The contrast in educational practice in the two countries is seen in the fact that in the United States three Ph.D.s in the humanities are conferred for every one in the sciences, and in the Soviet Union the ratio is exactly reversed. In Soviet secondary schools also a large part of the curriculum is given over to compulsory courses in the sciences and mathematics.

The political position of scientific and technical personnel differs appreciably in the U. S. S. R. and the United States. In the United States scientists, despite their prestige, have mainly an advisory or tangential influence on political decisions. Official decision-making continues to be dominated by lawyers—more than half the members of any Congress have a legal background. Unofficial decision-making is heavily infiltrated by persons skilled in public relations, advertising, and personnel management. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, scientists, engineers, and technicians have been absorbed directly into the mainstream of decision-making.

A report of a subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs entitled "The Strategy and Tactics of World Communism," issued in 1948, described those who believe in Communist ideology as possibly "temperamentally more like engineers." Doubtless the comparison with engineers was intended as a figure of speech. Contemporary evidence leads to the conclusion that the new Soviet decision-maker often qualifies—literally—as an engineer.

THOSE BRITISH STRIKES

Symptom of Labor Crisis . . *by Asa Briggs*

Oxford, England

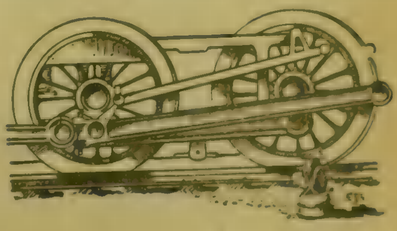
THE British railway strike marked a crisis not only in the British economy but also in the British trade-union movement. The effects on the economy were obvious—immediate slowing down of production, long-term dislocation which will be especially noticeable when coal supplies begin to prove inadequate next winter, and a disastrous diminution of industrial potential just as competing countries are beginning to forge ahead. The implications for trade unionism were less obvious but equally ominous. The strikers belonged to the Amalgamated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, a craft union representing most but not all skilled footplate workers. The National Union of Railwaymen, a large-scale would-be industrial union, did not strike, and its members operated some of the trains that continued to roll. Relations between the two unions had been bad for years and during the strike developed into open hostility. The Prime Minister insisted with reason that a pre-condition of any settlement was an understanding between the rival unions.

From a union standpoint two main issues were involved. The first, to which most attention was given, particularly by the press, was the issue of wage differentials. The Engineers and Firemen demanded the maintenance of differentials based on skill, though the importance of such differentials had greatly diminished in recent years of war, full employment, and social progress. It was not so much the size of the differential that mattered—after all, the sum involved, as one trade unionist said, amounted to no more than the price of a package of cigarettes a week; it was the principle. The leaders of the Engineers and Firemen saw themselves as last-ditch defenders of the principle that a man should receive a premium for special skill and be allowed to bargain separately for what he considered his just claims—claims established not by abstract criteria but by social and economic history. The National Union wished to raise the general level of railwaymen's wages, to cooperate with the British Transport Commission in reducing the number of grades, and to retain differentials, of a modest kind, only where they corresponded to the facts of employment.

The second issue was what kind of union organization was to prevail in the future. The National Union wanted to include all railway workers, from the girls who sell tea in station cafes to the engine drivers who still consider themselves the aristocrats of the system. Faced with a single Transport Commission it wanted to present a united body of labor. It was against not only the demands of the Engineers and Firemen but the existence of that type of union.

After seventeen days the strike was ended by the government's appointment of an impartial referee who will adjudicate points in dispute. The general conditions of the settlement seem to favor the craft union. The principle of "skill differentials" is recognized, with the amount and distribution to be settled by the referee, and the continuation of the Amalgamated as a craft union is assured.

The issue of craft versus industrial unionism has never been fought out in Britain. There have been many skirmishes but no major campaigns. The question enters also into the dockworkers' strike, which is still going on at this writing. The Stevedores' Union, which would like to become an industrial union of



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all dockers, is trying to break away from the Transport and General Workers' Union, which covers many occupations, skilled and unskilled, and to obtain recognition from the Dock Labor Board. Eventually it would like to represent all dockers in the same way that the National Union of Railwaymen would like to represent all railroad workers. But the Railwaymen and the Stevedores are in very different positions in relation to the trade-union movement as a whole. The National Union is a powerful component of the Trade Union Congress; the Stevedores' Union has been expelled from the Congress, in which the Transport and General Workers' Union plays a leading part. The contest for power within the trade-union movement will affect the ultimate settlement, as it did in the railway strike, more than will considerations of logic.

MANY friends of the trade-union movement are beginning to ask whether the time has not arrived to consider the whole problem of trade-union structure. Would it not be better, they ask, if all unions were organized on an industrial basis? In certain cases this would mean amalgamation, in others federation; in the case of the dockers it would require subdivision of an existing union. It is asserted that if the interests of all workers in an industry were represented by a single organization, there would be greater efficiency and consistency in collective bargaining; trade-union organization would then correspond more closely to organization among employers and public corporations. It is also believed that with the industrial form of organization it would be easier to achieve wage differentials among the various occupations which would relate to the facts of the present rather than to those of the past, and easier to base unions on the workshop rather than on the place of residence. This, it is argued, would be in the interest of the community as well as of the unions. Especially in nationalized industries such a structure would permit adaptation and planning in which both management and workers could take an active part.

Against these arguments there are only the facts of history. The English trade unions are voluntary organizations, born not made. The Trade Union Congress is a central body with no powers of coercion. It has already recommended in an important report—Trade Union Structure and Closer Unity—that there should never be a large number of unions in any particular industry; but the most it can do is persuade, not compel. Above all, trade unionists feel a strong sense of loyalty to their existing unions—this is one of the great lessons of the recent disputes—and any prolonged large-scale attempt to undermine particular trade-union loyalties in the interest of rational organization might be felt to strike at the very feeling which has always cemented trade unionism. How can logic influence such a historical situation?

The problem of future trade-union structure must be solved if only for strategic reasons: the British economy cannot survive a series of inter-union disputes, and unless the Trade Union Congress and the individual unions take action, there will be strong pressure within the government for a far more drastic official policy toward the unions than has been followed since the 1920's. In the Conservative administration before the elections labor problems were handled in a restrained and diplomatic way by Sir Walter Monckton, the Minister of Labor. It would be difficult to maintain the same policy if the advocates of a "show-down" with the unions were to gain ascendancy in the administration because of union rivalries. Political divisions within British labor go deep in 1955. If economic divisions are to be added, the future of Conservative government is assured, and the form of conservatism may lose something of its contemporary "sweet reasonableness."

THE ROMANTIC REBEL

Schiller and Today's World . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

Zurich

THE ceremonies held last month throughout Germany—East and West—to mark the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of Friedrich von Schiller provided an occasion both to recall the work of one of the greatest German poets and to apply his philosophy to the Germany of today. With Goethe he represents a period of extraordinary brilliance in German letters; the very fact that his contemporaries disputed which was the greater gives a measure of Schiller's quality. The period produced many writers of stature, such as Herder Klopstock, Wieland, Jean Paul, and profound thinkers like Kant and Hegel who were to revolutionize the teaching of philosophy and history; so it was surely not in a sky without other stars that these two shone so bright.

Though products of the same epoch, Schiller and Goethe differed greatly in their attitude toward fundamental problems and in the kind of life they led. Goethe, coming from a financially well-established family, was a child of fortune who accepted favors with the air of being the one who granted them. His comfort in any case would have been assured by the protection of a prince whose culture and sensibility made him a most agreeable Maecenas. Schiller, son of a barber-surgeon, rising to the rank of officer in the Wuerttemberg army, grew up under the despotic rule of a duke who had no feeling for the arts.

Surreptitiously, while he was an

army doctor, Schiller wrote "Die Raeuber ("The Robbers"), a tragedy powerful in conception, striking in form. It tells of the struggle between two brothers—the younger, Franz, twisted and satanic, the older, Karl, noble and victimized by the other's intrigues. Franz steals their father's affection and his brother's share of the inheritance. Nothing stops him; his only aim in life is the gratification of his desires. Schiller uses the generous and persecuted older brother as a symbol of the permanent rebel against injustice. Karl transforms himself into a bandit whose mission is to despoil the despoilers. He appears finally at the gate of the ancestral castle, where Franz, unequal to an honest fight, kills himself. The father dies of grief when he recognizes his son among the bandits. Karl, feeling guilty both of violating the moral law and of abusing his own strength, gives himself up to his judges.

Presented at the Court Theater of Mannheim, "The Robbers" was a tremendous success. But the author, who had appeared at the opening without leave from his regiment, was arrested by the Duke and forbidden to write anything but medical treatises. He fled from Wuettemberg and continued to write. Though often ill and without money, he soon completed two new plays—"Fiesco," an elegy on a Republican conspiracy, and "Cabal and Love," in which the unnatural laws of social classes conflict with the dictates of love and friendship. "Cabal and Love," presented also at Mannheim, was an even greater triumph than "The Robbers."

Schiller

BUT success did not bring security, and Schiller's personal situation became increasingly difficult. After more than two years of precarious exile he gladly accepted an invitation from some admirers whom he had come to know through correspondence to visit them in Leipzig. His chief friend among them was C. G. Koerner, a man of culture and taste who gave him what he needed most—appreciation and a subsidy that would allow him to devote all his time to poetry and the theater. Out of this period of unforgettable happiness was born the "Ode to Joy," immortalized later by Beethoven in his Ninth Symphony. Koerner's generous friendship sustained Schiller for several productive years, during which he wrote "Don Carlos," among other lasting works.

"Don Carlos," an ode to humanity and political liberty, ended the first phase of Schiller's dramatic creativeness. Its outstanding quality is the vehemence with which the author identifies himself with those who suffer. In later works the dialogue would be more realistic and the language more lyrical, but the ideas would never be expressed with greater force.

A visit to Weimar changed the course of Schiller's life. In that city Duke Karl Augustus, a true patron of the arts, had gathered together some of the best writers and painters of Germany, chief among them Goethe. To Weimar, Schiller brought his new work, "Don Carlos," and here he met Wieland and Herder, who, already famous, treated him as their equal. He also met the young woman who later became his wife. Goethe, whom he wished to know more than anyone else, was in Italy.

When Goethe returned to Weimar, Schiller finally met him. Although in the course of their long association the two poets were to become friends, their early conversations revealed a spiritual and temperamental gulf between them. Goethe, who saw reflected in Schiller's tempestuous conceptions and romantic style some of the emotions which had agitated his own youth, regarded this dramatic enthusiasm with barely concealed distaste. Schiller's passion conflicted with Goethe's liking for classical serenity and for the cult of antiquity which was confirmed by his Italian trip.

THE different ways in which Schiller and Goethe reacted toward the great events of their time is illustrated by their feelings about the French Revolution. Goethe was revolted by the masses who assaulted the Bastille and later by the Jacobin rigor of Robespierre and the revolutionary flame which burned in Saint-Juste. Views as to Schiller's attitude are divided. Some of Goethe's unconditional admirers, attempting to justify his feeling toward the French Revolution, assert that it was shared by all the other great thinkers and writers of the time, including Schiller. In reality Schiller warmly defended the uprising of the French people against a frivolous monarchy insensible to their suffering. When revolutionary France, in an appeal to the best minds of other countries, offered honorary citizenship to Schiller and Klopstock, neither declined the honor.

Only when the Revolution, attacked from all sides, had recourse to the Terror did its sympathizers among the German intelligentsia begin to show aversion. Fichte did not turn against it but wrote juridical essays in its defense; nor did Kant, whose searching mind penetrated beyond the painful present and anticipated the priceless heritage the Revolution would leave behind. But Schiller's sensibility could not endure the Terror's ruthlessness. Its violence weakened his basic sympathy. Yet while it would be absurd to describe him as a revolutionary, his position was in no respect like Goethe's. Every now and then his writings show that he was swept away by the ideas of the Revolution.

In "Wallenstein," written while the Revolution was triumphant, and in later works Schiller did not hesitate to extol the effort of natural forces to fulfil their aims. As a moral philosopher, a Kantian ruled by the categorical imperative, he could not accept neutrality in the struggle which would decide the future of humanity. Again, almost at the end of his life his feeling for the Revolution shone out in "William Tell." His swan song honored not the powerful but the rebels against them. Its characters, like the Russian nihilists of the past century, upheld their principles by individual deeds when mass action was impossible. In this drama of courage and resistance, Schiller's genius reached a high point.

OF PARTICULAR interest at present, in view of the controversy over the rearmament of West Germany, is Schiller's attitude toward German militarism. After Germany was completely crushed by Napoleon, the poet, instead of bewailing the defeat or preaching revenge, wrote: "The greatness of Germany is not in the hands of her princes. The greatness of Germany does not consist in armed victory but in victory over superstitions and prejudices." Unhappily the same Germans who hailed Schiller's genius and recited pages of his poetry ended by forsaking his ideals and following first Bismarck, then Hitler. This strange ambivalence permitted them to acclaim in the same breath William Tell, the hero of Swiss independence, and Hitler, the supreme protagonist of German aggression. The hymn to virtue easily becomes a hymn to strength. It is a disconcerting change, this jump from the elevated plane on which the noblest Germans dwell to the depths of militaristic barbarism.

Heine wrote of Schiller: "He served the great ideas, destroyed the spiritual Bastilles, raised in the temple of liberty an everlasting altar to the brotherhood of men, was himself the Marques Posa of 'Don Carlos,' at once prophet and soldier, who carries under a Spanish cloak the noblest heart that has loved and suffered in Germany." I suggest that those who project an armed peace based on the creation of new German divisions should reread Schiller.

POLITICS IN THE F.C.C.

The Lamb Case: Act II . . *by Edgar Kemler*

THE dispute between the Federal Communications Commission and Edward Lamb began two years ago when the commission refused to renew Lamb's license to operate Station WICU-TV in Erie, Pennsylvania. The action against Lamb was inspired by Commissioner John C. Doerfer, a Wisconsin Republican and Eisenhower appointee, who charged that Lamb, long known as a New Dealer, had once been a Communist. Lamb had disproved the charge six times during the Truman Administration and now claimed that the Republican Doerfer was penalizing him for partisan reasons. Subsequent developments have sensationally upheld the claim. I reported on Lamb's career and reputation in *The Nation* on June 12, 1954, and predicted that the F. C. C. would regret its action. After fifty-six days of hearings, from September 18 to May 20, and two thousand pages of testimony, no final ruling on Lamb's case has been made, but whatever it turns out to be, the prestige of the commission has been badly tarnished.

Doerfer's position was questioned as early as last June 24, when the Democratic members of the Senate Commerce Committee, at Lamb's suggestion, asked him why he had reopened the case. Doerfer explained that while he had, as yet, found no new incriminating evidence, he simply didn't trust Lamb. "When the whirlwinds blow," he said, the now ardently anti-Communist Lamb might revert to his earlier sympathies and use his broadcasting station to beam Russian bombers to Pennsylvania targets. In view of Lamb's ten-year record of highly responsible broadcasting, this was a shocking suggestion. Worse yet, since there were other New Dealers in broadcasting who had had similar sympathies, it pointed to a McCarthy-type purge of the whole industry. The Senate Commerce Committee made Doerfer promise under oath to give Lamb a fair hearing. Meanwhile, however, his investigating staff must have decided that if incriminating evidence were not available, it would have to be improvised.

This is the key to the otherwise inexplicable story of Mrs. Marie Natvig, the "brainwashed" witness, and her bungling Svengali, Walter R. ("Bucky") Powell, F. C. C. counsel. As a Democratic holdover on the Doerfer-dominated commission, Powell felt he had to play Doerfer's game. Mrs. Natvig played Powell's game because she was a frightened, friendless fifty-two-year-old woman, disowned by her rich mother in Cleveland, her three successive husbands, and her three respectable children. In a recent flier into journalism, she had written a civil-rights editorial for the Homestead (Florida) *News*. This editorial won statewide acclaim but so aroused the local patriots that they threatened to turn her over to State Attorney Brautigam, the Miami McCarthy. By telling the F. B. I. what little she knew about Lamb, she expected to receive protection from Brautigam. When Powell got hold of her, he exaggerated her fears in order to make her contribute to what he described as a "patriotic effort to get Lamb and take his TV station away from him."

Powell's rough tactics had already alienated another witness, Lowell Watson, an ex-Communist. Watson had informed Lamb's lawyers that Powell had made him testify about Lamb's membership in the suspect International Labor Defense as if he had first-hand knowledge of it, though he had only learned about

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it from Powell himself. But this was mild compared to Powell's manipulation of the susceptible Mrs. Natvig, who testified from September 24 to October 6. His first problem was to get her to Washington where she could be served with a subpoena. This he did, apparently, by promising her that if she would go, there would be no subpoena. To justify this tactic, the subpoena was made out, not for Marie Natvig, but for Mary Jones and Jane Doe, her two pseudonyms. When Mrs. Natvig found herself trapped, she complained bitterly, but later, after Powell had threatened to betray her to Brautigam, she became his compliant, sometimes eager partner. The questions and answers of her direct testimony were rehearsed so often, she later revealed, that "she could no longer differentiate between fact and fiction."

Ironically, if Powell had been interested in clearing Lamb, rather than "murdering the bum," Mrs. Natvig might have made a plausible witness. In 1935-37 she had been a secretary of the Cleveland Farmer-Labor Party, which means that she was close enough to the Communists to know their local leaders and yet detached enough not to be dominated by them. Had she actually been a Communist, as the Justice Department now maintains she was, surely the F. B. I. would have known about it and made some objection when her son-in-law was cleared of the charge. Had Lamb also been a Communist, the pair would have met regularly at the state-wide party functions. Yet on the very few occasions when they did meet, Lamb was busy, she said—he says he doesn't remember meeting her—not with party matters, but with the organization of the then fashionable, now suspect National Lawyers Guild, in which he is still publicly "glad and proud" to have played a part. This was her story. But by the time it was rewritten in Washington Mrs. Natvig was converted from a half-starved fellow-traveler into a full-fledged Communist, eating caviar and drinking champagne at Stalin's expense. Lamb was introduced to her as "Comrade Lamb from Toledo who is doing such an excellent job for the party." Their casual acquaintance was inflated into a love affair.

About October 1 Powell told Doerfer that at long last a Whittaker Chambers had been found for Lamb's Hiss. Perhaps those were not his exact words. But certainly he had consulted Chambers's "Witness" on the fine points of the Communist background, and almost certainly he told Mrs. Natvig that Lamb was a "red plant" in broadcasting "more dangerous than Hiss." Unfortunately for Powell, this *ersatz* Chambers was so transparent that Lamb's vigorous lawyer, Russell M. Brown, demolished her as soon as she took the stand. On January 12, when she read over an official transcript of her testimony, she said: "It was as if I had awakened from a nightmare. . . . Where did I get such phrases? . . . Only an idiot would have credence in anything I said."

AFTER Mrs. Natvig's turnabout, which she announced on February 9-10, Brown declared that the commission's case against Lamb had collapsed. But the F. C. C. lawyers refused to admit defeat. (Powell had by now taken a job with the National Association of Radio-TV Broadcasters.) Furthermore, they said, no court or Congressional committee would condemn Powell's handling of Mrs. Natvig. Already, in a moment of weakness, Mrs. Natvig had asked them "to tell Bucky I'm sorry I had to do it." By February 24 she was back on the commission's side, writing a partial recantation of her recantation. In mid-May Attorney General Brownell had her indicted for perjury—not for her original testimony but for taking it back. She was tried and convicted.

Brownell was obviously more interested in punishing Mrs. Natvig for her defection from the government side than in vindicating Powell. Her example had led other ex-Communist informants to become balky, and a stampede had to be prevented above all things. As it turned out, Powell was stricken with a heart attack in the midst of the excitement. When a court-appointed physician examined him in May, he was still too weak to testify. Thus the whole embarrassing issue of Powell's interviewing Mrs. Natvig was eliminated, and Brownell's lawyers could concentrate on the easier question of whether she had introduced herself to Powell as a full-fledged Communist or merely as a fellow-traveler. Defiantly, they set out to prove the former, and with the F. B. I. witnesses on their side and Mrs. Natvig too discredited to take the stand, they won their case.

Whether or not "Bucky" has been vindicated, the Natvig testimony and recantation have given the public a brief, unforgettable glimpse of how Republican partisanship bars truth and justice from the F. C. C. Apparently the revelation has hurt rather than helped Lamb's relations with the commission, and not merely with Doerfer but also with the other members. Yet if this disturbs him, he has shown no sign of it. He says that if they finally decide he is too dangerous to operate Station WICU-TV, he has so many legal remedies ready to hand that the present members of the commission will have left Washington before these remedies have been exhausted.

A McCarthy Bridgehead

Broadcasting-Telecasting, the outstanding publication in the radio and television field, came out with the editorial statement: "The man whom Federal Communications Commission Chairman George McConnaughey has drafted as his engineering aide turns out to be a former trusted investigator for Senator McCarthy. That fact was omitted from the official biography released by the commission. . . . He is Christian E. Rogers, Jr., lawyer and ex-broadcaster, who served with the Republican National Committee during 1948. . . . While on the McCarthy staff from March to August, 1953, investigator Rogers spent much of his time probing into F. C. C. files and pending cases. He was detailed to the F. C. C. study at the time Senator McCarthy was incensed over the commission's handling of the plea by Hearst's WISN station, Milwaukee, for an educational channel there, and at the time when the Senator was known to be interested in the background of Edward Lamb. . . ."

Today the three members of the F. C. C. appointed by President Eisenhower are known to be friends of Senator McCarthy — Chairman McConnaughey, Robert E. Lee, and John C. Doerfer. The McCarthy bridgehead on the F. C. C. is powerful.—The Capital Times, Madison, Wisconsin, May 3.

BOOKS

History, Psychology, and Romance

THE PARKMAN READER. Selected and Edited by Samuel Eliot Morison. Little, Brown and Company. $6.

By Kenneth Rexroth

ONLY a few nineteenth-century American novelists outrank certain historians as literary artists, as minds of power, depth. and scope. But since the nineteenth century was a leisurely one, these historians' works are long, and the length has frightened off many modern readers who, book by book, at odd intervals, have managed to get through the complete works of Hawthorne, Mark Twain, and Henry James. Parkman's great history fills fourteen volumes in the commonest edition. I do not believe in pocket-book abridgments and selected passages, but nowadays only a limited number of adults are likely to take the time to read it all.

Samuel Eliot Morison, as one might guess from his name, is a product of the same milieu as Parkman. He shares many of Parkman's prejudices, and is as unaware of them. If there has to be a "Parkman Reader," he is certainly as good a man as any to put it together. It is necessary, however, to take his preface with a grain of salt. He speaks of Parkman as a literary stylist worthy of respect. As a matter of fact, only when he was caught up in the circumstantial rush of his narrative did Parkman write well. His passages on the beauties of the forest primeval, the savagery of an Indian war dance or the vices of the little provincial court at Montreal are rather comic reading today. Although he set out to deflate the legend of the noble savage, whole pages might well have come from Chateaubriand's "Atala," illustrated by Gustave Dore.

John Fiske, who introduced the last collected edition, speaks of Parkman's people as being far more real than Prescott's. Morison shares this view. Prescott's Mexico and Montezuma resemble the "Arabian Nights," it is true. But this is realism. They really were like that. Parkman's heroes are moved by the highly stereotyped motives of a sort of Puritan Ivanhoe.

Again, Morison speaks of Parkman as a gentleman and an aristocrat. He may have been a gentleman, but he was certainly not an aristocrat. He was a bourgeois valetudinarian. Whether Procopius, H. G. Wells, or Motley, the historian usually injects much of himself between the lines of his history. But Parkman comes close to having written a fourteen-volume invisible autobiography. He came from a rich, upper-middle-class family of Boston Brahmans. He seems to have been thoroughly indoctrinated in the liberal but none the less "puritan" Puritanism of Unitarianism and advanced Congregationalism. He was expected to make his way in the world, but early in youth he started going off to the woods. In college he took several long trips in the New England and New York backwoods; then a walking trip across Sicily and much of Italy as the beginning of a year on the Grand Tour; then a trip far out on the Oregon Trail, where he traveled as a guest with the Sioux.

In later life Parkman was to attribute his variously described incapacitating illness to incidents on all three of these excursions. One way or another he always blamed his poor health on the strenuous life of his youth. What seems to have happened is that, at first casually in Sicily and Naples, and then in all its glory at the headwaters of the Missouri, he met his Id, and it was too much for him. The memory of the abandoned, dark-eyed signorine by the Porta Capuana and the naked Sioux belles disporting themselves in the Missouri prostrated him for the rest of his life.

The thesis of "France and England in North America" is that drinking, running around with women, rising late, and loafing in the woods must and should go down to defeat before the righteous onslaugh of the forty-eight-hour-day, the well-kept savings account, patriarchal domesticity, well-shined shoes, and cold baths. During the nineteenth century this was probably true, but the nineteenth century is a very brief period in the long history of man. It is doubtful whether this moral struggle had much to do with the defeat of France in the New World. French America was lost in Europe.

Parkman was horrified and also fascinated not only by Frenchmen but by other Europeans. He speaks of the quasi-aristocratic Dutch on the upper Hudson as boors—aristocrats of course are always pretty boorish in the eyes of merchants. That thoroughly feudal personality of his period, Sir William Johnson, the "Father of the Iroquois," he looks on as nothing but a rascal. He never mentions the Quakers without losing his temper over their obstinacy and pacifism. The type that wins is the go-getter.

RECENTLY we have seen in American history "the rehabilitation of the business community." The business community is the avowed hero of Parkman's history. In his pages appear the archetypes of the nineteenth-century robber barons and the twentieth-century hypomanics who grace the covers of the news weeklies and who, alas, to judge by the news weeklies, rule the United States.

But Parkman didn't break down and become a life-long neurotic because he was a good business man. He was a man in profound conflict with himself. Again like Milton, his heroes are unconvincing and his villains are heroic. Except at the top, where no sane men want to be, it is doubtful whether the Puritan tradition has really been as decisive in American culture as the scholars of Yale and Harvard would like us to believe. I was born a stone's throw from the La Salle monument in South Bend, Indiana. In my childhood we fished in the rivers of the voyageurs and took buggy trips to visit relatives in towns named Ligo-

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nier and Vincennes. There were family reunions in the heart of the Miami Indian country. The dialect poet, Drummond, visited my grammar school and recited his doggerel tales of the "river French" of the Middle West. In adolescence I took a canoe trip down the Kankakee River, past villages whose *habitants* spoke only French, and another down the Mississippi from Prairie de Chien to St. Louis, past river shanties where pearl fishermen and lotus pickers were named Sublette, Le Sueur, and Des Larieurs, and where the mansions on the hills were occupied by their richer relatives.

All Americans are not those monsters portrayed by Artzybasheff, men who rise at 4 a. m. and bring home a briefcase full of homework at 3 a. m. the next morning. The systematic conquest of the old Northwest by red-coated soldiers and land speculators has moved few boyish hearts, even in New England. But the story of the boats of Champlain poking their way into the dark leafy wilderness, the heroic death of Father Jogues, the pathetic death of La Salle, the joyful portages of Marquette and Joliet—even the cognac, riot, and abandoned women in besieged Montreal—are as moving as the tribulations and defiances of Milton's Satan. And these traditions are still powerful, however quiet, in the land.

It is the spiritual conflict in the author, as well as his reading of history as a war between two basic types of personality, which gives Parkman's work its power. The archetypal struggle gives it epic character. The personal conflict gives it the intricacy and ambiguity of a psychological novel. The real subject and background—redskins, redcoats, and chevaliers—give it the fanfare of high romance.

PARKMAN is very far from being a Homer or a Proust or even a Scott, but he does combine—perhaps in cheaper colors but on a canvas of tremendous scope—the virtues of all three. I first read Parkman with a chill along my scalp when I was but in skirts—or at least in short pants—and I've read him all several times since. Opening Morison's "Reader" to the map of Quebec and seeing the caption "The Plains of Abraham" and the words of Montcalm and Wolfe, the same old chill comes back.

Near the end of the last volume of his history, "The Conspiracy of Pontiac," in words that echo Melville, Parkman sums up the real, not the putative, moral of his life work:

> . . . To him who has once tasted the reckless independence, the haughty self-reliance, the sense of irresponsible freedom, which the forest life engenders, civilization thenceforth seems flat and stale. Its pleasures are insipid, its pursuits wearisome, its conventionalities, duties, and mutual dependence alike tedious and disgusting. The entrapped wanderer grows fierce and restless, and pants for breathing-room. His path, it is true, was choked with difficulties, but his body and soul were hardened to meet them; it was beset with dangers, but these were the very spice of his life, gladdening his heart with exulting self-confidence and sending the blood through his veins with a livelier current. The wilderness, rough, harsh, and inexorable, has charms more potent in their seductive influence than all the lures of luxury and sloth. And often he on whom it has cast its magic finds no heart to dissolve the spell, and remains a wanderer and an Ishmaelite to the hour of his death.

Mr. Morison does not include this passage or anything like it in his selection.

Ovid's Authentic Charm

OVID: METAMORPHOSES. Translated by Rolfe Humphries. Indiana University Press. $3.95, cloth; $1.75, paper.

By Richmond Lattimore

MR. HUMPHRIES'S talents as a translator are simple, admirable, and easily stated. He handles a rapid, fluent iambic line which carries the reader along at a good pace, sometimes seems to pitch him headlong, and yet will stand analysis without disintegrating. His ear is good, though not flawless. He reads as if he had not only written fast poetry but written it fast. Sometimes he has forgotten to count his feet, or his syllables, or counted them wrong, joggles his reader or makes him stumble. The whole effect of this English poem is a little rough; the rhetorical and metrical finesse, the precision, is gone, partly because the language *is* English but partly because it is Mr. Humphries's English.

At the same time the translation is less often sticky and prolix than the original. The construing is faithful enough to satisfy most; the cost of the shorter, faster line is some meaning and some structure lost. The English is also far less literary than the Latin; when the translator tries to be racy as well as informal he seldom improves matters. But faults of taste, faults of ear, sense, and architecture, are made up for by the simple speed which makes most readable what a more ambitious translation might make, or has made, unreadable. Better still, there are bursts of sheer lyric poetry.

Though in some ways so different, Mr. Humphries pretty well answers to the ups and downs, charms, astonishments, repulsions, fustians, sentimentalities, and constant storytelling skill of Ovid. He writes badly, I think, where Ovid does. There are passages, like the battle scenes with Perseus and with the Centaurs, which he has said he found "sadistic"; he obviously does not like them, and he does not do them well, but for these frozen horrors—not so much sadistic as tastelessly rhetorical, ghastly and unbelieved woundings no two alike—Ovid is fully responsible. More depressing, to me, is the picture of men, women, and gods which comes out of the first half. All Ovid's charm is needed, and all his translator's, to mitigate the reader's growing disgust with these brutal assaults and vengeances by vicious and stupid gods: in the glades of Arcady a Jupiter with the brain and morals of a sex maniac lurks behind every tree, and Diana and Minerva are less swinish only to be still more cruel. Yet again the charm comes out, in the large, as in the truly moving story of Philemon and Baucis and a Jupiter finally grown

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up, or in Achelous remembering his wrestle with Hercules, so robust and human by contrast with the preposterous horrors of the weapon fights. And charm is there in detail, in metamorphosis, the living metaphor, the true stuff of lyric. The charm can lapse. "I am driven," so ponders Ocyrhoe, "To canter over meadows, and for food/Grass is my craving." Better, for instance, is the change of Phaethon's sisters:

> And then the bark closed over
> The last words each one said, but still their tears
> Kept flowing down. till, hardened in the sunlight,
> They turned to amber, and the shining river
> Receives them, bears them on, to be the jewels
> Of Roman brides, hereafter.

Best of all are the occasional magnificences, seldom a part of the main theme, that burst almost by accident along the trail of the story:

> Atlas, Iapetus' offspring
> Loomed over all men in his great bulk of body.
> He ruled this land and the sea whose waters take
> The Sun's tired horses and the weary wheels
> At the long day's end.
>
> And when the horses
> Feel them across their backs, and none to check them,
> Bolting, they charge the air of unknown regions,
> Wherever impulse hurls them, lawless, crashing
> Against high stars.

This seems to me to be true translation, and true poetry.

Both Freedom and Planning

THE CHALLENGE OF SCANDINAVIA. By William L. Shirer. Little, Brown and Company. $5.

By Donald J. Blake

WILLIAM L. SHIRER'S Scandinavian diary is filled to the brim with facts, figures, and general information about the northern democracies of Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and Finland presented in digestible and highly readable form. Against a background of geography, resources, and history, the author describes the experiences of each of the four countries in the recent war and the current situation in terms of defense, alliances, and global strategy. On the civilian front he investigates parties and politics and economies—including labor-management relations, the co-ops, private and government enterprise, housing, social welfare, and taxes. He also takes up what he calls "the prevalence of culture"—the important place of education, the arts, literature, the theater, and music in modern Scandinavia.

Shirer is at his best when he recounts the fast-moving events of the war. Once again we are led through the Nazi attack on Norway and Denmark and the nightmare of the war in Finland. Much of this is familiar, but it is told with an eye to the whole. Some of the material on Denmark and Finland is probably new to American readers. Shirer tells the story of the Danish ambassador in Washington, Henrik Kauffman, who made it possible for the Americans to utilize Greenland during the war—despite the attempts of the "free" Danish government in occupied Copenhagen to repudiate the agreement. He gives the essence of the Finns' position between their Soviet foes and their Nazi "allies."

Though Shirer reminds himself and his readers that he is trying to be "fair," his inability to understand the Swedish point of view shows through. He tells us how the Swedes maneuvered with infinite dexterity—and uncommonly good luck—to prevent being overrun. When they felt it necessary to make concessions, they did so—serious concessions greatly straining the quality of neutrality. As the tide turned and Nazi power ebbed, they were able to resist Hitler's demands. The "bad conscience" from which Shirer claims the Swedes suffered is not particularly appropriate. The facts presented indicate that Sweden contributed more aid to its Scandinavian neighbors than it could have as a combatant.

Perhaps a third of the book deals with the war and the related problem of NATO strategy in relation to Scandinavia. Shirer believes the Swedes are not being very realistic in staying out of the Atlantic Pact. He discusses the dilemma of Norway and Denmark, which though members of NATO cannot bring themselves to allow NATO forces to man bases on their soil. Had he examined more closely the pressures exerted by powerful allies on small countries, he might have come closer to understanding why Sweden has remained outside the pact. He cites a Dane as saying: "Sure, you will eventually liberate us . . . only this time there will be nothing left to liberate." Perhaps the Swedes suspect that this applies to the aid NATO might find it expedient to send if a member nation were expendable in the scheme of global strategy.

THE most impressive challenge in Mr. Shirer's view is the social welfare provided for Scandinavian citizens. Shirer tells exactly what the Scandinavian family gets in maternity and child care, health and medical insurance, pensions, and other benefits. He tells how the social-benefit systems work, what they cost, and how the costs are defrayed. More than this, he makes it clear that these schemes need not—and in Scandinavia, do not—mean restricting the freedom of the individual. Under the health-insurance programs, for example, the patient has his choice of doctor. Moreover, a basic desire for freedom is satisfied by making adequate health care a right and not a favor bestowed by the state on the needy.

Freedom, Shirer found, is not inconsistent with economic planning, Social Democratic governments, or strong labor unions—at least not in countries where labor accepts political and economic responsibility instead of resorting to pressure-group tactics. Political freedom, too, exists despite proximity to the Soviet Union. There is no hysteria. There are no witch hunts. Communist parties are treated—and defeated—democratically.

Understandably, perhaps, the book is weakest when it takes up Finland. In many ways Finland is inaccessible. Most of the material pertains

---

DONALD J. BLAKE was a resident of Sweden from 1950 to 1955. While there he lectured at the College of Business Administration in Stockholm and was chief of American broadcasts for the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation.

to the country's tragic fate during the recent war and its reconstruction under the burden of Russian reparations. This is well presented, and valuable as far as it goes. The discussion of the Finnish economy is inadequate. Finnish industry has developed enormously since the war to meet Soviet demands for industrial products. Although agriculture still accounted for the greatest number of gainfully employed persons—46.0 per cent in 1950—the figure had fallen from 57.4 per cent in 1940. The percentage of gainfully employed in mining, manufacturing, and construction increased from 18.6 per cent to 27.7 per cent in the same period. Practically all of this shift has occurred since 1945. This extraordinary rate of industrialization has caused economic and social dislocations of dimensions unprecedented in Scandinavia. Certainly the impact of this veritable industrial revolution deserves more thorough treatment.

Nevertheless, "Challenge of Scandinavia" is a worth-while book—worth-while because it deals intelligently with important facts, relationships, and—not least—ideas.

Memoirs of a Political Reporter

A PASSION FOR POLITICS: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF LOUIS BROWNLOW, FIRST HALF. University of Chicago Press. $7.50.

By George A. Graham

IF YOU are old enough to have known pre-automobile America and if you are fortunate enough to have lived and loved the typical small-town life of that day, this book will bring back the memory of scenes long forgotten. In recounting his experiences from a precarious childhood in an Ozark town through the years as a newspaper reporter and editor in Nashville, Louisville, New York, and Washington and as a feature writer traveling far and wide in search of material, this intense and gifted man brings the past to life. For the young who would like to know the America of the years before World War I, the book is a find.

The author's success in re-creating the past with all the freshness of this morning's newspaper may doubtless be attributed not only to his "photographic" memory but to the fact that it was his business at the time to reduce his observations to written words. Since it was also his habit to talk over the happenings of the day with a wide circle of friends, many of whom were politicians, it is very clear that Mr. Brownlow "was there" and "was looking" when political events occurred that are now found significant. He had his eye on politics—personalities, methods, systems, policies—when many of his contemporaries had their eyes on business. As a liberal Democrat he took sides in political campaigns from his earliest boyhood, but he also became aware of the dilemmas of public policy and the difficulties of implementation which are often ignored in political discussions. This sophistication gave depth and a measure of detachment to his reporting, and it led to a growing interest in administration, the great invisible underbody of the political iceberg.

Like a good serial, the story moves from climax to climax. In childhood and early life Brownlow was handicapped by poor health. He taught himself by reading everything he could lay his hand on, by prying into the life about him, by quizzing his elders, by listening and talking. His strength derived from a driving curiosity, a remarkable mind, and a personality that was more absorbed in the world and its affairs than in himself. Despite repeated setbacks he found increasing success and satisfaction in his career as a journalist. The first volume of his autobiography takes him to his appointment by President Woodrow Wilson to the governing Commission for the District of Columbia, which was to start him off on a new career as pioneer city manager and administrative reformer.

This is not an introspective autobiography. It shows us not Brownlow but the world as seen through the eyes of a man with zest for life and especially for politics.

GEORGE A. GRAHAM is a member of the Department of Politics of Princeton University.

Selected New Books

History and Biography

BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE CARIBBEAN. By Mary Proudfoot. Praeger. $8.50 This able and objective "comparative study in methods of development" is also a social, economic, and political guide to the British and American dependencies in the West Indies. Mrs. Proudfoot is economical with her conclusions, but she points out that the price of complete independence for these colonies would probably be greater poverty, since present living standards, low as they are, are partially underwritten by British and American taxpayers.

OLD MEN FORGET. The Autobiography of Duff Cooper (Viscount Norwich). Dutton. $5. In the first half of this book the author remembers a good deal that is not terribly important about his childhood, his career in the Foreign Office and Parliament, his social life, and his marriage to Lady Diana Manners. Duff Cooper's great hour came in 1938 when he resigned from the Chamberlain Cabinet in protest against appeasement. His story of the immediate pre-war period is a real contribution to history, and so is his account of his experiences as British representative with the French Committee of Liberation at Algiers and as post-war British ambassador in Paris.

BENT'S FORT. By David Lavender. Doubleday. $5.50. Charles Bent, who in 1832 built an adobe fort on the Arkansas which became the center of a huge trading enterprise, was no great hand with the pen; nor were his brothers or his associates. With the written records of their deeds so scanty, Mr. Lavender is compelled to qualify many of his statements with such words as "possibly," "probably," "almost certainly." Nevertheless, his account of an important phase in the opening of the Southwest is not only stirring but has the ring of truth.

GORDON OF KHARTOUM. By Lord Elton. Knopf. $6. The pompous, humorless, and long-winded biography of a soldier who ranks high among Victorian Britain's notable eccentrics. Intent on painting the portrait of a Christian hero, the author diligently rakes the ashes of long-cold controversies but shows a minimum of insight into the personality of a man who was clearly a schizophrenic genius.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Theater

Robert Hatch

THE adaptation of "The Trial" which is now being shown by Theater 12 at the Provincetown Playhouse is a skilful text, intelligently performed. Aaron Fine and Bert Greene have distilled as much from Kafka's novel as can well be brought to a stage—they fudge a little by supplying a narrator to bridge material they *can't* get on the stage—and the cast, notably Gordon Sterns as Joseph K., comes as close to meeting a reader's expectations as the illustrations in a novel ever do. Anyone in urgent need of a dramatization of "The Trial" will do well to rent this text and if possible engage this company.

But the question is why anyone should feel such a need; or, to put it another way, why so capable a group as Theater 12 should be impelled to so unpromising an enterprise. It seems to an outsider that the non-commercial theater has an enviable variety of dramatic material to choose from and need not strain to stage work never meant for the purpose. Perhaps "The Trial" has an odd box-office appeal in the sense that readers baffled by the novel will seek out the play in hope of enlightenment. They will be disappointed. The play is simpler to the extent that a great deal has been left out. But it is no clearer, and for all I know may be even more obscure.

For all I know, because I have by no means grasped all that Kafka intends to say in "The Trial." It seems to me likely that K.'s case is his life, that the verdict he seeks is vindication for having lived, and that the trial persists only because K. persists in asking a kind of spiritual assurance that the world does not at present provide. Also the novel is a foretaste of bureaucracy gone totalitarian, and it is couched—and couched with surprising brilliance—in the cloud-logic of a dream. But I am only a reader—not a student—of Kafka, and I recognize that there are levels of religious, psychological, and social comment in "The Trial" which elude me. I come back to the book because its virtuosity fascinates me and because K. is like a strange, half-familiar brother.

These attractions were dimmed in the play. It is clear, I guess, that the action simulates a dream, but Kafka's alarming insight into the mechanisms of all our dreams is gone. He establishes it in the novel with many precise small observations, often asides and unexpected juxtapositions, that cannot be preserved in direct dialogue and certainly cannot be translated into stage equipment. The novel contains two camps: K. and the people of his waking world—his housekeeper, his uncle, Fraeulein Burstner, the personnel at the bank, and so on—who are "real" even though seen in the askew mirror of a dream; and the officials and familiars of the court, who, though perhaps suggested by K.'s experiences, are not disciplined by his familiarity with their daytime deportment. The two groups behave differently, though the difference is often subtle, and this might have been indicated in the play but was not.

K. on the stage seems a particular man fighting for his physical freedom in the cruelest circumstances. The play, thus, swings toward the drama of protest, a style that dates almost as soon as it is written. The novel concerns deeper dissatisfactions and will not date at least in our epoch.

BEFORE another theater season comes into town it will do playwrights and the play public good to read Walter Kerr's "How Not to Write a Play." If nothing else, it will make them argue back, and that is therapeutic.

Mr. Kerr, drama critic for the New York *Herald Tribune*, is worried because the legitimate theater is dying. So are a great many other people, but none, to my knowledge, has offered so neat or striking a diagnosis of the sickness—Ibsen and Chekhov. These two playwrights, says Mr. Kerr, set the style for the theater of our day; it is an unpopular style because Ibsen and Chekhov deliberately spurned the broad public and addressed themselves to an elite. Inevitably they and their followers have driven the mass audience to more rewarding amusements; inevitably, also, the craft of playwriting has declined, for the minority theater is incapable of producing a great play.

This is startling information. Ibsen was not seeking wide support for his advanced social ideas, and "The Cherry Orchard" is not a great play. At least Mr. Kerr will not offend with platitudes.

The dramatists whom he admires are Sophocles, Shakespeare, and Moliere, and all three, he notes, wrote from the groundlings up. He urges contemporary writers for the stage to forsake their disdainful nineteenth-century models and be guided by the generous impulse of these more successful showmen. The advice is unassailable; it is an excellent thing to write like Sophocles, Shakespeare, and Moliere.

I cannot avoid the suspicion that Mr. Kerr has framed his overall diagnosis with an eye to its journalistic effect. When he gets down to details, he is more cogent and less spectacular. Ibsen started the fashion of the theater of social responsibility, in which burning issues crowd out living people; Chekhov fosters the cult of drama in limbo, in which the subtleties of character are lovingly evoked in a static situation. Without admitting that "A Doll's House" is without human interest or that "The Three Sisters" is devoid of movement, we may agree that the modern theater is on the one hand too hortatory and on the other too moody.

As he gets farther along in his analysis, Mr. Kerr brings in other factors that are less attributable to Ibsen and Chekhov than to the temper of the time: that Ibsen and Chekhov—to say nothing of Shakespeare, Sophocles, and Moliere—were somewhat the product of *their* times is a point he never considers. Our theater has been too much concerned with actuality—with speech that could pass as well in an office as on a stage, with real eggs cooked on a real stove and eaten with real satisfaction. This, as he says truly, slows the show to a laggard pace—in two hours of theater you get two hours of life and that, from the viewpoint of entertainment, is not much.

It puts value on identity instead of general recognition and ignores the fact that art is the selecting and heightening of experience.

As a reaction against the over-specific, we have sometimes fallen back on allegory. But morality plays are not natural to us, we do not really think in these primitive abstractions; so we must hide our Vices and Virtues in plausible commonplaces: Death is known as Mr. Smith and carries a large train dispatcher's watch; he talks, however, in cosmic platitudes suitable to his real identity. Thus we make a great mystery of our little mysteries.

Mr. Kerr raises other points—the reverse plotting of the "well-made play," the fear of change and particularly of violent on-stage action, the contempt for exciting incident, and so on—all of which undoubtedly contribute to the ennui of the present theater. Above all, he says, the stage now needs to recapture its trust in the shorthand of conventions and must invent a language that is at once economical and richly evocative. Prose will serve novelists who have the leisure to mold their effects. But the playwright has no time: the theater is—or should be—a full gallop from 8:40 to 11:00. The solution is obviously verse, and Mr. Kerr's parting advice is that the theater should return to dramatic poetry. Our playwrights must become once more instinctive poets, intoxicated by the panorama of life, composing for the pleasure they take and the pleasure they give, appealing to the broadest appetites. They may be vulgar and they may be banal, but if this course is persisted in the audience will return, and the theater, securely rooted in majority approval, will again put out fabulous fruit.

Well, perhaps, though it sounds over simple. I doubt that any playwright can act on the advice to be universal; just as I doubt that Ibsen and Chekhov meant to snub the populace. Circumstances dictate a great deal. At any rate, a writer with a good story to tell and the gusto for telling it is always welcome on Broadway. Mr. Kerr wants more of them and so do we all.

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Records

B. H. Haggin

SOMEONE who can't afford the cost of the equipment I described last week can have sound of fine quality by getting the 12-watt Brociner Mark-12 ($98.25), with amplifier and preamplifier in one small chassis, and the Bozak 207-A speaker-combination ($76.50), retaining the Fairchild cartridge ($37.50) arm ($29.50) and Thorens motor ($59). For its 207-A Bozak makes a cabinet, the E-300 ($75), with an interior space of 5 cubic feet, which Bozak now gives as the minimum for the 12-inch woofer. But my experts adhere to the earlier Bozak minimum of 6 cubic feet; and anyone who can, should make or have made a cabinet of the infinite-baffle type I described last week, with an interior space of that minimum amount. For what those experts describe as "resistive acoustic back-loading of the speaker-cone" they recommend that a piece of 1-inch thick, ¾-pound density Aerocor Fiberglas be stapled across the speaker-frame with a hole cut out for the speaker-magnet, and that a 1-by-4-yard piece of the Fiberglas be cut into pieces approximately 3 inches square, with which the interior of the cabinet should be lightly filled (they recommend Fiberglas because of its even absorptive rate at different frequencies). Cost of components without speaker-cabinet approximately $300, or $337 with second cartridge for 78 rpm.

Further savings—with inevitable lessening of quality, but not below the level of good sound—can be made by substituting one or more of the following: the new 10-watt Brociner Mark-10 amplifier ($75), which astonished me with the way it sounded; the Altec-Lansing 600-B speaker ($42), or the G.E. Al-400 ($41) (which I haven't heard but which has been reliably recommended); and last of all the G.E. cartridge with diamond stylus ($20), which can be used with the Livingston Universal arm ($18.75) if one intends to use only the LP cartridge, or with the Clarkstan 213 arm ($22) if one intends to use a second cartridge for 78s. The motor remains the Thorens; and the speaker goes into an 8- or at the very least 6-cubic-foot cabinet either lined with Fiberglas or filled with whatever amount the manufacturer of the speaker considers correct for speaker and size of cabinet. Cost of components, with all the substitutions, approximately $215, or $238 with two cartridges (I advise against the dual-stylus cartridge).

That seems to me to be the minimum cost of the minimum good in sound. Concerning anything less I have no personal knowledge, and can only mention that a Cambridge reader, who I think can be believed, reported hearing an assemblage he found surprising for its low cost of approximately $120 for these components: the Radio Shack (Boston) Realist amplifier, G.E. dual-stylus cartridge in a Livingston arm, G.I. 3-speed motor, and RCA SL-12 speaker.

The same reader reports that the Radio Shack Realist ($40) is a good

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moderate-priced FM tuner. And I can report that the Harmon-Kardon A-100 ($59.50) or A-200 ($69.50 for better-looking chassis) is a good moderate-priced AM-FM tuner; and that the A-400 ($89.50) is as good an FM tuner.

This seems to me the right point to speak with enthusiasm of Vox DL-130, "This Is High Fidelity," comprising a booklet written by Tyler Turner and a record on which he lets the reader hear some of the things he speaks of. I am enthusiastic about the way he presents much of the material on the record: when he tells the reader-listener perfectly reproduced sound requires a wide frequency-range that is correctly balanced he lets him hear in reproduced passages of music the effect of narrowing and widening the range, the effect of treble with insufficient and then sufficient bass, of bass with insufficient and then sufficient treble, the effect of peaks at various points in the range and of smoothing out these peaks. And if I am less enthusiastic about his demonstration that the wide frequency-range must be free of distortion, it is because here for the most part he doesn't use the same admirable method of presentation: only in two instances does he let the reader-listener hear the distorted sound and then the sound free of distortion; in the others he presents only the sound free of the distortion he describes in words, without letting the reader-listener hear also the same sound distorted in the described way.

The record further illustrates some of the material in the booklet about the nature of sound and the way a performance is recorded; in addition it demonstrates the sounds of the entire orchestra, each of its component groups of strings, brass, and woodwinds, and each instrument in the group. And the booklet concludes with a section on reproducing equipment which is of little practical value to the ordinary reader even when it is correct. There is no use in telling him that a sapphire stylus should be changed occasionally because the damaging wear progresses quickly and undetected: he has to be told after how many hours' use or after how many 12-inch sides it should be changed. There is no use in telling him to try out and compare components under all sonic conditions and at great length in stores where the conditions for correct and sufficient testing and comparison usually don't exist—where, that is, components may be faultily connected (not always by accident), other customers are waiting to get at these components or are trying others, and salesmen are exerting pressures on behalf of what they want to sell (an engineer told me of being in stores and standing by in horror and rage at the atrocious-sounding equipment that salesmen were pressuring their bewildered customers into buying). What the reader needs is specific recommendations of components; and even then he will have to fortify himself to withstand the salesman's pressure to buy others.

Letters

(Continued from inside front cover)

all civilized lands, and to substitute for it the concepts against which we and Americans fought together when the Nazis and the Japanese militarists threatened all we hold dear. The vast majority of my countrymen certainly do not believe that the American people will allow their reason and courage to be submerged as those of the Germans and Japanese once were.

SOONG CHING LING
Shanghai (Madame Sun Yat-sen)

More on Guatemala

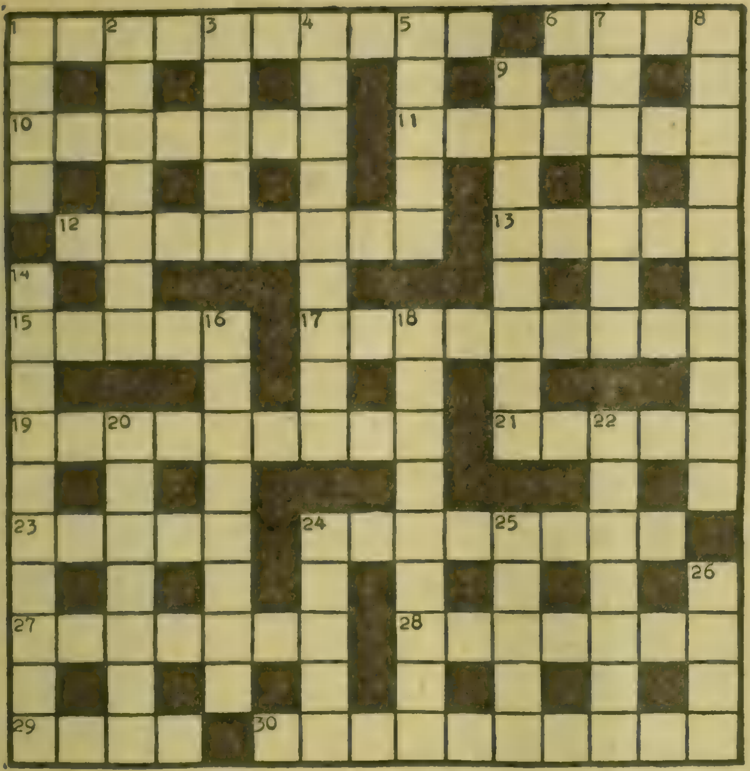
Dear Sirs: David Graham's otherwise lucid piece on the state of affairs in Guatemala in the May 21 issue contains one statement which should not be permitted to pass unchallenged: "Fortunately for Guatemala, Castillo Armas seems honest and conscientious."

One of Castillo's first acts after being lifted into power by the United States Department of State was to invite discussions with several large independent and three monopoly oil companies. Geologists who have prowled the country have long been convinced that Guatemala is a potential Venezuela. Several hundred million dollars is all that is needed to level the jungles and bring the dream of black gold to reality. The paltry hand-out Castillo Armas needs to avert national starvation and rebellion is only the immediate goal of this "honest and conscientious" statesman. He is interested in bigger loot. And Standard of Ohio looks like the fattest uncle—better than official Sam.

Mexico, D. F. JOHN BRIGHT

Crossword Puzzle No. 626

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Doze in front of the family circle at table, perhaps. (6,4)

[illegible] See 26 down.

10 Where one might dig up an automobile? (7)

11 Such things should roar for a long time in the rank. (7)

12 Ties up a person in music, no doubt. (8)

13 Samurai, not as changed as an actor. (5)

15 Tips, but not of the toes! (5)

17 Settles, as an unexciting version. (9)

19 Did his stories take 144 minutes to tell? (9)

21 See 4 down.

23 Nothing before a sort of 10 with propellers. (5)

24 Fix? (It's rather useless, sometimes.) (4,4)

27 They might follow an act or scene. (7)

28 Never in a soothing syrup, certainly! (7)

29 and 9 down What might make an hour fly? Sleep! (It's inviting, too.) (4,8)

30 Tell the one who did without bowing! (4,3,3)

DOWN

1 Sounds like a pinging in the shaft, perhaps. (4)

2 Equal share? 29 and 9 to food! (7)

3 I'd get sick inside when it comes up with the story. (5)

4 and 21 Unfortunately, this puts joints in a swell condition. (9,5)

5 and 18 Sheer fabrication! (5, 9)

7 One sort of leaves 11 in ■ preceding but uplifted condition. (7)

8 Do they swear before someone, or just appear before him? (10)

9 See 29 across.

14 A distinguishing peculiarity. (10)

16 Prescribed colors? (8)

18 See 5 down.

20 Sheepskin. (7)

22 Cover clearly or speciously. (7)

24 Mates, in a social rather than diplomatic sense now. (5)

25 Throw out of joint, when it comes to a sense of value. (5)

26 and 6 Turn over the palm? A doctor might advise it! (4,4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 625

ACROSS: 1 MIDGET; 4 ADJUTANT; 10 RAWHIDE; 11 AMIABLE; 12 and 29 across MATCH POINT; 13 RAN; 14 NIECE; 15 ARENA; 17 BACK-BITE; 21 FULL WELL; 28 OHM; 30 FIGMENT; 31 IMAGINE; 32 SATIATED; 33 LOGGIA DOWN: 1 MARIMBAS; 2 and 5 DOWN THE DRAIN; 3 EDITH; 6 and 26 UNION CARDS; 7 AMBIENT; 9 BEARABLE; 16 ALL; 18, 8, 28 down, 23 COLUMBIA THE GEM OF THE OCEAN; 19 BOO; 20 ANATHEMA; 22 and 29 UPRIGHT PIANO; 24 ELIDING; 25 SCUFFS; 27 SHEBA.

Readers are invited to send for [illegible] free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests [illegible] Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York

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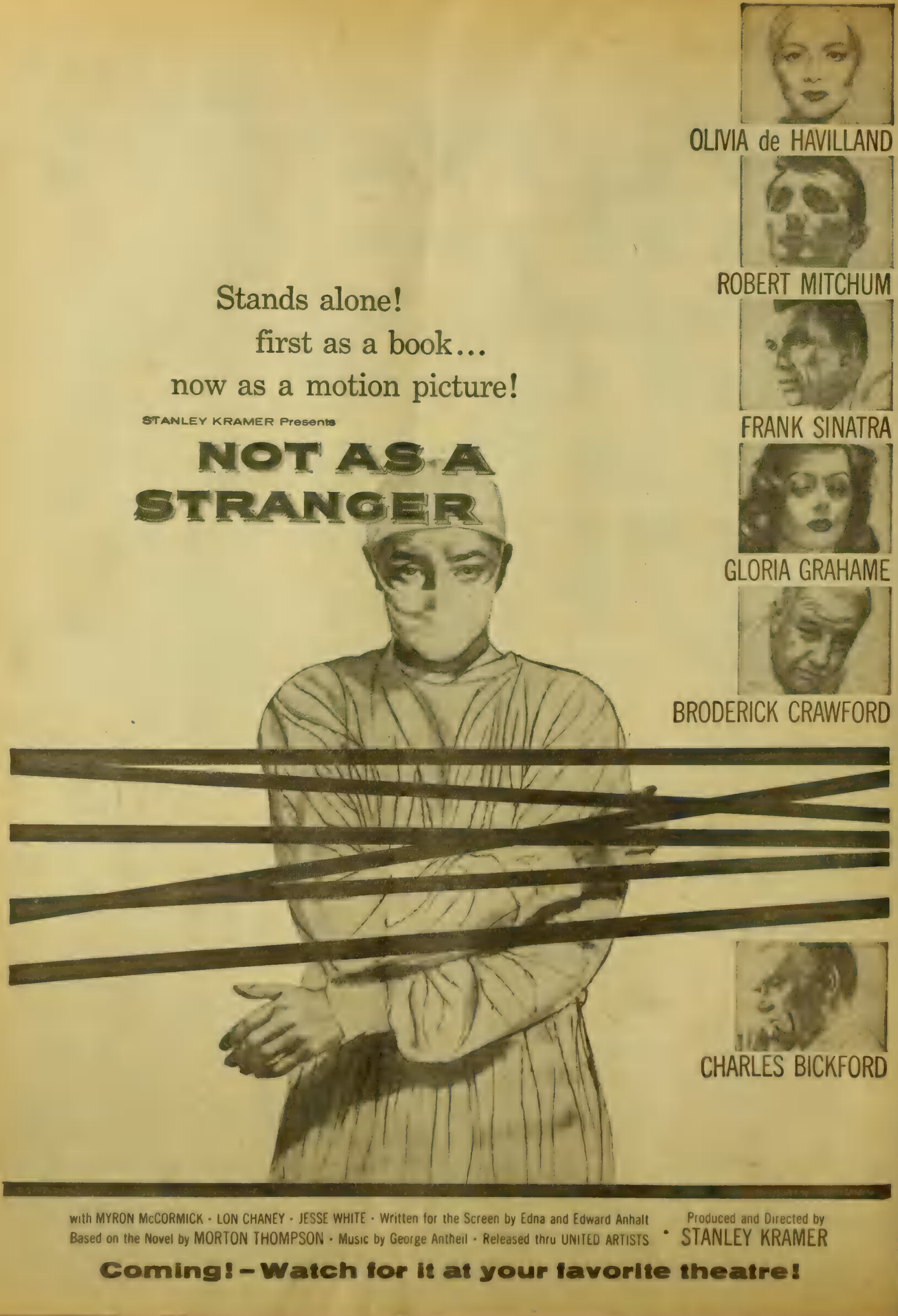

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THE *Nation*

July 9, 1955

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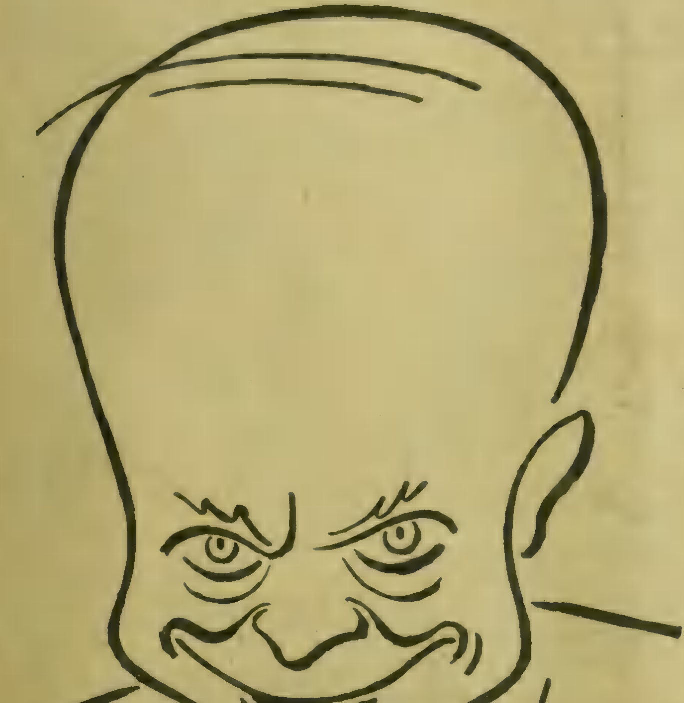
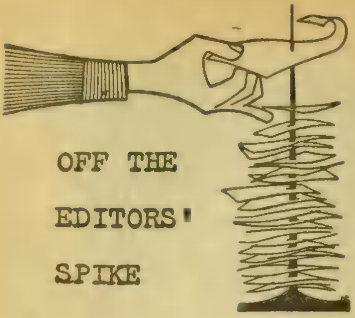


Geneva and The Ike We Like

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865



OFF THE EDITORS' SPIKE

A NUMBER of touching or amusing items landed on the editor's desk in the course of *The Nation's* ninetieth birthday celebration, whose grand finale is reported in a supplement to this issue. One that loosed a flood of nostalgic recollections was a postcard from Paris which read: "Very best congratulations and thanks for all your grand work for PEACE from an old friend, Muriel MacSweeney (Mrs. Terence MacSweeney), New York, 1920-21." To *Nation* veterans the greeting recalled a romantic episode in one of the paper's most militant and successful campaigns.

The best way to tell the story is to lift a bit from Oswald Garrison Villard's autobiography, "Fighting Years." In 1920 *The Nation* set up a commission to investigate and report to the world on "the bloody rule of the Black and Tans"—the British military forces in Ireland. Said Mr. Villard:

> We were able to start the commission off in a most dramatic way by bringing to the United States the sister and widow of Terence MacSweeney, the young Lord Mayor of Cork, who had starved himself to death in a hunger strike in prison as a protest against the British misrule. With marvelous fortitude, superhuman endurance, he lived an incredible seventy-four days, suffering tortures beyond purgatory, giving his life for his country as nobly as any soldier who ever wore His Majesty's uniform. . . . Muriel MacSweeney, the Lord Mayor's widow, turned out to be the ideal person for the role she was called upon to play. No one could have been more charming or more tactful or quicker to understand the situation. Young, slim, pretty, with lovely gray eyes, dressed in deep mourning, she was greeted at the steamer by a committee representing The Nation and the commission and escorted by a procession of 10,000 people to the St. Regis Hotel. The police could hardly control the enthusiastic crowds at the pier. Wherever she went she was recognized and followed. When she tried to make purchases in the stores she was all but crushed by the shop-girls and shoppers. . . .

The picture of her in Mr. Villard's book shows her just as pretty as he says she was. And now, thirty-five years later, comes a greeting from that same Muriel MacSweeney to remind us of old battles—fought and sometimes won.

ANOTHER NOTE, this from a subscriber registering a change of address, carried an echo from a time still more remote. After disposing of her business, our correspondent added a P. S.: "During my first visit to Florence I stayed in a pension conducted by the sister of Mr. Godkin, the first Editor of *The Nation*. She was a fine old brilliant Irish lady." A brief item, and one that makes us wish we knew more.

BY SHEER ACCIDENT some letters that might have come straight out of *The Nation's* files—if our files went back that far—were discovered stored away among the effects of a Philadelphia gentleman who recently died. The relative who unearthed them and sent them to the present editor had no idea how they had found their way to a Philadelphia attic store room. They were written between the years 1870 and 1875, most of them to Wendell Phillips Garrison, a few to Mr. Godkin. What fascinated us, in addition to the ornate Victorian letterheads and the fine Victorian penmanship (only one or two were typewritten), was the proof they provided that time does not alter the nature of correspondents—or, apparently, of editors. A few fragments will illustrate:

> June 4, 1875
>
> The Editor of The Nation
>
> Dear Sir: If not asking too much I should feel greatly obliged if you would insert the inclosed in the next number of your paper. Such statements as were made by your correspondent on page 375 of the current number are calculated to do mischief, and are utterly unreliable. . . .

> New York, 187—
>
> Dear Sir: Mr. Nate Morgan presents his compliments to the editor of The Nation and begs to thank him for a very just criticism on his cartoons made during the late political campaign, but at the same time he cannot help expressing his surprise that the editor of The Nation should be one of the last men in the U. S. of America to discover that he (Mr. Nate Morgan) was working in favor of the election of Grant. . . .

> Salem, Massachusetts
> January 10, 1873
>
> My dear Sir: I return proof received this noon with congratulations on your having so good a printer. I have only caught him in four or five places. I see you had to cut down my copy considerably. You should have given me a limit. . . .

> London, January 23, 1875
>
> To the Editor of The Nation:
>
> In your necrology for the year 1874 you give the name of our late Minister in Bolivia as Gen'l John T. "Cuxton," whereas it should be Gen'l John T. Croxton. As this gentleman was a true patriot, a good citizen, an accomplished scholar, and a most gallant soldier whose merits were only surpassed by his modesty, I venture to call your attention to the curious manner in which you have misprinted his name.

> (No date)
>
> Dear Godkin: I inclose a puff of the "Warren Cooker." It is a blessing to housekeepers and ought to be known. My Sunday dinner of roast goose and apple dumpling was so perfectly cooked yesterday that I could not forbear writing a good word for the benefit of all concerned.

> New Haven, 23 Nov. 1872
>
> Dear Sir: Inclosed please find my remarks upon Mr. Tuckerman's book. . . . I hope the proofreader will be careful of the corrections in spelling and I will ask him to give a small m to metopes and metropes and a small k to kleft and klepht on p. 4.

An interesting fact about these letters is that they antedate every letter which appeared in the volume "Letters and Memorials of Wendell Phillips Garrison," published in 1908, the year following his death. It makes us wonder how many more—and more important—records of the early days of *The Nation* lie buried in unknown attics.

OUR last item, a small one dated no longer ago than June 19, 1955, gave us pause. It appears under the heading "Today's Events" in the Waldorf-Astoria *Daily Bulletin* and reads simply: "The Notion Associates . . . Dinner, Grand Ballroom, 6 p. m."

FREDA KIRCHWEY

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 9, 1955
VOLUME 181, NUMBER 2

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

From Guildhall to Geneva

IN THE wake of the United Nations commemorative sessions the refound "spirit of San Francisco" has given fresh impetus to popular hopes and aspirations for the success of the coming Big Four conference in Geneva. Prior to the San Francisco meeting Administration spokesmen had looked, acted, and spoken as though the crime of the year were to raise the slightest favorable expectation in relation to Geneva. But since San Francisco and the significant rejection by the Senate of Senator McCarthy's proposal to scuttle the Geneva conference, the commentators have been deluging the President with unsolicited advice as to the attitudes he should or should not adopt when he sets off to meet the other three "at the summit."

Since nearly every organ of opinion has been heard, the feeling prevailed around *The Nation* office that we too might tender some unsolicited advice. No conference of the post-war period is of greater moment, we suspect, than the one that will take place in Geneva. The time for negotiation has clearly arrived; on this there is nearly universal agreement. Not even Senator Knowland rejects this assumption. Never during the post-war period have general conditions been more favorable for the success of a conference at the summit. Some of the power vacuums have been filled; stalemates have been ended in situations that at earlier conferences could not be resolved; the right wing of the Republican Party has been brought to heel and significant changes have taken place in the relationships and attitudes of the principal governments.

WHAT is important is not so much that the Geneva conference should succeed as that it should not be permitted to fail: that it should lead, logically and naturally, to a series of conferences and negotiations which will produce agreements across which, as bridges, the peoples of the world can escape from the narrow islands of fear to broad plains of understanding and accommodation.

The attitude of President Eisenhower is likely to be one of the key factors which will determine what happens at Geneva. So it is to the President, not to Mr. Dulles, that we address ourselves. Low's delightful cartoon of Mr. Dulles's trainers urging him to show more "flexibility" as he steps on the tennis court to meet Mr. Molotov accurately reflects the general feeling that the American Secretary of State is determined to be unyielding despite a marked relaxation in the domestic political temper. For our part we would feel more confident of the outcome if Senator George, not Mr. Dulles, were to be the principal American negotiator.

But we do have confidence in the President's will to peace. We did not support the President in 1952; we are not likely to support him in 1956; and we have been consistently critical of his domestic program and, on many counts, of his Administration's handling of foreign affairs. But on one point we are grateful to the President, namely, for his timely personal interventions in behalf of peace and for the general moderation which he has shown in every crisis of sufficient gravity to come to his direct attention. Although the full records are not available, it seems clear that it was the President's intervention which prevented an "air strike" by American carrier-based planes during the siege of Dien Bien Phu. It was at the President's personal direction that American carriers were ordered to withdraw from positions dangerously close to the China coast during last summer's flare-up, when a British passenger plane was shot down and American planes in turn shot down two Chinese MIGs. It was the President, again, who from his Denver summer headquarters, decided against more active intervention last September when the Formosa crisis began to acquire a new and critical urgency; and, more recently, in the excitement over Quemoy and Matsu, it was the President who within nine days brought about a change of mood in Washington properly described by the B.B.C. correspondent as one of the most remarkable of its kind in the turbulent post-war period.

On April 17 it looked as though active intervention in Formosa was very near; nine days later the President was calmly chatting with reporters about a "sixth sense" which told him that there would be no war and expressing confidence that his old war companion, Marshal Zhukov, was devoted to good relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. Doubtless pressure of American public opinion had a great deal to do with this change of mood; but as consistent political critics of the President we must say that his conciliatory attitude—note an exception for the unfortunate statements which preceded the Joint Resolution on Formosa—was an important factor.

We have confidence, therefore, on the basis of his past performance, that the President will carry to Geneva the general attitudes and outlook necessary to insure the success of the conference.

But there are other reasons for our belief in the President's will to peace. If there is one element that

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stands out impressively in Bela Kornitzer's drab-dull account of the Brothers Eisenhower ("The Great American Heritage"), it is the importance of the River Brethren tradition in the Eisenhower family. This religious tradition was without doubt the most powerful single influence upon the President and his brothers in their formative years. According to Earl Eisenhower, the word "hate" was never mentioned in the family. "Of course," he says, "we were taught to hate evil. But you never hated people. You might get angry with them; you might think they were wrong; you might pity them; but you never hated them." It is this tradition, in conjunction with related personality traits, that doubtless accounts for the fact that the President has always been the least "military" of professional soldiers. It is this tradition which made his "peace speech" delivered before the American Society of Newspaper Editors on April 16, 1953, one of his few memorable utterances.

BUT IT was in his Guildhall speech, delivered July 12, 1945, on the occasion of the presentation to him of the freedom of the City of London, that the President gave clearest expression not merely to his deeply felt will to peace but to the basic friendliness and good-will which he exudes with a consistency that tends occasionally to be monotonous. Our advice to him, therefore, as he prepares for the Geneva conference, is to reread his Guildhall speech, the greatest of his career. It is the spirit of this speech which we should like to see reflected at the Geneva conference. Here is the Ike we like: his detestation of war and violence, his humility, his genuine sense of social democracy, his liking for people—all kinds of people—and his faith in the universality of human nature. The bonds between Abilene, Kansas, and London, England, are closer and more natural than those between Abilene and Moscow—but these, too, exist. As the President said then, when two peoples face the tragedy of war to defend the same values, they become truly related—"sisters under the skin"—in the deepest sense, whether they like the idea or not and despite the fact that neither cares to acknowledge the relationship. On three occasions in the past Americans have "discovered" the Russia of the Soviets: in the first post-revolutionary explorations of Steffens, Albert Rhys Williams, and their colleagues; in the spate of books and articles that appeared in the early 1930's after Washington had recognized the Soviet Union; and in a wealth of fine reporting, like that of the late Richard Lauterbach and others, that came with World War II. Of recent weeks, with the greater liberality in the granting of Soviet visas, Americans are beginning once again to "rediscover" Russia, and of course the rediscovery is basically the same, namely, that the Russians are human beings. The President has known this all along. If he will act at Geneva in the spirit of Guildhall, he will succeed in drawing the farms and plains of the Soviet Union a little nearer to the farms of Kansas and the plains of Texas. It is with this in mind that we herewith reprint the historic Guildhall speech.

Guildhall Address . . *by Dwight D. Eisenhower*

[This speech was delivered by the then General Eisenhower almost exactly a decade ago—on July 12, 1945—upon the occasion of the presentation to him of the freedom of the City of London.]

HUMILITY must always be the portion of any man who receives acclaim earned by the blood of his followers and the sacrifices of his friends.

Conceivably a commander may have been professionally superior. He may have given everything of his heart and mind to meet the spiritual and physical needs of his comrades. He may have written a chapter that will glow forever in the pages of military history.

Still, even such a man—if he existed—would sadly face the fact that his honors cannot hide in his memories the crosses marking the resting places of the dead. They cannot soothe the anguish of the widow or the orphan.

A commander can receive satisfaction from the tributes of his friends only by humbly acknowledging that no matter how unworthy he may be, his position is the symbol of great human forces that have labored arduously and successfully for a righteous cause. Unless he feels this symbolism and the rightness of what he has tried to do, he is disregarding the courage, fortitude, and devotion of the vast multitudes he has been honored to command. If all Allied men and women that have served with me in this war can only know that it is they whom this august assemblage is really honoring today, then indeed I will be content.

The feeling of humility cannot erase of course my great pride in being tendered the freedom of London. I am not a native of this land. I come from the very heart of America. In the superficial aspects by which we ordinarily recognize family relationships, the town where I was born and the one where I was reared are far separated from this great city. Abilene, Kansas, and Denison, Texas, would together equal in size possibly one five-hundredth of great London.

By your standards those towns are young, without your aged traditions that carry the roots of London back into the uncertainties of unrecorded history. To those people I am proud to belong.

But I find myself today five thousand miles from that countryside, the honored guest of a city whose name stands for grandeur and size throughout the world. Hardly would it seem possible for the London Council to have gone further afield to find a man to honor with its priceless gift of token citizenship.

Yet kinship among nations is not determined in such measurements as proximity of size and age. Rather we should turn to those inner things—call them what you will—those intangibles that are the real treasures free men possess.

To preserve his freedom of worship, his equality before the law, his liberty to speak and act as he sees fit, subject only to provisions that he trespass not upon similar rights of others—a Londoner will fight. So will a citizen of Abilene. When we consider these things, then the valley of the Thames draws closer to the farms of Kansas and the plains of Texas.

To my mind it is clear that when two peoples will face the tragedy of war to defend the same spiritual values, the same treasured rights, then in the deepest sense those two are truly related. So even as I proclaim my undying Amricanism, I am bold enough and exceedingly proud to claim the basis of kinship to you of London.

What man who has followed the history of this war could fail to experience an inspiration from the example of this city? When the British Empire stood alone but unconquered, almost naked but unafraid to defy the Hitler hordes, it was against this devoted city that the first terroristic blows were struck. Five years and eight months of war, blitzes big and little, flying V-bombs—all of them you took in your stride. You worked, and from your efforts you would not be deterred. You carried on, and uttered no cry for mercy, no wail of defeat. The Battle of Britain will take its place as another of your deathless traditions. And your faith and endurance have finally been rewarded.

You had been more than two years in war when Americans in numbers began swarming into your country. Most were mentally unprepared for the realities of war—especially as waged by the Nazis. Others believed that the tales of British sacrifice had been exaggerated. Still others failed to recognize the difficulties of the task ahead.

All such doubts, questions, and complacencies could not endure a single casual tour through your scarred streets. With awe our men gazed upon the empty spaces where once had stood buildings erected by the toil of peaceful folk. Our eyes rounded as we saw your women serving quietly and efficiently in almost every kind of war effort, even with flak batteries. We became accustomed to the warning sirens which seemed to compel from the native Londoner not even a single hurried step. Gradually we drew closer together until we became true partners in war.

In London my associates and I planned two great expeditions—that to invade the Mediterranean and that to cross the Channel. London's hospitality to the Americans, its good-humored acceptance of the added inconvenience we brought, its example of fortitude and quiet confidence in the final outcome—all these helped to make the Supreme Headquarters of the two Allied expeditions the smooth-working organizations they became.

They were directed by chosen representatives of two proud and independent peoples, each noted for its initiative and for its satisfaction with its own customs, manners, and methods. Many feared that those representatives could never combine together in an efficient fashion to solve the complex problems presented by modern war.

I hope you believe we proved the doubters wrong. And, moreover, I hold that we proved this point not only for war—we proved it can always be done by our two peoples, provided only that both show the same good-will, the same forebearance, the same objective attitude that the British and Americans so amply demonstrated in the nearly three years of bitter campaigning.

No man alone could have brought about this result. Had I possessed the military skill of a Marlborough, the wisdom of Solomon, the understanding of Lincoln, I still would have been helpless without the loyalty, vision, and generosity of thousands upon thousands of British and Americans.

Moreover, behind us always were our great national war leaders and their civil and military staffs that supported and encouraged us through every trial, every test. The whole was one great team. I know that on this special occasion three million American men and women who served in the Allied Expeditionary Force would want me to pay a tribute of admiration, respect, and affection to their British comrades.

My most cherished hope is that after Japan joins the Nazis in utter defeat, neither my country nor yours need ever again summon its sons and daughters from their peaceful pursuits to face the tragedies of battle. But—a fact important for both of us to remember—neither London nor Abilene, sisters under the skin, will sell her birthright for physical safety, her liberty for mere existence.

No petty differences in the world of trade, traditions, or national pride should ever blind us to our identities in priceless values. If we keep our eyes on this guide-post, then no difficulties along our path of mutual co-operation can ever be insurmountable. Moreover, when this truth has permeated to the remotest hamlet and the hearts of all people, then indeed may we beat our swords into plowshares and all nations can enjoy the fruitfulness of the earth.

BUDDHIST REFORMER:

The Philosophy of U Nu . . *by Sam A. Jaffe*

Rangoon

SHORTLY before Prime Minister Nu left here for the long westward trip which would bring him ultimately to Washington, he said to me: "Please tell the American people that I am not going to their country to accept or to seek aid. My country needs help, but we will take it from no one unless we can give something in return."

U Nu is convinced, of course, that the acceptance of foreign aid would endanger his role as a "neutralist." This position, in a curious way, has left him in a freer position to *offer* aid. Three times in the last few months he has intervened in behalf of the eleven American fliers imprisoned by the Chinese—once during his own visit to Peking, again during Chou En-lai's return visit to Rangoon, and a third time when the two chiefs of state met at the Bandung conference. His intervention was on purely humanitarian grounds. "But I could not have made my appeals with a clear conscience," he explained to me, "had I been obligated to America. As it was, Chou En-lai knew I was speaking from my heart and not in discharge of any debt."

An orthodox Buddhist, U Nu is often swayed more by moral considerations than by those of practical politics. It is reported that he once fasted as a demonstration of support for the right of Moslems in Burma to slaughter cattle on a Moslem holiday. Buddhism prohibits such slaughter, but U Nu insisted that in this instance another Buddhist law took precedence—a law which requires that other religions be held in respect. He supported the Moslems in the face of an adverse public opinion. The religious factor has played an important—one is almost tempted to say a dominant—role in U Nu's regime since it began eight years ago. One of the Prime Minister's first acts in office was to "rebuild" Buddhism as a living force throughout the country, thus providing what he considered to be a necessary foundation for the nation's physical reconstruction.

U Nu is the chief architect of Burma's Eight-Year Plan, launched two years ago. With industrialization its goal, the program has suffered from lack of funds, a situation which U Nu hopes to remedy through Japanese reparations and a possible loan from the World Bank. On other fronts the country has been making remarkable progress. Land reform, a broad school-building program, and a remarkably successful drive against corruption have proved strong weapons in the government's fight against the 3,000 active Burmese Communists. The most dangerous anti-government group are not the Communists, however, but the 5,000 Kuomintang "guerrillas" still operating in the north along the Chinese border. It was good news for U Nu when the neighboring Thai government reported recently that a thousand of the Nationalist Chinese troops had surrendered to it.

The Buddhist emphasis on tol-

SAM A. JAFFE is The Nation's *roving correspondent in the Far East.*

erance is a key to U Nu's foreign policy, which coincides almost completely with Nehru's. Since the Bandung conference, at which Burma's Prime Minister made an excellent impression, it has been said that the two men are competing with each other and with Chou En-lai for the leadership of Asia. But intimates of U Nu insist that his relationship with India's Premier is one of cooperation rather than of competition. Peace means everything to Burma, the neutralism which Nehru and U Nu share grows naturally out of Burma's vulnerable geographic position and conforms with the religious tenets of its people.

U NU was born in 1907 of a middle-class family. His father was a merchant; his mother a deeply pious woman who saw that her children were raised in an orthodox environment. U Nu's rise from school teacher and journalist to a leader of Burma's nationalist movement durin the 1930's was described at some length by Maung Maung, a Rangoon editor in *The Nation* of May 21. It is this revolutionary background, plus his present commitment to neutralism, which fosters the legend abroad that he follows the Communist line. The Burmese themselves and foreigners who have lived in Burma recently know better. U Nu is seeking to steer his country through the difficult shoals of democratic socialism. Burmese insist that they are living in a free country, not to be compared with the Soviet Union or Red China.

Prime Minister Nu

Interesting in this connection is the close and friendly relation which exists between Burma and Yugoslavia, another country that is following a radical but independent line. Tito and U Nu have exchanged visits and have issued a joint declaration stressing the principles of peaceful coexistence. Trade between the two countries is on the increase; recently a regular shipping service was established. Many Yugoslav specialists are in Burma helping the Burmese to solve various technical and social problems. Burmese timber and other products are flowing steadily to Yugoslavia.

U Nu, a small, round-faced man with a soft voice and gentle manner, has left many people—even among his admirers—with the impression that he is naive in international affairs. The Prime Minister's successful weathering of many political storms belies this. He is a man of principle, tough-fibered despite his appearance of softness, and the quality of his statesmanship is now recognized in most quarters of the world. At Bandung he showed himself to be perfectly well aware of the dangers to peace which darken the international scene. But he believes that aggression and subversion can best be met by a country which manifests a sincere determination to remain true to itself while showing tolerance for the differing ideologies of other lands.

SAN FRANCISCO'S ECHO

The Big Four's "Conscience" . . *by Gene Marine*

San Francisco

WHEN the United Nations "came home" to San Francisco during the week of June 20-26 to celebrate its tenth anniversary, the big story, in a sense, was that there was no story. That is, there was no great drama, no outstanding conflict which newsmen could label with headlines rooted in fear; nor was there any sudden development on which to base a story steeped in hope.

But a good many of the hundreds of correspondents present seemed to mistake a lack of drama for a lack of substance. Many concluded that the week of formal speeches represented nothing but oratory, and spent their time trying to build routine restatements by Molotov and Dulles into a "clash." It was Molotov himself, incidentally, speaking in a press conference, who dryly offered a realistic evaluation of Secretary Dulles's speech. He said simply: "Mr. Dulles set forth the position of the United States. That is what I can say in reply to that question." He could have added that there was nothing new in either his own address or Dulles's.

Yet there was a good deal more to the week than high-flown praise of the U.N. and effervescent compliments to the beauty of San Francisco; and beyond question the most important aspect of the meeting was the repeated display of unity by the more than fifty non-atomic nations. Bandung was mentioned at length by every nation that had been represented there, and by several which had not. There were repeated references to the "three-fifths of mankind" whose governments had met in the Indonesian city. And there was an almost unanimous voice among the smaller nations demand-

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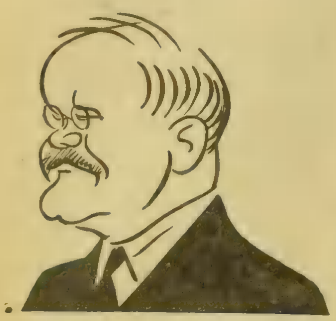
GENE MARINE is a frequent contributor to The Nation.

ing action on the whole cold war problem and particularly on disarmament. Oddly, it was Harry Truman who best summed up this trend. Speaking on Friday night at the special invitation of the Secretary General—he had declined a previous invitation from Dulles—Truman said notice had been served "that the balance of mankind is not going to give up striving for peace and order just because the great powers cannot agree." His appearance drew by far the greatest ovation of the week; it was joined in not only by the public but by the delegates, their families and staffs, and by almost everyone in the press, radio, and TV galleries. Below me in a TV box, a cameraman was shouting "Hooray!" while diligently panning the crowd; behind me at the door, the cop on duty was wildly applauding. Officials said it was the greatest reception ever given anyone in the history of the United Nations; certainly it contrasted sharply with the polite applause that greeted the earlier, session-opening appearance of President Eisenhower.


Foreign Minister Molotov

There was plenty of evidence that the earlier conference in Indonesia cast a long shadow over San Francisco. Mahmoud Fawzi of Egypt referred pointedly to "the erstwhile pawns of old international politics," and stated dramatically that "they will have no rest nor will they let the world rest unless and until they are free. This," he added to strong applause, "is 1955." Later, referring to "the obstinate refusal by some" to give up colonialism, Fawzi warned: "Let those who still hesitate, who still have any doubts, let them tune in on Bandung and hear the unanimous voice of well over half the world."

There were other aspects to the remarkable unity of the smaller nations, a unity in which with the single exception of Cuba the Latin American delegations appeared to join the Bandung powers instead of following Washington. Almost to a man, the representatives of the non-atomic countries demanded the admission of the two dozen or more nations who have requested U.N. membership. The only exception was Communist China, on which there was some disagreement. In this connection India's V. K. Krishna Menon, smiling disarmingly, noted that the U. N. "was not intended to be either a Holy Alliance or an exclusive Club."

Most speakers were alert to the awful potentiality of an atomic war. When Carlos Romulo of the Philippines said that "either we eliminate war or we expose the fate of man to such hammer blows as have never before been recorded," he made the most temperate statement of the week on the subject. "That," said Egypt's Fawzi, "would be the last and final game." Speaker after speaker referred to the possibility of all of life being expunged by the "twin killers" of fission and fusion; it was obvious to every observer that even the most "limited" use of atomic weapons for destruction would bring down on the user the instant condemnation of the entire world.

The small nations are obviously looking forward to Geneva, but in their watchful gaze there is fear as well as hope—hope, of course, for a lessening of tension, a step toward peace, but fear that differences may be resolved at the expense of smaller countries, that the Geneva delegates may meet not to seek peace but to "carve up the world." U Pe Kin of Burma put it this way: "Perhaps we smaller men could not survive in that rarefied atmosphere at the top but we wish every success to our bigger brothers who are struggling to the summit. I hope they will spare time for an occasional glance down the hill to make sure that no bricks are being dropped, as they scramble upwards, on the people below who will be hit on the head."

On only one issue did there appear to be a definite split in the positions taken by the various non-atomic nations: the issue of revision of the U.N. Charter. There was no difference on goals; the question was simply one of whether Charter revision was the wisest of means. Mohammad Mir Khan of Pakistan summed up both the issues involved and one side of the argument: "The need for some Charter revision is noticeable in order to improve co-operation and reduce the so-called East-West conflicts in the United Nations, to alter its framework to suit the changed circumstances, to make its work more effective by extending its membership, and to regulate the use of the veto . . ." All the smaller nations were agreed on every one of these issues: the need for a climate of trust, the urgency of new outlooks to meet the fact of atomic destruction, the desirability of universal membership, and the burdensome aspects of the Security Council veto. But where Mir Khan and others, including Romulo of the Philippines, called for revision, others demurred.

Khalid El Azem, Syria's Foreign Minister, said flatly: "The Charter hardly lends itself to revision." Lebanon's Charles Malik agreed. And Menon, often hailed in the past as spokesman for much of Southeast Asia, said India's "general view is that if the Charter has to be revised, it will require agreement, and if there was agreement there would be no need for revision." Swate Komalabhuti, a member of Thailand's delegation, told me that his nation has "no plans" for Charter revision.

Pakistan's proposal was that Article 2, Section 7, which bars U. N. intervention "in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state" be among the revised portions. Mir Khan charged that the interpretation of this provision has been such as to make it serve as a "stalking horse" in furthering "certain policies" contrary to the principles of justice. The Pakistani Ambassador also called for revision of membership provisions.

Iran's Foreign Minister, Abdollah Entezam, called not only for universality of membership but for an international U. N. police force; but he didn't commit himself on revision, and several delegates noted that an international force is already provided for under Chapter 7. Other delegations from the smaller

ATOMS

for PEACE

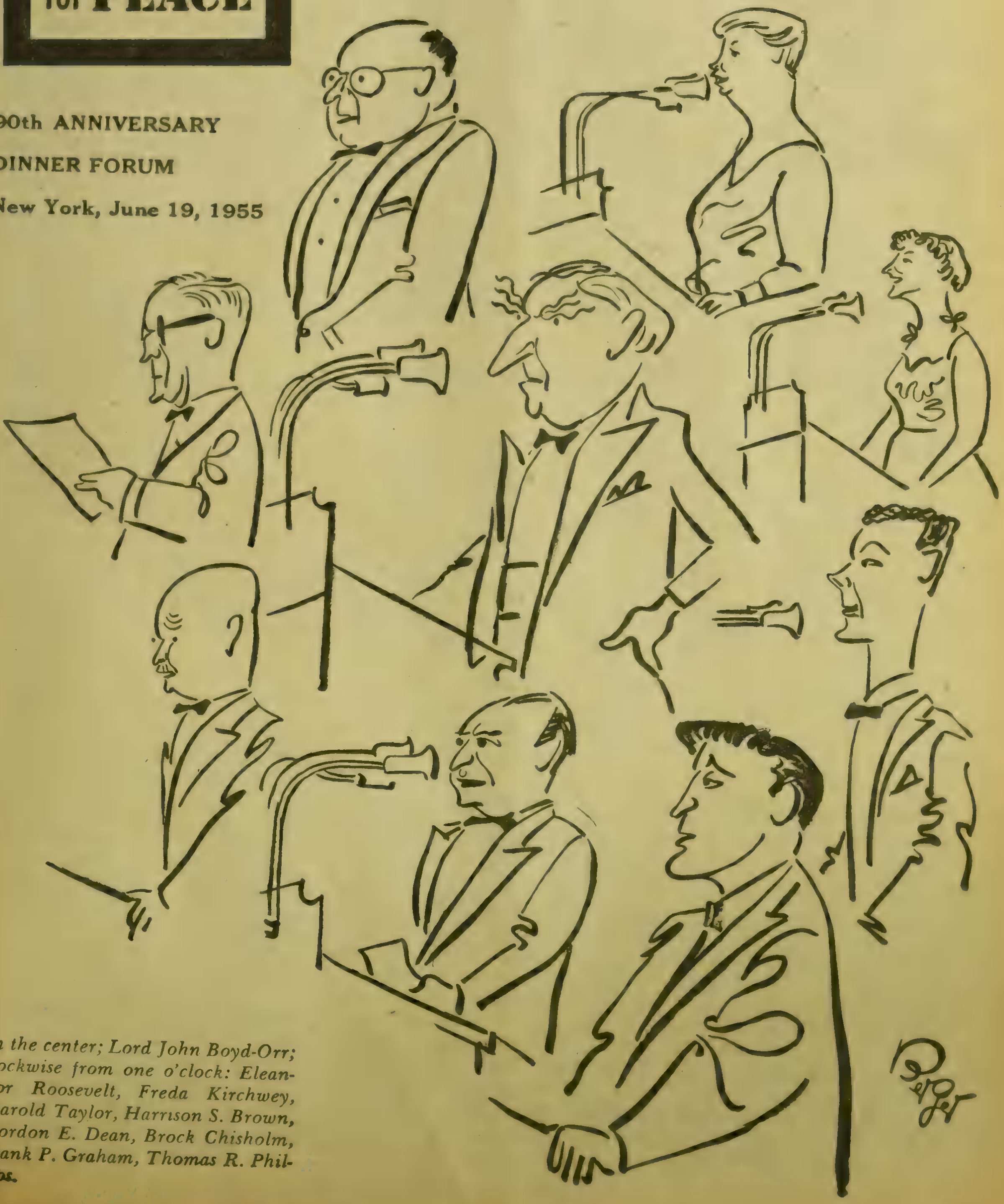
A Special Supplement

PART II OF THE ISSUE OF JULY 9, 1955

90th ANNIVERSARY

DINNER FORUM

New York, June 19, 1955



In the center; Lord John Boyd-Orr; clockwise from one o'clock: Eleannor Roosevelt, Freda Kirchwey, Harold Taylor, Harrison S. Brown, Gordon E. Dean, Brock Chisholm, Frank P. Graham, Thomas R. Phillips.

On The Nation's Anniversary

Harry S. Truman

I am more than happy to congratulate *The Nation* on its ninetieth anniversary. I hope it has ninety more years of presenting the liberal side of things to the American people. We certainly need such a publication, and I think *The Nation* has filled the bill remarkably well.

Senator Herbert H. Lehman

I wish I could be present in person to join with many of my old friends in paying tribute to those principles of a free, dynamic, unfettered press which have characterized *The Nation* throughout its long and historic existence.

At times I have disagreed with articles which have appeared in *The Nation* and have differed with the judgment of its editors, but I have always admired this publication's courage and forthrightness in reporting and commenting on the news and in presenting controversial and thought-provoking discussion to the public. *The Nation,* throughout the nine decades of its existence, has well served the purpose of promoting free debate in our country—a purpose which lies at the heart of our democracy. Across the long span of years of its existence *The Nation* has regularly defied those who would dictate orthodoxy or define heresy. It will continue to outlive the witch-burners, as it has on numerous occasions in the past.

Dag Hammerskjold

Secretary General of the United Nations

I am happy that the ninetieth anniversary celebration of *The Nation* should be devoted to Atoms for Peace. This imaginative, courageous, and generous plan for world-wide cooperation in the application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes offers a great opportunity and a great challenge to all the members of the United Nations. Public awareness in all countries of this opportunity can do nothing but good, and it is fitting that America's oldest political weekly newspaper should play a part in calling attention to it.

Justice Felix Frankfurter

United States Supreme Court

I salute *The Nation* as it starts the last decade of its century. I have traveled with it for more than half its life, not always abreast, sometimes behind it, on occasion in front of it. Always, however, I have felt the tonic of its independence and its certitude. The clash of ideas and their rigorous expression are indispensable in man's groping toward the wise conduct of affairs. To this process, indispensable for a democratic society, *The Nation* has been unstinting and courageous in its efforts.

Arthur Hays Sulzberger

Publisher, the New York Times

The Nation was founded in a time of crisis for American democracy. It is celebrating its ninetieth birthday in a period far from settled, when we do not know what new crises await our democratic institutions. But we do know that a completely free and responsible press is the foundation stone of liberty. In its long history *The Nation* has been a militant exponent of freedom of speech and press; and I hope that it will never falter in the fight to preserve the freedoms that are the special heritage of America.

Helen Rogers Reid

Former Chairman of the Board, New York Herald Tribune

My congratulations to *The Nation* on its milestone anniversary and its identifying the subject of its celebration with the one that characterizes the leadership of the American nation. Since the President's speech in December, 1953, "atoms for peace" has become a motivating force in our country's relationship with other countries of the world that can triumph over all differences. I am sure that this distinguished magazine will make an important contribution with its program tonight and its publication during the years to come in a cause that can revolutionize the world.

Moshe Sharett

Prime Minister of Israel

I send my greetings to The Nation Associates again assembled in dedication to the search for world peace and progress. Our generation faces the necessity to match the immense scientific advances of the present decade with increased international understanding and cooperation.

The Nation's long record as a devoted champion of great and noble causes has placed it in the front rank of those striving for justice and peace among men and peoples. In dedicating this evening to the topic "Atoms for Peace," *The Nation* once again performs a vital service by directing men's minds to the basic issue of our society and age. Israel in its endeavor for economic progress and peaceful development is a prospective beneficiary of the new potentialities of atomic energy, and its scientists contribute to the universal sum of theoretical and applied nuclear knowledge. May your meeting promote yet further the vital end of peaceful human cooperation.

Ernest Gruening

Former Governor of Alaska

Heartiest congratulations to *The Nation* on this memorable occasion in its long and useful service. This is a time of reconstruction no less than when *The Nation* was born, only now on a greater, a global scale. Courageous dissent from unthinking conformism, the assertion of good old minority independence of thought which has held America to its best traditions and its still better potentialities, the reiteration of time-tested principles, with full comprehension of the implications of a rapidly changing world—are more needed now than ever.

May these, which have been *The Nation's* practice for its first ninety years, continue with undiminished

(Continued on page 44)

The 90th Anniversary Forum on Atoms for Peace

In this supplement we present extensive extracts from the addresses delivered at The Nation's *90th anniversary dinner forum, Atoms for Peace, held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City on June* 19. *Space limitations made it impossible to print the full texts.*

The occasion proved a remarkable one for the more than 800 *persons in attendance, and we are convinced that what the speakers had to say will gain in significance as time goes on. The day is past when the atom can be kept as the jealously guarded secret of the politician and the soldier. In an atomic war there will be more plain people blown up than either politicians or soldiers.*

In this sense, then, the forum was a long overdue first lesson in the potential of the atom for limitless good and limitless evil. The speakers more than lived up to the opportunity given them. Adroitly they maneuvered the spotlight so that it revealed in turn the choice presented to mankind—mass destruction or a braver and newer world than man has ever known. It can be said that, so far as the atom is concerned, mass instruction is the only alternative to mass destruction. We hope that forums of this kind can be repeated many times by what Harold Taylor called "dedicated groups" in every part of the world.

Mr. Taylor, president of Sarah Lawrence College, presided during the evening. Frank P. Graham, former president of the University of North Carolina and since 1951 the United Nations representative for India and Pakistan, read the tributes (see page opposite). One of the evening's highlights was the standing ovation given Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who was introduced by the chairman as "Our First Lady—no matter who is President."

—Editors THE NATION.

AMERICA AND THE ATOM

How We Have Failed . . *by Gordon E. Dean*

SIXTEEN years ago several scientists, including the late Dr. Enrico Fermi, approached Albert Einstein and told him that certain experiments with nuclear fission had approached such a point that they felt the highest authority should know about it. They asked Einstein to go to Washington to see the President. But the modest professor said, "I really don't feel that I could disturb so busy a man." He was induced, however, to write a letter to the President. A friend sat down at a portable typewriter on the back porch of a home where Einstein was visiting. He might have used a better typewriter ribbon for one of the most important documents in human history. However, the simplicity and lucidity of Einstein's style were so effective that upon receiving the letter the President, on a little memorandum to General Watson wrote, "See that this is done." With that authorization $5,000 was appropriated, and the atomic-energy program of this country was begun.

Sixteen years after this event the United States had spent more than ten billion dollars on its atomic-energy program; huge stockpiles of bomb had been accumulated; atomic energy programs had developed in a score of countries around the world; a submarine called the Nautilus was sailing the Atlantic, propelled by a nuclear reactor; another submarine, also nuclear propelled but of quite different design, was soon to be on its way; large public utilities both in this country and abroad were designing reactors to produce electricity from the heat caused by the fission of uranium atoms; industry, medicine, and agriculture were examining the effects of radiation to understand its dangers and to harness it to useful purposes. Reactors—that is, nuclear furnaces — exist today in Great Britain, Canada, Sweden, Norway, and France and will soon be constructed in many other countries, including Holland, Denmark, Belgium, Australia, Italy, Turkey, Switzerland, India, and Brazil. Much has happened.

That the atom has already had a terrific impact on the world is quite obvious; that its impact to date is only a fraction of its potential is equally clear. That the world will be revolutionized is plain. That the United States has the capacity to bring about this revolution is also plain. But whether the United States will play the leading part it could have played is today a very serious question.

We forget sometimes that the atom is international, that it knows no nationality, race, or ideology. It will go about its sometimes productive work just as loyally for a Russian, a Pole, or a Chinese as it will for an American, a Briton, or a Frenchman. The atom obeys only one set of laws—the laws of physics. And man's mastery over the atom is directly proportional to his comprehension of these laws. The real "top secrets" in atomic energy are those that are still held by nature. Those which nature has released are generally known. Every now and then the scientists of one nation or another wrest a new secret from nature, either by accident or by dint of great effort. When this occurs, the nation that discovers the new information may lock it in a safe and disclose it only to those it considers to be

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GORDON E. DEAN is a former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.

loyal and trustworthy. But nature herself remains a "security risk" that cannot be controlled. The secret that has been learned by one may be and usually is quickly learned by another. The blunt fact is that while the United States has the capacity to revolutionize the world through the development of peace-time uses of atomic energy, in all probability the United States will play but a part in this revolutionary process. We have no monopoly.

A LITTLE history is perhaps in order at this point.

Until a year ago the Atomic Energy Act of the United States prohibited interchange of information with other countries dealing with commercial applications of nuclear energy except in the field of radioactive isotopes. One reason for this legislative prohibition was that if any country should build a reactor for the generation of heat, it would be manufacturing in the course of the process plutonium, and that plutonium, being fissionable or explosive, could readily be fashioned into bombs. The reasoning was just that simple, and I might add that up to a certain point it was valid. Seventy per cent of the United States effort goes into making fissionable material. Fashioning a bomb out of this material is comparatively simple, and today the general theory is well known. The reason we did not interchange information on the making of fissionable material was that we did not wish to hasten the day when other countries could have a bomb.

But many things have happened since the act was written. Canada has built reactors. England has built reactors and bombs. France has built reactors. All therefore produce plutonium. And within the past several years other countries have built them—not, I should add, to get bomb material but to find a way to get heat and eventually electricity from these reactors.

Furthermore in 1949 something very significant happened, something we sometimes forget when we make security policy. Russia exploded an atomic bomb and has since exploded many others. It followed that Russia had built reactors and separated out plutonium. Since that date it has accumulated an imposing stock pile of bombs to which it has more recently added the much more destructive hydrogen bomb.

Almost a year ago Congress, fully aware of these developments, amended the Atomic Energy Act to permit transfer of information touching upon peaceful uses of atomic energy to friendly countries and set up machinery for bilateral agreements whereby any atomic information could be interchanged except information dealing with the fabrication of atomic weapons.

Even before this the President had spoken eloquently for sharing the blessings of the atom. The message stirred the people's imagination, particularly in those countries which saw in the peaceful atom a new fuel, a new source of power.

Both before the President's speech of 1953 and since we have taken some steps which have been highly useful. Actually the Atoms for Peace program of the United States Atomic Energy Commission goes back to September, 1947, when we first began the international distribution of radioisotopes. Such distribution was permitted even under the original Atomic Energy Act. Since then forty-six countries have received in all many thousands of shipments from the United States. Nearly 5,000 individuals and organizations today throughout the world are employing radioisotopes in the fields of medicine and agriculture and in their industrial processes.

In the more recent past we have made other notable strides in the field of international cooperation. A conference has been called under the aegis of the United Nations for this summer in Geneva, where over 1,000 technical papers will be presented by various countries around the world, over one hundred by the U.S.S.R. For the first time the atom will have literally been placed on an international stage. I hope the results will be significant.

In recent months the United States has negotiated agreements with Turkey, Columbia, Brazil, and some ten other countries whereby these countries will receive enough nuclear fuel and the necessary design material to build a research reactor. We can expect that many such agreements will be signed in the months ahead. There remains, however, one great area in which the United States has been deficient, and that is in making information concerning power reactors available. It was to this area and this great need that the President again addressed himself last week at Pennsylvania State College. His proposal deserves quick implementation by the people on the Atomic Energy Commission and in the State and Defense departments.

Today in many parts of Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Western Hemisphere the lack of power is holding back economic and social developments. As one high-placed observer recently said of Europe, "Next to peace, electric power is the primary interest of many governments. Unless something is done about it, the lights will grow dim over Europe."

PEOPLE everywhere want cheap power. The atom gives great promise of supplying it. The United States has many times in the past two years promised assistance in this field, but we are not delivering on our promises. The government is still not quite willing to give friendly foreign countries the information they need to build modern power reactors, and is not even willing to permit an American industrial concern to sell a power reactor to a foreign country—at least to countries which don't have them. This is not the fault of Congress, for Congress last year amended the Atomic Energy Act and set up simple procedures to accomplish the result. What, then, is holding us back? I very much fear that we are still operating on the theory that some day the Russians will be able to build a reactor, make plutonium, and fabricate a bomb.

To illustrate: We are today building in this country two reactors optimized so as to produce power. One is a large central-station power plant being designed by Westinghouse and to be operated by the Duquesne Power and Light Company. We are also building at the request of the army a smaller so-called "package" power plant. But both bear the secret label. The design of neither is available to other countries, or for that matter to American industry except under security conditions. Today foreign countries may have, as for years they have had, all the information they wish on the uses of radioactive isotopes. They may have the design of a research reactor and the unclassified literature and "know-how" necessary to build and operate a research reactor. But let's face it—what they want is atomic power, and American industry would like to supply the reactors to produce it.

WE ARE simply not implementing the President's "atoms for peace" proposal. I submit that if we do not soon change our policy and take the secrecy wraps completely off these power reactors, our pretension that we are spreading blessings will have a very hollow ring. The most significant and most dramatic item which we have to sell to the underdeveloped areas of the world is our latest knowledge on power reactors. If we do not move soon, our friendly competitor, England, will surely do so. American refusal to act is even today causing many European countries to turn to others for assistance in solving their power crisis.

Sweden, intent upon building a research reactor and later a power reactor, knew that it would be useless to apply to the United States. It therefore extracted uranium from its own shales, turned to France to bring the uranium oxide to the metal stage, to the United Kingdom for help in fuel fabrication, and to Norway for heavy water. Sweden built its research reactor and is building its power reactor. Less well-developed countries, such as India and Brazil, have turned to France. In fact, practically every country in Europe has turned for atomic assistance to England or France and received it.

If we do not move soon, our unfriendly competitor, the U. S. S. R., might even beat us to the golden opportunity. It has promised to supply information on its own power reactor at the Geneva conference.

The policy of secrecy on the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes will have other effects. American industrial concerns which today are anxious to supply this potentially tremendous demand for reactor equipment are not free to develop the market. But England has a sharp eye on this market and is placing its know-how and machinery where it is in demand.

How does a country engage in a full interchange of information and materials for power reactors? There are two ways. The first is to keep the secrecy label on these reactors and supply them only to countries which we trust to keep the secret by setting up satisfactory security procedures. I submit that this is completely unrealistic and that it not only ties our own hands but makes us enemies rather than friends. For every country we approve we will make an enemy among the countries we turn down. Foreign countries are interested in the best and latest information on reactor design; they know they will not obtain cheap power without it. But I am sure we cannot police the security systems of all the countries with which we deal. I can visualize someone in a friendly country expressing a point of view in a public speech which would make him suspect by our security standards; this followed by a Congressional investigation into the arrangements made with that country, and finally by charges, countercharges, and much ill-will.

THERE is no reason for that sort of thing if we face up to a few facts of life. One of those facts is that the only reason we have a security system is that we do not want to add to the Russian stock pile. Another is that the Russians have a stock pile, a sizable one, and in a few years will have enough of a stock pile perhaps to cancel out, for all practical purposes, the much larger United States stock pile. Since it would take the Russians about three years to take the latest reactor information and with it build a modern reactor, and since perhaps the most they could expect to gain by doing it would be a small increase in the amount of plutonium manufactured, and since this would be but a drop in the bucket compared to what they have already produced and could have no effect on the "canceling-out" situation, I submit that if we operate on the assumption that there are real security considerations in the reactor field, we are tying our hands and the hands of the other countries of the West. Not security but the appearance of security is all that will be achieved. I want to make the point that in the field of peacetime uses there is no need and no room for secret labels. An "atoms for peace" ship plastered with secret labels had best not leave port.

The second way to implement power-reactor interchange is for the Atomic Energy Commission to declassify with one bold stroke all power-reactor technology, facing up to the fact that the Russians long ago perfected the bomb, that without such action we will make enemies out of three-quarters of the Western world whose security systems don't match ours, that what we are talking about here is nothing more than a new source of heat for power and that the world wants cheap power. If we take this step, and it must be soon, in 1955—and remember we need no new laws to do it—America can again assume leadership position in the atomic field.

American industrial concerns will be free to compete in the world markets. They will be able to sell power reactors to mining countries in the far north, the high Andes, and the jungles of Africa. They will be able to instal large central-station power plants in countries which now desperately need them. They will be able to supply the power to convert salt water to fresh, irrigate the deserts, and alter the entire face of the globe. They will be able to make good friends and good-will for America.

Power of the Dedicated

Three qualities should distinguish the editor of an important journal—courage, integrity, and intelligence. These qualities have been predominant in The Nation, whose ninetieth birthday we are celebrating, and in the work of Freda Kirchwey, its present editor. . . .

The liberal journal of opinion in which we can find articles written without the inhibitions which affect the big and the powerful has far greater influence than most of us imagine. Indeed, I think we often lose sight of the power that can be wielded by small dedicated groups of people who know what humanity means and are willing to work night and day to help others achieve it. The other day I heard a rephrasing of Kipling: "If you keep your head while all about you are losing theirs, you probably don't understand the situation." The biggest need for all of us in this room is to keep our heads and to understand.—Harold Taylor, president of Sarah Lawrence College, forum chairman.

UNDERWRITING THE ATOM

A Plan for a U. N. Fund . . *by Lord Boyd-Orr*

THE hydrogen bomb has given the world the biggest jolt since civilization began. The two greatest military powers have the bomb. But neither can use it without itself going down in wholesale death and destruction. In the words of Winston Churchill, "War would result in mutual annihilation."

The leaders of the great powers now realize that every effort must be made to avoid war and are talking about peaceful coexistence. But coexistence in an armament race, with both sides piling up hydrogen bombs, offers a precarious sort of peace. In the present inflamed political atmosphere some quite minor incident may cause the piled-up armaments to explode in a world war. That would mean the end of civilization and perhaps of the human race.

We cannot go on peering over the rim of hell. We may become hypnotized and tumble in. Before we can have an assured permanent peace, we must have a *cooperative* coexistence—with all nations working for their mutual benefit in a world plan of Atoms for Peace—which will bring in the new wonder age of peace and plenty made possible by modern science. We are already moving in that direction. The United States has made an important advance in offering aid to other nations which want to produce nuclear energy to use for their peaceful economic development.

President Eisenhower said in 1953: "Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies in the final sense a theft from those who are hungry and who are not fed, those who are cold and not clothed." This is not a way of life at all in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron.

General Marshall once said that "the skyscrapers of America cannot exist in this now small world side by side with the ruined cities of Europe." It is equally true that the economic wealth of the industrialized countries cannot continue to exist side by side with the abysmal poverty of the majority of human beings. That poverty has to be seen to be believed. The average life of two-thirds of the population of the world is only thirty to forty years, as against the average of seventy in wealthy countries. Premature death results from the lack of the physical necessities of life.

We could supply the starving with abundance and in doing so preserve our own society. For there is a real danger: people are no longer content to die quietly. They will revolt, and unless something is done they will tear down these Western civilizations.

You have read about the African-Asian conference at Bandung. There the leaders of the colored peoples met—men who wouldn't have been allowed inside a white man's club twenty years ago. They represented 1,400,000,000 people. They didn't make many decisions, but they did make one: that they would cooperate with each other for political freedom and would never be under the subjection of either the Kremlin or the Pentagon.

Japan with a population of 40,000,000 adopted Western technology and became one of the world's great powers. Today the Asian nations have all adopted Western technology. How soon will they develop their immense potential power — these nations that contain the majority of the people of the world? The great question is: shall we cooperate with them in a friendly way to help them as quickly as possible to raise their standard of living and abolish poverty? Or shall we let them develop in hostility to our Western civilization?

I am proud to say that the country to which I belong faced this question some time ago and gave up imperialism, offering complete freedom and independence to India, Ceylon, Burma, Pakistan. What has been the result? These new nations are all the greatest friends of the United Kingdom. We have increased the prestige of our country out of all proportion to its military power.

You will tell me that under Truman's Point Four the United States is giving economic assistance. The United Nations is supplying technical aid. The U. N. organizations—F. A. O., W. H. O., UNESCO—are all doing excellent work. And the bulk of the money is coming from the United States.

All true. But you are not getting much for your money, and I will tell you why. You are not giving it in the right spirit. You want to stop the march of communism? You can't stop communism that way.

What we have all got to realize is that the trickle of money going out through these agencies is hopelessly insufficient. Your Mr. Reuther of the C. I. O. has estimated that if we are going to lift the world out of poverty in the near future, it will take something like ten to twelve billion dollars a year, a vast amount of money. How are we going to get it?

I CAN suggest a way to get it. If we are not going to have war, we must have gradual disarmament. To begin with we could say to all the nations: "We will all agree to reduce our expenditure on armaments by 10 per cent, and the money saved we will put into an International Development Fund under the U. N. to be used to develop the world's vast potential resources and eliminate poverty." No nation is so poor that it can't afford an army.

LORD BOYD-ORR, authority on world food problems, was the first director general of the United Nation's Food and Agriculture Organization.

Therefore, under this scheme, every nation would be able to contribute, and all would cooperate in a world effort.

You cannot help the poverty-stricken people of the world by charity. The countries that receive it only feel humiliated. You cannot develop the wealth of the world except through the business methods we have known for all these centuries. Any loans offered by any such international authority should be on a business basis, with the agreement that repayment would begin as soon as the standard of living had been raised to a level where no person was dying for lack of the necessities of life.

What would be the results of such an enterprise? One would be an end to the seething revolt against poverty that is taking place in Asia and in Africa.

I watched events in Europe. When things looked bad after the war, communism spread. Marshall Aid came in, good harvests, people feeling hopeful, better standards of living; communism receded.

Such a plan as I have suggested will allay unrest and save our Western civilization. We Europeans must say to you Americans that we cannot exist except in friendship with you, and in our interest, as well as yours, we are going to help you put this thing through as a business proposition. It will do us as much good as it will you, because it will create an enormous extension of world markets.

President Truman once said, "If we could discuss with the Russians our common interests in world agriculture, it would be easier to discuss political problems." If you could get them to cooperate in a great concrete scheme of the kind I have suggested you would lay the foundation of a world order without which, as Churchill warned us, there is no hope for the future. We must build a new order from the bottom up by getting all nations to cooperate in a scheme to better the conditions of the people.

Some people say Russia would never come in. Did we ever ask them? If the Western nations, the whole group, said, "We are prepared to do this—gradually disarm, apply science for the welfare of all the people of the world, to abolish hunger and disease, and so on," any nation which didn't cooperate would be labeled an enemy of the human race. No nation could afford to stay out.

I would go further and suggest that the qualifications for admission to the United Nations should not be whether a country is capitalist or Communist or Socialist. The qualification should be: Is it prepared to cooperate with all other nations in applying modern science for the promotion of the welfare of all mankind?

You say it can't be done? It is being done. Attempts are being made. Just now we have had another offer from the President of the United States to set up reactors in other countries for the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. This is a great gesture that the world should follow. We must realize that the world is living in a totally new age. The question is whether our modern civilization can adjust itself to the great forces now at large, or is going to do what other civilizations have done—disappear.

Another one of your Presidents said, "The day that all the common people of the world demand peace, we will get it." If we do not accept our responsibility for the world's survival, if we leave everything to the generals and politicians, we shall deserve the fate we get.

I hope each one of us here tonight will do his utmost to create a world-wide public opinion in favor of peace, in favor of the cooperation of nations, so that we may enter the new atomic age—an age based on Roosevelt's Four Freedoms, an age in which poverty and hunger will be eliminated, an age in which the whole human race can rise to a higher level of physical welfare and a higher level of culture than any privileged nation has ever reached in the past.

In the Service of Truth

by Eleanor Roosevelt

I WAS talking to some young people the other night, and someone asked me if I ever found that I had to change my mind. I looked at him for a minute and said, "Yes, sometimes the very next day." It is surely a terrible thing when young people think that what you think at eighteen means that you can never think any differently, or that you are going to be held to account for what you thought at eighteen. It seems to me that means a loss of freedom.

It is refreshing to pay tribute to a journal that has lasted ninety years and has managed to remain free. I am quite sure that it is going to remain free. It will state the truth as the individuals who write for it see the truth. And that is something we cannot always be sure of finding today.

I think all writers should make up their minds that they must write as freely and as truthfully as they possibly can, because we are living in an age when people must feel sure that they are given the truth as nearly as one can find it. The atomic age is a difficult time for a democracy. If people do not understand what problems they face, it leads to apathy, to indifference, to shifting the responsibility that each individual ought to feel. That must be avoided if a democracy is really going to be a democracy.

We know, all of us, that if we use atomic energy for making war it is quite possible to destroy our civilization, but most of us do not know, as yet, what can happen in a world where the same energy is used for peaceful purposes. I obtained just an inkling when I was in Oak Ridge this spring. It gave me a sense of how important it was for the peoples of the world to know what good atomic energy could bring them. I hope that gradually the peoples of the world will know, but that will require patience and restraint and great confidence that the democracies will do something for them which no totalitarian government can possibly accomplish.

It will take *The Nation* and all that it can do, and many other courageous newspapers and journals and writers and speakers, to help us have faith that what we believe can win out in a world at peace.

THE ATOM IN WAR

A Military Estimate . . *by Thomas R. Phillips*

MORE important than "atoms for peace," it seems to me, is the subject of atoms for war and, more particularly, how to get rid of atomic weapons.

What I dislike about atoms for peace is the false connotation that goes with it. The Eisenhower Administration produced the slogan nineteen months ago, primarily, I imagine, as an American answer to Soviet propaganda for peace. The falsity in it is in the word "peace." Atoms for peace has nothing to do with peace. It is concerned with industrial, scientific, and other uses of atomic energy. Using "peace" in this context is very much as if the Hercules Powder Company were to advertise dynamite for peace. I resent the effort to trick me with slogans. I dislike to have the American people subjected to advertising that gives them dreams of peace with no substance.

I have spent my adult life as a professional soldier, and it may seem curious for me to advocate the abolition of nuclear weapons. I do so because for the past three or four years I have tried assiduously to follow the development of nuclear weapons and to foresee the nature of a war in which they would be used. I have come to the conclusion, as I believe almost anyone who studied the problem intensely would, that a nuclear war is insanity. I doubt that the mass of Americans realize this, for their minds are pounded upon by one sensation after another and they hardly differentiate between a war that would bring death to tens of millions by nuclear fires and radioactive poisons and the latest knifer in the vicinity.

The central problem that confronts mankind today, and possibly the most serious problem in man's history, I believe, is whether knowing in advance the destruction and death to be expected from nuclear war we shall continue to arm with nuclear weapons and prepare for nuclear war.

The generation of the thirties was a lost generation because the economic life of the country had disintegrated around their parents and it looked as if there were no future for them. They blamed the lack of wisdom of the older generation for their plight. But not many of the older generation had seen clearly the direction in which the economy was heading. The present older generation can see what will happen in a nuclear war, but still it goes ahead with preparations to wage it. What will the next lost generation think of us when it picks itself up from the ashes of our civilization, delimits and evacuates the poisoned areas, and starts to re-create our present condition of well-being?

Most of the cities and industry and half the population of Europe and European Russia could be destroyed. The same destruction could be laid on the United States to a lesser degree, lesser because our geographical position favors us today. With half the civilized world dead, with industry wiped out, with much of the farm land poisoned, can anyone doubt that nations then would reach an accommodation? The question we must answer today is whether the accommodation will be reached before or after the catastrophe.

Our fate is being decided for us without our realizing it in the secret councils of the National Security Council and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The complications of the problem and the growing secrecy around the operations of government prevent the public from knowing that the United States has almost reached the point where any war will be nuclear, where we shall have no choice except to use nuclear weapons.

This is coming about for three reasons. The first is the unwillingness of the West to match the manpower in uniform of the Soviet Union and its satellites. General Gruenther is perfectly justified in saying that the NATO forces will have to use atomic weapons whether the enemy does or not: NATO is so greatly inferior in numbers that it must make up for it with atomic weapons. That NATO has fewer ground forces is not to the credit of the nations concerned. The fifteen NATO nations have about 160,000,000 more population than the Soviet Union and the European satellites. Why do they have so many fewer divisions than the Communists? According to Field Marshall Montgomery it is because "our political chiefs have never shown any great enthusiasm in giving us enough divisions to be able to do this [win the war] without such weapons."

A second reason that the military believe we shall have to use atomic weapons in a war in Europe is that the enemy's possession of them makes it necessary for our troops to disperse for defense against them. If the enemy attacks in stronger formations we shall be unable to meet them. Our only recourse then is to use atomic weapons and make him disperse also.

A third reason, not in effect yet but soon to become a reality, is the cost and wastefulness of a double weapon system, atomic and conventional. Why retain thousands of conventional cannon, when a single nuclear shell or bomb will do more damage than 100,000 ordinary shells fired from thousands of cannon? The army and navy can reorganize completely around atomic weapons with very great obvious savings.

This is the last year before reorganization around atomic weapons takes place. It is under study and will begin with the forthcoming an-

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BRIGADIER GENERAL PHILLIPS (U. S. A. retired) is the military analyst of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch *and a frequent contributor to military journals.*

nual appropriation. When the shift has been completed we shall have reached the point of no return. Any war will be atomic. Montgomery says: "In fact we have reached the point of no return as regards the use of nuclear weapons in a hot war." But Monty was thinking of SHAPE and its problems. In a larger sense there still is a short time left to save us from the horror that is approaching.

NO ONE knows just how a full-scale nuclear war would be conducted. It is agreed, in general, that the opening major battle would be a combat to extinction between the opposing air forces. In an effort to protect its own country from nuclear bombs each would try to wipe out the enemy's means of delivering them. Neither side can expect to be wholly successful.

A second mission for our bombers would be against the enemy's tactical airdromes, so that he could not destroy our ground forces. But nuclear bombs have been so reduced in size that entirely outside of the strategic air command the Allies have three thousand aircraft in Europe capable of carrying them. In consequence the battle against the hostile air force, the destruction of enemy communications and war industries—which are usually in large urban areas—and the use of nuclear weapons against the hostile ground forces could all take place simultaneously.

Larger targets would get thermonuclear bombs, with their vast area of destruction and the poisonous fall-out which can extend over many more thousands of miles than the seven thousand announced as the approximate coverage of the March, 1954, bomb.

The ground battle that will be taking place at the same time is insignificant in comparison with the air battle. Army planners and the staff at SHAPE are modest in their concept of nuclear war. They plan to use atomic weapons of the minimum size necessary to do a specific job. Why vaporize three hundred square miles with a thermonuclear bomb that releases as much energy as ten million tons of TNT, they argue, when an atomic bomb equivalent to ten thousand tons of TNT will do the job.

So the ground forces are planning to adapt nuclear weapons to the conventional battlefield. Soldiers have always survived, they argue, in spite of gunpowder, machine-guns, and the unheard of concentrations of artillery in World War I. By dispersing more and digging deeper they can survive against atomic weapons. The ground forces, therefore, are planning to use atomic cannon of low yield in destruction and atomic warheads on guided missiles, also with low yield.

Some years ago General Omar N. Bradley, testifying on the need for troops for Europe, said that if we had negligible ground forces in Europe the Russians could spread their forces one hundred yards apart right and left and front and rear and march to the Atlantic in spite of our atomic weapons.

That was an entirely valid statement when it was made. Atomic scarcity still ruled. The thermonuclear bomb had not been tested. Today one forty-megaton thermonuclear bomb would kill 79,000 soldiers dispersed in Bradley's squares.

While the ground forces have been trying to adapt the battlefield to atomic weapons, thermonuclear weapons have come up which if used as tactical weapons would wipe out a battlefield. General Ridgway speaks of a battle zone 150 to 200 miles deep as compared to the present battle zone 30 to 50 miles deep. This is no answer to the thermonuclear bomb. Thirty of them laid from the Baltic to Yugoslavia would create a vaporized and burned zone twenty miles wide and six hundred miles long. No one except a few radical thinkers in the air force dreams of this sort of warfare today, but it is so simple and so obviously effective that when the test comes it is likely to be adopted.

I explained this idea to a Polish Communist official who rode with me from Indo-China to Paris. He was horrified. Who will pay for this? he said, meaning who will be the victims? I said it would have to be the people who lived on the wrong side of the border, but they would be given notice to evacuate. Actually such a so-called tactical use of the hydrogen bomb would be almost as destructive as wholesale bombing of cities. In a recent maneuver of SHAPE a decision had to be made whether to bomb a city of fifty thousand where three thousand enemy soldiers had hidden. Obviously it had to be bombed or else any village would be a refuge. Fifty thousand harmless civilians had to be destroyed to get at three thousand soldiers.

SUPPOSE there were really an all-out thermonuclear war. Five hundred hydrogen bombs if properly placed could vaporize, burn, and poison the entire area of the United States and southern Canada. When both sides have such a capability, they reach the point that Sir Winston Churchill called saturation. Saturation, he explained, "means the point where although one power is stronger than the other—perhaps much stronger—both are capable of inflicting crippling or quasi-mortal injury on the other with what they have got." There is good reason to assume that "saturation" has been reached. The arms race now turns from nuclear weapons to the means of delivery and defense. The May Day practice flights over Moscow have shown that before long the Russians will be equal to the Americans in means of delivery and defense. We still shall retain the very great advantage of our geographical position and our overseas air bases.

What mankind faces, according to one idea, is a new dimension in terror which will prevent war. As Churchill phrased it, we may "have reached a stage where safety will be the sturdy child of terror, and survival the twin brother of annihilation." It is widely believed that a major war today can be so destructive that no nation would make war. Obviously no one can win. This idea seems to me valid for a deliberately fomented war between major powers. But how about a minor war? The United States just missed becoming involved in Vietnam. The navy did not believe it could relieve Dien Bien Phu with conventional bombs from carriers. The air force figured that three small atomic bombs would take care of the Communists. Fortunately, the test was not made.

More recently the question of nuclear weapons came up in connection with Formosa and the offshore islands. If the United States had become involved in the protection of the offshore islands it would have been necessary to use atomic bombs on Chinese mainland airfields, on shipping concentrations, and on artillery and troops dispositions opposite the offshore islands. The Chinese Communists have announced that if atomic weapons are used on China atomic bombs will be used against the Seventh Fleet. They have this capability. Consequently, a minor war in which the United States used atomic weapons could easily snowball into a major war. The Soviet Union could not leave the Chinese Communist state helpless against American atomic power.

The danger that a small war in which the United States would be the first to use atomic weapons might well turn into a major conflict is due in part to what may be called the militarization of thinking in the State Department. I do not refer to the non-existent military mind. I mean that the State Department has more or less accepted the military habit of thinking in terms of comparative military power. Thus the Secretary of State promulgates the doctrine of massive retaliation. When this obviously is less than an answer to some of our problems in the Far East, he modifies it to tactical retaliation with "precision" weapons which will not injure "unrelated" localities. But what if the opponent retaliates in like measure?

Not long ago I had the edifying experience of listening to a senior State Department official explain that all wars have been horrible, that people have been killed in them, that weapons are made to be used, and that certainly atomic weapons will be used in the next war. This is where I take exception. Nuclear war would have no resemblance to any war ever fought before. It must be prevented before mankind destroys itself. The first step is to gain time. This means that even minor war cannot be risked. It should be remembered that the United States has already dropped the first two atomic bombs in warfare. We have sowed the wind.

In another war we shall, according to our military plans, again be the first to drop more atomic bombs. We shall do so for two reasons: first, it seems to be a simple and efficient way to wage war and, second, we are unwilling to compete in the conventional means of waging war. Dropping the first two atomic bombs was, I believe, the most tragic blunder in the life of our nation. But we are now prepared to do it again. This prospect has opened before us with hardly anyone realizing it. But we still have a little time to maneuver ourselves out of the trap we have set, not only for ourselves, but for all mankind.

THE BASIC CHALLENGE

Man's Outmoded Loyalties . . *by Brock Chisholm*

IF anyone is not yet convinced that warfare is obsolete in any terms of which we have ever thought before, he need only look briefly at the possibilities of biological warfare. These possibilities render the atomic bomb childish. There are biologicals available immeasurably more potent and which make better weapons than atomic bombs. Their production and distribution are not dependent upon heavy industry, or large numbers of technical people, or large armies and air forces. One good biologist and about twenty people to distribute the end products would be sufficient.

It follows that if we would survive we are going to have to do a great deal of hard, serious thinking. And that is one of the most painful obligations that we could possibly be asked to fulfill. None of us has been trained to think. We have been trained to accept large numbers of premises, and then—more or less freely, and within defined boundaries—to do our thinking from there. Those boundaries are now superseded.

Until quite recently it seemed reasonable to expect that the human race would go right on improving its position, increasing its command over nature, striving toward new and better goals. But today, looking at the total world picture, one is reminded of catastrophic eras in the past which many times have wiped out forms of life that have lived far longer than man has lived. These life forms, unable to adjust quickly enough to changing circumstances, disappeared. Man is facing just such a situation now. He may well disappear from this world and give some other life form a chance unless he can adjust to a totally new situation.

The difficulty of our position today is that we cannot go to the past for help because no one in the past—not the people who developed great wisdom appropriate to their kind and their race, not the people who wrote many of the words our generations have lived for, not the people who wrote our constitutions or who developed our economic or social structures—were at home in the kind of world which we find about us now. Because that is true, the responsibility has developed in this generation quickly to assess everything we are and everything that we do. Otherwise the dreadful outcome might be that our children would turn out to be the same kind of people we have been—and nothing could be worse.

We are the kind of people who have fought each other throughout human history. We have not learned yet how *not* to do it, and we are not going to learn by going back to any of the ways of our ancestors.

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When the nations of the world came together and developed a great instrument like the United Nations and its specialized agencies, there was great hope in the world—and I hope the hope remains. But the U. N. is still only an instrument—and unfortunately, having developed it into usable shape, many of the nations which participated in shaping it went home and went right on behaving the way they always had behaved.

Whenever we are ready to use the United Nations and its agencies for the purpose for which they are designed and developed, they can be very effective indeed for the welfare of all peoples everywhere. But whenever an attempt is made to prostitute the United Nations to the service of any one group, the result is disastrous to the real purposes of the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

FACING this generation in the immediate future are revolutions such as never could have been dreamed of until now. More than half the people in the world are born hungry, will be hungry all their lives, and will die hungry. But never again will these people be content to die peacefully, because they know now that hunger is not necessary. It is useless for the people who are well fed to say to the hungry ones: "Well, within forty, fifty years or so, it may be that we can do a good deal about this hunger situation and make you people much more comfortable." A man who is himself hungry and whose children are hungry is not inclined to be reasonable and to be able to think in long terms. That is all very well for us who are well-fed, but not for hungry people. And it is the well-fed people who are going to have to take the lead in changing the living standards of the peoples of the world.

Up until now mankind has accepted certain loyalties. It has not been required of anyone until recently that his loyalties should go beyond national boundaries, or beyond group boundaries of some kind. But the world at this stage of development needs people who are able to function as world citizens, whose concern is undifferentiated as between peoples defined by race, color, religion, nationality, ideology, or anything else. It is no good for any of us to presume to tackle such problems as atomic energy or population pressures from a national point of view, or from within the entirely accidental geographical boundaries which define our nations.

It is amusing to contemplate how accidental the boundaries of many countries really are. One has the impression, sometimes, that they were created by tossing a coin; actually, that is a far more logical procedure than the one by which many national boundaries were drawn. Yet those boundaries are expected to confine the loyalty of intelligent and mature people.

If we imagine some one coming from Venus, say, to visit our earth, things would look quite simple to him. All that is necessary, he would think, is for people to get together, talk over the situation, and behave sensibly. But the man coming from another planet would soon find out that things are not simple; he would have to acquaint himself with the taboos of each of our cultures, with local loyalties, with the limitations put on our thinking, with the taboo words that we all have, and with the emotional connotations that go with our lands and our cultures. He would have to recognize that almost all the people of the world have been taught as children that people who are different are bad, and that to cooperate with them is dangerous. The visitor from Venus would think that all our civilizations, our cultures, our economic and social systems, are experimental and subject to change, whereas he would discover that those who advocate change are not exactly the most popular members of the societies in which they live.

WE ARE in trouble, very serious trouble, because of the numbers of people in the world. We are increasing by approximately 70,000 a day. It won't be long until there isn't room for anybody to sit down. Every time we raise the standard of living, people buy more automobiles and we have to have more four-lane highways. Has anybody figured up how much arable land a highway four lanes wide and sixty miles long uses up, and how much food is not produced that we need to maintain a higher standard of living? These are serious matters and should be seriously considered.

Our political institutions are regarded by some people as sacred and unchangeable because at one time or another our forefathers planned them as appropriate for their time and place. But I am sure that the founders never supposed that we would forever consider their institutions sacred and unchangeable. Nevertheless we have done so in many cases. And we find now that when the nations of the world have come together, and have stated publicly in the Charter of the United Nations and specialized agencies what they hope to do, it is very difficult for many of them to recognize that their own constitutions prevent their carrying out those goals. The truth is that none of our institutions is necessarily adequate for the present situation. That means, as I have suggested, that there is much hard thinking to be done. And the only effective thinking can be done by people who are free of taboos and of many types of loyalties which we have hitherto regarded as admirable.

There is no plan for the human race that can be evolved successfully from within one culture. That is unthinkable. But then lots of people expect that all sorts of unthinkable things will really happen. Many even project into the indefinite future some of the very same political institutions that we now have—national governments, for instance. Can anyone imagine the world a thousand years from now without a world government? Surely no one. World government may come in a few hundred years. But if it is going to happen in time to prevent destruction of the race, some thinking must be done now in this generation. It cannot be left to our children or theirs, because there is danger that there will not be any future generations to do our thinking for us.

Many of us who are laymen in many fields must learn to listen to people who are able to think freely, even though what they think shocks us in some of our deepest loyalties. That is where we need to be shocked, and if we don't take those shocks hard and do something about it, we will not survive much longer as a race.

POWER FROM THE ATOM

Pattern of the Future . . *by Harrison S. Brown*

LAST fall while en route to India, I had the good fortune to spend some time at the British atomic-energy installations at Harwell and Risley and to talk at some length with scientists and engineers connected with reactor development in England. I was not only impressed; I was excited by the progress made during the last few years—progress which suggests that atomic energy may be precipitating a revolution similar in nature to the revolution which occurred in the eighteenth century when coal was first linked with iron.

In order to compete in the world market, Great Britain must step up its power consumption. The great question is where this power is to come from. Today British coal production stands at 220,000,000 tons a year. For a variety of reasons it is unlikely that production can be increased much above this figure. Exploitation of British coal mines is becoming very difficult because of the great depths from which the coal is now taken and the steepness and narrowness of the seams. In addition, coal mining is such an unattractive occupation that the number of miners is falling steadily. The only escape from this situation seems to lie in developing some new form of energy.

The same problem confronts other nations and will eventually confront the whole world. Reserves of fossil fuels — coal and petroleum—are finite, and the demand for them is increasing rapidly, primarily as a result of the spread of industrialization to Asia, South America, and Africa. Ultimately I believe that world-wide energy demands will be equivalent to about seventy billion tons of coal a year, and it is by no means unthinkable that they will reach two hundred billion tons. This would represent a seventy-five-fold increase in energy consumption. Total reserves of fossil fuels which can ultimately be mined probably amount to between eight hundred billion and eight thousand billion tons of coal. We can see, therefore, that the world as a whole cannot exist at a highly industrialized level for a very long time in the absence of new energy sources.

Clearly, atomic energy must finally play a major role in powering the world's industries. For some time to come, however, its use will be unevenly distributed. Economic considerations will determine in what regions of the world it will first be used on a large scale. Where electricity can be produced from atomic energy more cheaply than from coal, the use of atomic energy will spread rapidly. In other places it will probably have only rather specialized applications.

The United States possesses vast reserves of fossil fuels—reserves which on a per capita basis are far greater than those possessed by other nations. With such fuels both abundant and cheap, atomic energy is not likely to affect our economy as quickly as the economies of certain other regions of the world. Nevertheless, we shall go on developing atomic energy, and it is possible that the two cost curves—of fossil fuel and atomic energy—will cross in the high-cost-power areas of the United States in the course of the next few years. This approach to each other may be stimulated by the existence of government-owned plants and fuel, but once the curves cross, atomic energy will start playing a role in our power economy.

In Great Britain the two cost curves will probably cross very soon and atomic energy will then come into wide use. What of the small countries of Western Europe? Italy, Switzerland, and Belgium greatly need more power and are short of fuel, but it is doubtful whether they have the scientific and engineering man-power to carry out reactor-development programs on a large scale. It seems likely, therefore, that atomic energy will reach these countries via their importation of the necessary nuclear-power equipment.

Atomic energy can probably play a considerable role in the industrialization of underdeveloped areas of the world like India. Although India's reserves of coal are fairly large, they are by no means sufficient for the completion of a great indusalization program. The amount of hydroelectricity which can actually be generated is also small compared with ultimate energy needs. Moreover, in India both coal and hydroelectric power are localized resources.

I hope I have made it clear that in the short view atomic energy will by no means be a panacea for the world's ills, but that in the long view it may spell the difference between life and death. It may play a major role in facilitating the economic development of vast overpopulated, underfed areas like India.

One is heartened to see that after much delay the United States government is taking steps to share our reactor technology with other countries and to stimulate the construction of experimental reactors abroad. Negotiations with Great Britain, Canada, and Belgium which will lead to agreements for the exchange of reactor technology are progressing. With three other countries negotiations have been started which will permit the transfer of fissile material for research reactors. The Atomic Energy Commission has announced that the construction of research reactors by private firms for sale abroad will be encouraged. In addition, the commission has established a reactor training school at the Argonne National Laboratory near Chicago in which students from nineteen foreign countries are en-

HARRISON S. BROWN, professor of geochemistry at California Institute of Technology, worked at Oak Ridge during the war.

rolled. A training course in radioisotopes to be established at Oak Ridge has enrolled thirty two students from abroad.

Prospects for the use of atomic energy as a constructive force appear bright, and all of us should be proud of the part the United States is playing in this development. Unfortunately, atomic energy still has its destructive capabilities. Large-scale repetitions of Hiroshima and Nagasaki are very real possibilities. And it is difficult to see how atomic energy can contribute markedly to the creation of a more abundant life until its danger to all life has been lessened by the imposition of effective international controls.

Atomic energy has given man the power to destroy himself, and also the power to transform the world. Can we agree upon international controls which will prevent his suicide? Can we cooperate with other nations in helping all men to have a free and abundant life? We are now being called on to answer these questions, and our answers will determine the course of history.

NINETY YEARS YOUNG

The Future's Challenge . . *by Freda Kirchwey*

AT ninety years, *The Nation* seems younger to me than it was the week it was born! In fact, even when I joined the staff myself—thirty-six years or so back—*The Nation* of Godkin and Garrison seemed a distinguished and remote ancestor rather than the infant from which the contemporary *Nation* had grown. I thought of it as profoundly austere and elderly, even at its most astringent. And I thought of *The Nation* of 1919 as a brisk young journal, energetic and bold. As indeed, *The Nation* seems to me today.

This is neither tribute to nor censure of either era. It merely reflects two different sets of manners and attitudes. The early *Nation* was shaped by Victorian literary standards and the theology of Adam Smith. Its brilliant editor, Mr. Godkin, was a very young man when he founded *The Nation;* his associate, Mr. Garrison, still younger—barely 25. But the journal they edited was born mature. They viewed the booming, reckless, ruthless era that followed the Civil War with the sober eyes of a disapproving uncle. *The Nation* took on a mentor's task at a time when few heeded.

The event that gave a more youthful air to *The Nation* was World War I. When Oswald Garrison Villard took over the paper in 1918—though he was the nephew of Mr. Garrison and the son of Henry Villard, its former owner—he changed it in ways that were as revolutionary as those which, with the end of the war, were simultaneously changing the world. And for this he deserves great credit for he was most respectful toward his forebears. *The Nation* shed Victorianism, most of Adam Smith, and the style and format they had dictated. It became almost rambunctious. Its liberalism was rapidly adapted to the collective social controls demanded by an industrial age which had outgrown laissez-faire. The air we breathed in *The Nation* office was alive with hope and initiative. If we did not invent the New Deal we at least helped create the issues, and utter the protests, and expose the facts that led directly to it. And in the process we fought an unremitting fight for the freedom to promote social and political change without falling under the repressive hand of the contemporary witch-hunters.

In other words, to this survivor, the period that marked the change in *The Nation* from youthful maturity to mature youthfulness seems not only recent but relatively familiar. For instance, I looked, the other day, at the issue celebrating our 60th anniversary—a round thirty years ago. It's a nice issue, crisply written, and in the center of its first main article is a message of congratulation—if you want to call it that—from . . . well, let me read it first:

> It is certainly curious that so outspoken a journal as The Nation should have survived for sixty years in a country where Truth is tarred and feathered, lynched, imprisoned, clubbed and expatriated as undesirable three times a week or so. The only encouragement I can offer you is that sixty has a better chance of reaching seventy than fifty of reaching sixty. I have been through both myself; and I know

The message was reproduced in its handwritten form. It was signed G. Bernard Shaw. It doesn't sound so antiquated, does it?

But why am I stressing this business of youth and age? What if *The Nation* has moved along with the speeding time and even pushed a bit ahead? The point is this:

We are on the edge of *new* changes so overpowering in what they promise or threaten—so vast by comparison with the social-industrial revolution of the late 19th century, and that of the 20's and 30's of this century—that they call for every element of strength and imagination, of adaptability and penetration, and particularly of courage and candor that a free press can possibly muster. The approaching age of unlimited power and almost unlimited mechanical controls cannot be managed—may not even be survived—unless all those qualities are freely put to work. Today, on the threshold, they *cannot* be freely put to work. Not only are our newspapers, our radio and television networks operating under government controls which cut off whole areas of information; they are also crippled by their own limitations. Over large parts of this country we have what amounts to a one-party press—functioning in one-newspaper cities. In addition, *all* newspapers face the added problem of high and still-rising costs, which have brought about a fabulous mortality rate. I have here a few figures taken from a recent talk by Mark Ethridge, the outspoken, liberal editor of the Louisville *Courier-Journal:*

> "When I entered newspaper work," he said, "there were 2,600 dailies and about 16,000 weeklies in the country. . . . Today, according to the latest available figures, there are 1,765 dailies and 9,591 weeklies in the United States. (That's 835 fewer!) Twenty dailies died last year, our second best year, but that is only part of the story. Since 1910, the trend toward fewer competitive newspapers has been progressing. . . . In 1910, 689 American cities had competing dailies; there are eighty-seven such cities now."

This is what is happening, and if trends show anything, it will continue to happen. Mr. Ethridge links this downward curve to the rising curve of attacks on our freedom and the timidity and conformism that they breed.

In April this year Robert M. Hutchins made one of the sharpest "friendly" attacks on the press that any public man has ventured. He made it, significantly, before the meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors. He too mentions the huge death rate among newspapers and its effect in creating a press monopoly—in general a one-party press monopoly. And he points out that the rising costs which have destroyed hundreds of newspapers have also, on the papers that survive, "put the publisher in the driver's seat where he has no business to be."

He suggested an independent continuing Commission on the Freedom of the Press which would report regularly to the American people. But my opinion is that a still more vital function can be performed only by those independent liberal papers, daily or weekly, which manage to hold out and to speak freely—without a look over their shoulders either at the advertising department or at any of the public or private agencies which busy themselves saving us from a Communist dictatorship. Such papers may be "endowed"—it is a lovely sounding word and I only wish it could be translated into an intimate fact. Or they may survive through the loyal support of readers who join in believing that they are essential to the life of this democracy.

However the economics problem is met—even perhaps by the miracle of self-support which a few have succeeded in achieving—the main thing is that an independent liberal press *must* survive. And believe me, its effect and its power of penetration are only partly related to its sales. Circulation is its greatest asset, certainly, but even without a mass circulation the facts, and a frank informed interpretation of them exercise an influence which is multiplied many times over by their use in colleges, schools, organizations—and other newspapers.

AND now to relate this homily on the press to the role of *The Nation* at the present moment of history. This journal of ours has no hard-and-fast plan for the atomic age. What we know *surely* is that through the new sources of energy and control now in men's hands, or soon to be there, the world can be brought by giant strides—compared with any era of progress in the past—to new levels of health, a decent standard of living—and freedom. We also know that the changes to come will work a profound revolution in every aspect of our society, in its power relationships, its social institutions, its basic economic structure. The revolution may seem gradual, especially at the start, but its total impact will be beyond present imagining. Out of it *could* come, in place of freedom, the tightest garrison state the world has seen. Out of it could come a global cartel of atomic-energy-controlling powers. Out of it could come a World Government.

Whatever the course of the coming atomic revolution, *The Nation's* whole endeavor will be to see to it that the facts of its progress are made public; that they are interpreted in terms of the peoples' interests; and I can assure our friends on this 90th aniversary of our birth that the sturdy spirit which inspired *The Nation's* fight for equal human rights after Appomattox—and for the democratic control of our country's resources, from Teapot Dome to Dixon-Yates—will continue to animate our editorial counsels and our columns as we move into the Atomic Age.

Anniversary Messages

(*Continued From Inside Cover*)

vigor in this age of geriatric renewal. May *The Nation* carry its torch no less high in the next ninety.

Archibald MacLeish

Distinguished Poet

Throughout my time *The Nation* has been a living and vivid and vigorous influence on American life which American life can ill spare. It is the characteristic condition of liberal journalism that its editorial opinions should arouse disagreement and even hostility. The disagreement and the hostility *The Nation* has aroused from time to time, as well as the assent it has evoked, have been life-giving forces. It would be difficult for me to say how much I think my generation of Americans owes to the devotion, the courage, and the truly creative intelligence of Freda Kirchwey. Those who know her love her: the rest have been deprived of a deeply enriching experience.

Roy Wilkins

Executive Secretary, N. A. A. C. P.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is pleased to send greetings to *The Nation* upon the occasion of the celebration of its ninetieth anniversary. *The Nation* has a long and distinguished—if not unique—career in American life. From the war-torn era of its birth to the horror age of the atom *The Nation* has been a fearless champion of freedom to think, speak, publish, and act upon those issues which have demonstrated the dimensions of the spirit of our country.

Negro Americans who have benefited from the uncompromising analysis of their problems by the articles in *The Nation* these many years join other Americans in gratitude for the forthright contributions this journal has made to America.

Walter P. Reuther

President of the C. I. O.

It is appropriate that the ninetieth anniversary of *The Nation*, the country's oldest liberal magazine, should be marked by a forum discussion on "Atoms for Peace." It is increasingly clear, as we move into the atomic age, that the harnessing of atomic energy for the benefit of mankind is certainly one of the most important long-range problems facing humanity. It becomes increasingly obvious that every sector of our society—certainly including the trade unions—has a real stake in insuring that peaceful benefits of atomic energy are made available equitably to all groups in the society, rather than used for the enrichment of the few.

In the democracies, we have an opportunity to insure economic security as well as human liberty. The Soviet Union can perhaps offer some form of economic security to their oppressed people, but their totalitarian form of government rules out the possibility of any significant degree of liberty and freedom for the great masses of people.

I hope that *The Nation* in the years ahead will prove of real service to the cause of liberalism in helping to offer guidance on the road to the goal of a better future.

Grenville Clark

Distinguished Attorney

Elmer Davis has truly said that "the first and the great commandment for these times is: Don't let them scare you." *The Nation* has never broken that commandment; and this complete independence is the prime reason for its value to us all. May it ever retain that quality, and so remain a priceless asset for another ninety years.

Van Wyck Brooks

Distinguished Literary Critic

Congratulations and every good wish for the future of *The Nation,* the great historic liberal weekly that is more than ever needed in our time of spiritual paralysis and suspended animation. Thousands of your devoted readers are sure that you will carry on the generous but sometimes forgotten heritage of our openhearted country.

Frank Aydelotte

Trustee, Institute for Advanced Study

I am delighted to hear of the celebration of the ninetieth anniversary of *The Nation,* and I send my warmest congratulations. I have always considered it a strong voice urging those measures in our public life which would be to the best interests of our democracy. I hope it may continue to prosper for a long time in the future.

Emily Greene Balch

Nobel Peace Laureate

Ninety years of distinguished service in the cause of liberty and all the decencies is no small matter, and the names of Mr. Godkin and Oswald Garrison Villard—to speak only of those no longer with us—shine out on the list of those who have nobly served our country—and not our country alone. Their legacy is, happily, in good hands.

May I add that it is to me, at my age, a happy sign of the vitality of the effort to realize peace that *The Nation* is able to take unto itself and make use of such a new and terrible element as the nuclear.

Alvin Johnson

President Emeritus of the New School for Social Research

If you, Freda Kirchwey, and everybody else who knows us didn't know that I am devoted to you and count you among the great women of our time, I'd come to your dinner to declare it. Since my coming would be difficult to arrange, and my presence would be an affirmation of the obvious, you will have to count me absent, except in the spirit. Through a long career you have never once failed our brave American republic, too often languishing because of the scarcity of true friends like you.

Mrs. Harrop A. Freeman

President, United States Section, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, United States Section, in its fortieth anniversary year, wishes to take this opportunity of sending cordial greetings to *The Nation* on the occasion of its ninetieth anniversary. We congratulate you on your distinguished and courageous journalism, and wish for you many more years of successful work. Since the peaceful uses of atomic energy is one of the subjects that interest the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which has always stood for universal disarmament coupled with world development, we are especially grateful that you are giving interested persons the opportunity of hearing the experts which you are bringing together for the dinner forum on "Atoms for Peace."

B. Sanin Cano of Colombia

Dean of Latin American Journalists

As a constant reader of *The Nation* for more than seventy years I join sincerely in the applause offered today all over the civilized world to the noble and valiant weekly that has always borne the banner of culture in the battle for the liberty of mind and all the rights of the human person.

F. D. Patterson

Director, the Phelps-Stokes Fund

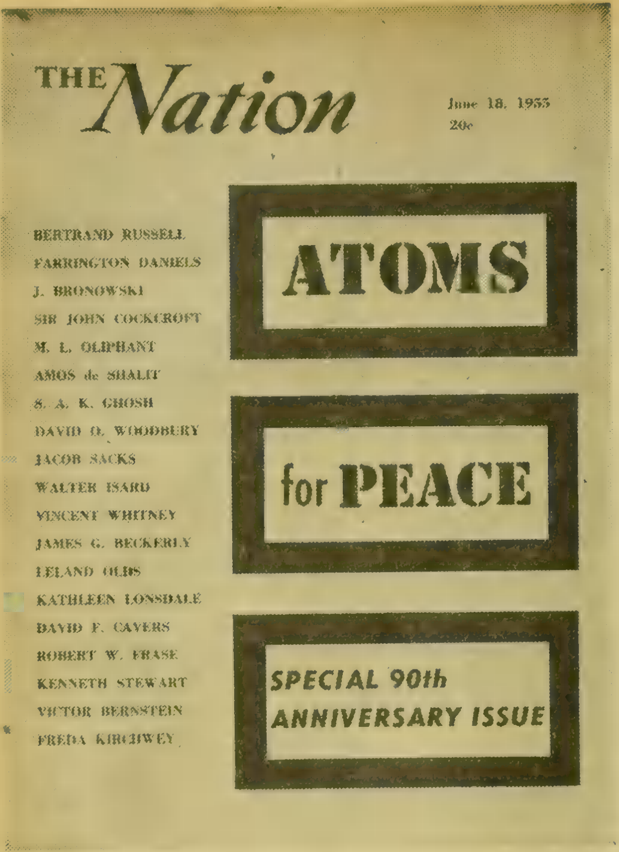
It is a signal honor to extend felicitation to *The Nation* on the ninetieth anniversary of its constructive service to the American people. During these years the cause of democracy has been well served through its policy of free and untrammeled discussion of vital issues affecting the welfare of our nation and its vigorous insistence that the expanding output which has resulted from human effort and inventive genius benefit our total citizenry.

Charles C. Burlingham

Lawyer and Civic Leader

I wish I could attend the birthday party of *The Nation.* We are old friends. When I came to the bar *The Nation* was in its teens, sixteen years old, and three years later, when Grover Cleveland was elected President, I began reading *The Nation* and I have kept it up ever since. I did not know Mr. Godkin, but I knew his son well, and I knew his friends Carl Schurz and George William Curtis.

The *Nation* has had its up and downs but under you [Freda Kirchwey] as editor it has had no downs. You have maintained the highest traditions of the most independent political publication in the United States.


THE Nation

June 18, 1955
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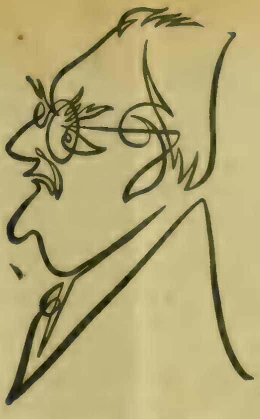
nations agreed on the need for such a force, as well as on the idea that some restriction should be placed on the veto, but the general feeling seemed to be that specific positions on revision of the Charter should be withheld until the General Assembly takes up the matter of a review conference in regular debate. There was some fear, too, that a Charter review conference might become a propaganda contest, with the Charter itself the inevitable loser.

It is not being suggested that while the smaller nations were demonstrating an aggressive unity, the Big Four simply sat and listened. On Monday night, June 20, the four Foreign Ministers met in the solemn and brooding Pacific Union Club atop Nob Hill to set the stage for Geneva, and they emerged early Tuesday morning, if their own pronouncements are to be believed, in substantial agreement: the heads of state will set their own agenda, will attempt merely to create a favorable atmosphere and to set up negotiation procedures, will determine for themselves (but in advance) the length of the meeting, and will adopt a certain rotation of chairmen, beginning with Eisenhower and ending with Bulganin.

On the floor of the flag-bedecked Opera House, there was a sparring for position, but hardly a clash. Molotov proposed a seven-point peace plan, consisting of essentially the same proposals made in the Soviet disarmament plan of May 10, and offered the previously stated Soviet position that international distrust is rooted in the practice of "some nations" of establishing "foreign military bases." France's Pinay met the last pitch with a neat drag bunt, saying that his government knew of no "foreign military bases," only "that common means are made available to serve a common peaceful idea." Dulles noted that seven points were not needed, but only one: observance of the principles of the Charter. All this verbal jousting seemed to be regarded by most of the delegates with a tolerant amusement.

Speculation, of course, was rife during the week. Eisenhower's widely quoted sentence—"We shall reject no method, however novel, that holds out any hope, however faint, for a just and lasting peace"—was used again later by Dulles, and suggested to some observers that a new plan of some kind might be in the offing, perhaps for unveiling at Geneva or just before. A chance remark by Menon stirred expectations of a "Menon peace plan" to be proposed at his formal U.N. address, but if there was such a plan, it never materialized. Other speculators noted that Molotov, while espousing the cause of Mao Tse-tung as expected, did not explicitly say that Formosa should be given to the Communists.



Secretary Dulles

But Molotov presented better material than that for speculation, if reporters cared to use it (as many did not). In answer to a question by James Reston of the New York *Times*, he said that "a united Germany should not represent the extension to the whole of the country of the regime now prevalent in Eastern Germany," nor that in Western Germany either. He called, instead, for "free all-German elections," though what conditions could properly be described as "free" he did not say.

Pinay too proferred a new suggestion in the midst of a defense of NATO. With obvious reference to the recent Warsaw pact, he said that arrangements such as NATO "open the way for agreements to be concluded on the interregional level." This was described, interestingly, as a German idea in Terence Prittie's report from Bonn in *The Nation* of June 25. To reporters who tried to tie this up with a previous Russian proposal for an all-European security system, Molotov said that the Pinay proposal was under study and seemed to imply that a basis for negotiation was present.

Even local domestic politics entered the picture as California's Governor Knight—who with J. Bracken Lee of Utah had refused to proclaim U. N. Day a few months ago—welcomed the delegates with the usual gesture of faith in the world organization, provoking locals to wonder whether his national ambitions are leading him away from the right wing.

There were indications that the most important aspect of the U. N.'s birthday party may have been the opportunity for relaxed hotel-room conversations in a fresh atmosphere. San Francisco, Reston wrote early in the week, "has the ability to make the young dream and the old forget," and amid the fortunate weather, between trips to the Opera House and frequent public appearances, the delegates could get together in the privacy of their rooms—checked for hidden microphones—and conduct those quiet talks that so often decide the fate of millions.

WHATEVER Dulles and Macmillan, Molotov and Pinay may have been doing with their spare time during the week, it is almost a cinch that they spent part of it talking about the emergence of the smaller powers, first at Bandung and then here. It would seem safe to predict that whether or not the Charter is revised, there will be changes in the procedures of the United Nations before long; and it is easy to observe that statesmen who set out to use the smaller nations as pawns in power politics are going to have surprises on their hands.

There is always a strong temptation to regard one's own predelictions as the truth; but it seems to this observer, at any rate, that at San Francisco the unanimous voice of the overwhelming majority of the world's people emerged as the articulate conscience of the great atom-armed powers. And it seems plain, too, that the smaller nations have no desire to stand by helplessly while the larger ones blow up the planet. Carlos Romulo summed up the talk about peace, freedom, and justice in a phrase: "It is what we are prepared to give up, rather than what we demand, that will enable the big ideas to become real."

BOOKS

Mirror of America

THE SEARCHING LIGHT. By Martha Dodd. The Citadel Press. $3.50.

By Lion Feuchtwanger

"THE SEARCHING LIGHT," by Martha Dodd, is an impressive example of the partisan novel. The book has few of the disadvantages inherent in this category of novels and all the advantages which derive from writing with a political-sociological conviction. We used to call this kind of literature "activism," and probably half the great novels of history have such an impulse to thank for their creation. Today it is literary fashion to reject this type of novel haughtily or smile at it condescendingly. The reason for the rejection, however, is usually that the critic disagrees with the political-sociological partisanship of the book he is discussing.

Martha Dodd's hero, Professor James Minot, chairman of the English Department in a rather large university, gets involved in the agitation of the faculty over the loyalty oath. He is not exactly a militant man; he is a scholar more inclined to contemplation than to activity. But he is a thoroughly decent person, and he doesn't like to make compromises with the truth. The battle over the loyalty oath puts before this aging man the choice of whether, by betraying his principles, he shall preserve the security to continue his scientific work and to live with his wife and daughter under a sheltered roof or, by holding firmly to his truth, he shall lose everything he has built up so far and go out into a hostile insecurity.

The author brings to life the whole university in the uproar over the loyalty oath. All shades of the struggle are visible. The souls of the individuals are tried. The many gradations between self-seeking cowardice and self-sacrificing courage are clearly drawn; with painful clarity the author delineates the wavering of each individual before it is decided whether he shall stand or fall and how soon he shall fall.

More clearly than any theoretical exposition this novel describes the sore state between freedom and lack of freedom which the America of this decade is going through. How this struggle changes individual persons and whole classes inwardly and outwardly is not discussed; it is made visible.

It is true that Martha Dodd has not always escaped the danger which the partisan novel invites; she sometimes falls into theorizing, into editorials. But she has invented an excellent means—artistically thoroughly legitimate—of conveying the message of her novel even beyond the persons and fates she has created. Her hero writes a book about John Milton, and it is strong testimony for the book that the mighty periods of Milton which her hero quotes are not out of tone. Appropriately the book bears as a motto the words of Milton: "I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat." Nor do the other great statements of Milton which occur in the book seem pasted in; rather they grow out of the situation and out of the people.

The novel is a true mirror-image of the United States of today. It has grown out of a realistic view, out of the will to artistic creation, and an honest commitment to freedom and truth. The author may point with pride to the fact that one of the last statements of Albert Einstein referred to her book. "It deserves," he wrote her, "the appreciation of every honest person that you have shed light on the whole morbid and fantastic process of which we are witnesses."

LION FEUCHTWANGER is the author of "'Tis Folly to Be Wise," "This Is the Hour," "Proud Destiny," and other books. He will publish a new novel, "Raquel, the Jewess of Toledo," in the fall.

Assault Against Barriers

THE SEAGULL ON THE STEP. By Kay Boyle. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

By Adrienne Foulke

IN HER new book Miss Boyle again deals with the American-European interplay which has so long concerned her. This is challenging but treacherous terrain for the novelist, and Kay Boyle often but not always matches the demands of her subject.

At one level "The Seagull" is the story of what happens to Mary Farrant, an American girl who came to Paris after the war to study painting. There she has got herself engaged to a young xenophobe, a minor American official whose attitude toward the French deeply troubles her. "He says the French are a nation of parasites who ask and ask and never give . . .," and before marriage Mary decides to run this bogy to ground. She embarks on a search for life, for reality, for the truth behind human relationships, a search which is at once tangential, purposive, and almost fateful. It soon plunges her into the currents of existence in a small Mediterranean fishing village, into events of melodramatic violence, and finally into a love affair which promises richly to make up for the sterility of her young bureaucrat.

So much for external incident; but Mary exists on quite another level. She is a kind of pilgrim of the spirit perpetually in search of the definition which she can receive only through love. Not her self-conscious, hobbled Peter Cornish but vital Michel Vaillant will reveal it to her, Michel who incorporates the "spirit of the new France," and its youth to which this book is dedicated.

Much of the action in the book is swift and violent, accompanied by

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ADRIENNE FOULKE, critic and translator, was formerly chief of publications for the United States Department of State.

some extremely vivid portraiture and, for the slighter characters, deft sketching. Dialogue is handled with Kay Boyle's impeccable ear, whether it be for the documentary realism of gossip in the bus, the lyrical compression and directness of lovers' talk, or the evocative, almost stream-of-consciousness musings of Mary and Vaillant on the things that divide peoples and individuals.

The signal failure of the book is, in this reader's view, traceable to the heroine, who is not large enough to hold all the levels of meaning the author has attempted to pour into this fragile vessel. Mary has not enough weight, emotionally, intellectually, or in terms of personality, for events to be polarized around her, or for her to perform the alternative function of reflecting them with fulness. (It is impossible not to be reminded of James, who was bedeviled by the same problem.) Though Miss Boyle's other characters sometimes stumble under the weight of their double roles, their failure is less disturbing because they are less crucial structurally.

Miss Boyle's "good" characters must rise out of themselves, like the priest whose concept of his pastoral mission grows to embrace the unbelievers and anti-Christs to whom he offers refuge. Even young Cornish, so cripplingly standard in his blinkered vision, can achieve his moment of uniqueness in a brief almost mystical camaraderie with his antitype, Vaillant.

As for Vaillant, he is perhaps the least developed figure in the book, less of a person, even less of an organism—despite the attributes of strength, vigor, magnetism, and courage we are asked to accept as his on faith—than any other personage in the cast. It is Marrakech, the mute Algerian cripple fiddling for pennies, whom Miss Boyle invests with symbolic meaning. This gentle, vulnerable, stubbornly enduring creature, buffeted like the seagull by opposing winds, again like the seagull soars above them. Her most humble character, then, speaks for the human spirit. It is such perception on Miss Boyle's part, together with her deep concern to penetrate or otherwise defeat the barriers between nation and nation, between men and women, that requires us to give her appreciative attention.

Books in Brief

Criticism by Quotation

PREDILECTIONS. By Marianne Moore. Viking. $3.50.

It is always interesting to see a superannuated literary form brought to life again, especially when its new incarnation is entirely different from the old. The pastiche, once no more than a scholarly entertainment, has been put to serious use in modern poetry, and it now becomes obvious from this collection of Marianne Moore's essays and reviews that she has fashioned it into a peculiarly effective critical tool. Each of her essays tends to become a patchwork of quotations ingeniously chosen and arranged to represent the character of the work being discussed. The critic's own language forms a deceptively self-effacing background for the interweaving meanings of passages from Henry James, Wallace Stevens, T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, and other authors. The quotations are an effort to conquer the opacity of language, and to put the reader in the presence of the work itself as far as possible, for Miss Moore's criticism, like her poetry, is motivated by a passionate respect for its subject. Most of her quotations focus attention on honesty, exactness, or discrimination, the fine joinings which quietly manifest the morality of craftsmanship. For poets, she says, it is enough "to care and to admit that we do." for "the zest for perfection communicates itself to others."

Yeats in His Letters

THE LETTERS OF W. B. YEATS. Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by Allan Wade. Macmillan. $9.50.

This volume of more than nine hundred pages contains only a selection of the letters available to the editor, and there were many others not available either because they have been lost or because, like those to Shaw, they are in special collections for one reason or another not accessible. The earliest dates from Yeats's mid-twenties; the latest was written a few weeks before his death. Obviously indispensable as biographical documents, most of the letters are at once candid and reserved. Though many were written to intimates like Lady Gregory, Katherine Tynan, and Olivia Shakespeare, more might be described as communications from a professional man of letters. They deal with the business of the Abbey Theater, the publication of his poems, the production of his plays. Despite a few revealing references like those to astrology or the ghosts he has seen, there is comparatively little out of his innermost life. An interesting exception is the very first letter, which was written to an unidentifiable woman and includes the sketch of a poem together with some critical remarks. One hardly knows what to call most characteristic: the already forming vocabulary, the reference to "my peculiarities which will never be done justice to until they have become classic," or the comment that if George Eliot "had more religion she would have less morals."

Novel of the Occupation

THE DARK ARENA. By Mario Puzo. Random House. $3.50.

A young American named Mario Puzo has produced one of the finest works of fiction to come out of this country's occupation of Germany. In "The Dark Arena," his first novel, Mr. Puzo demonstrates versatility of language and maturity of approach; the ability to break past surface into the core of situation and emotional pressure.

There are neither heroes nor villains in "The Dark Arena." Cruelty and weakness, unlimited to any particular national group, become part of the ambivalence of human nature itself. Here are Americans buying food or women for a carton of cigarettes, embittered Germans, and Jew-cursing British Tommies. Violence permeates all aspects of life until existence itself becomes too fragile for meaning; morality is not so much challenged as anesthetized.

Despite some structural flaws—the alternation of point of view, for example, is often arbitrary—"The Dark Arena" is a haunting book, not one to be read for either sensationalism or casual amusement.

Selected New Books

Southeast Asia

SOUTHEAST ASIA. By Brian Harrison. St. Martin's Press $3.50. The author of this history of colonialism in Southeast Asia, a professor of history in the University of Hong Kong, faced a task of inherent difficulty. Various alien influences have operated in that part of the world during the centuries of imperialist expansionism, with unrelated developments occurring simultaneously in different parts of the region. Mr. Harrison's primary reliance on chronological progression over the length and breadth of the whole area failed to solve the mechanical problem. His book has much meat in it, but the light he would have shed on his subject was first distorted by being distributed equally over minor affairs and great, and then dissipated in the shuttle from one corner of Southeast Asia to the other to keep abreast of the calendar.

INDIA TODAY! By Jack Finegan. Bethany Press. $4.25. A theologian-archaeologist would sketch the contemporary face of India and the nation's current problems in what is in effect a collection of individual essays on such varied topics as population statistics and mountain peaks and the place of religion in the lives of the people. Mr. Finegan failed to exercise balanced discrimination in selection of materials for his project. There are useful facts here, but not an integrated picture of India today.

INDONESIA: LAND OF CHALLENGE. By Marguerite Harmon Bro. Harper. $4. Mrs. Bro, a former educational missionary in China, obviously found her previous Oriental experience useful in assessing turbulent, problem-ridden Indonesia. She offers a wealth of information regarding that little-known country, with keen appreciation alike of the characteristics of Asian nationalism and of the greatness of Asia's needs in terms of everything from trained administrative personnel to penicillin for the treatment of yaws.

FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS. By R. G. Casey. Michigan State. $3. The Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs has written a short book, but as the subtitle indicates, it covers "Australia, the U. S., and the World." Perhaps it was that scope that led Mr. Casey to deal so extensively with generalities and the obvious—as in the section describing the British and American peoples, or that explaining the essentials of the cold war. The second half of the book is the most informative part, treating of neighboring countries, of the Colombo Plan and SEATO and the little-known South Pacific Commission—and of Australia's claim to most of Antarctica.

MINORITY PROBLEMS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA. By Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff. Stanford, under auspices of Institute of Pacific Relations International Secretariat. $4. Mr. and Mrs. Adloff, who have written much and wisely on Southeast Asia, now present a definitive work on the alien and ethnic minorities of that region. Under existing conditions those minorities are restless. The Chinese minority, with a political future described as "ominously unpredictable," and Moslem and Thai groups have a high trouble-making potential. Others, like the Buddhists and the Indian minority, promise to play a less active role—but they have their place in the political scene. This book will be most highly appreciated by Far Eastern specialists and the enlightened statesman; but it is of first-rate value for all who would obtain a better appreciation of the complex imbalance of minority interests in Southeast Asia.

O. EDMUND CLUBB.

Films

Robert Hatch

RUTH ETTING'S "protector," manager, and for a time husband was a minor Chicago gangster named Snyder and known as the Gimp. He was a cripple and he was not entirely sane, but it could be that he really loved the singer and was to a considerable extent responsible for her enormous success.

James Cagney, playing this role under the direction of Charles Vidor and from a script by Daniel Fuchs, gives a dramatic excitement and maturity to "Love Me or Leave Me" that are uncommon in Hollywood's biographies of famous entertainers. Cagney has a tricky course to run: he must make the repellent and dangerous Gimp sympathetic without leaning too far over into sentimentality, and he must make him convincing without unduly shadowing what is primarily an entertainment picture. There are some awkward moments when he is obviously motivated by the script alone and has to do the best he can with a patched-up happy ending, but over the whole picture Cagney shows you what sort of man Snyder may well have been. He throws a few punches to emphasize the characterization, but mostly he works through an eloquence of gesture and expression which is as subtle acting as he has ever done and surely as subtle acting as a "major production" can risk.

Doris Day, whose primary job is to sing the old Etting ballads, gives a creditable impersonation of the ambitious heroine. The proprieties of family entertainment require her to elude Snyder's advances with greater virtue and better luck than is perhaps common among taxi-dance hostesses who rise to fame through the efforts of the underworld. But she makes clear and moving the conflicting emotions that Miss Etting must have felt toward her patron unless she was tough beyond reason. It is, as Miss Day shows, no joke to be the only redeeming spark in an otherwise revolting personality.

I cannot recall how Ruth Etting sounded, but Miss Day's style is right for the period and she makes the old songs seem as wonderful as I remember them to have been. Cameron Mitchell, as Miss Etting's one true love, plays an inescapably priggish role with as much good humor as possible. "Love Me or Leave Me" probably tidies up the peculiar Etting-Snyder romance; even so, it is a refreshing variation on the little-girl-makes-good fairy tale.

"SUMMERTIME," the screen rewrite of Arthur Laurent's "The Time of the Cuckoo," is a beautiful and foolish film. It was photographed in excellent color (Eastman) in Venice, and David Lean, its director, has a discriminating eye for architecture. His camera moves gracefully along the canals, through alleys and across the great piazzas, taking slow, satisfying looks at the magic facades and the endless play of decoration.

But Mr. Lean and his co-writer, H. E. Bates, are uninterested in the springs and consequences of human behavior. They want the advantage of Mr. Laurent's stage success but are determined that the pathetic implications of his story shall not darken their happy Venetian holiday. Consequently, their characters don't behave like people, but that is a small price to pay for a good box office.

An American secretary buys the all-inclusive excursion to Italy, and one item in the package is an affair with a handsome but hang-dog Venetian antique dealer. The gentleman is married; so after four or five nights, symbolized on the first occasion by a spectacular fireworks display over the lagoon, the young lady boards the boat train with her camera full of pictures, her head full of sweet memories, and her secretarial competence unimpaired. I do not believe that business girls of uneasy age from Akron, Ohio, can kick up their heels with such impunity.

Katharine Hepburn played the part as though she suspected it. She kept *saying* she was a lonely old maid who had never been anywhere or done anything, and she fell into the canal to demonstrate her naivete, but she dressed and moved like a girl born to monogrammed luggage, the subservience of hotel staffs, and the advances of strangers. As her lover, Rossano Brazzi behaved like a well-trained professional escort and seemed ashamed of himself.

There is a good deal of talk nowadays about immorality in the movies. "Summertime" is an immoral picture because it suggests that a love affair is of no more consequence than an exotic salad dressing. However, no beds are shown, so the Production Code seismograph does not register.

J. MEADE FALKNER'S "Moonfleet" is as good an adventure story as a boy can find after he has read his way through the Stevenson shelf. It offers a satisfying variety of hidden passages, secret codes, graveyard rendezvous, smugglers, gun battles, fabulous treasure, and a young hero of admirable sang-froid.

About all that is left of the book in the movie M-G-M has made of it is the small hero, who, in the person of the flaxen-haired Master Jon Whiteley, walks through one hideous peril after another as though he were browsing home from school. The story has been all chopped to bits, and Fritz Lang has directed it as an excuse for the swashbuckling Stewart Granger, gentleman smuggler, to drink port, kiss foreign-looking ladies, and exchange desperate cynicisms with George Sanders. Every time the action gets under way, Granger kills it with his profile.

The distributors have sneaked "Moonfleet" in as a "B" picture; I mention it only because you may recognize the title and be tempted.

Religious Advertisements Reviewed In Brief

Religious and Economic Problems Related Intimately. — Denial of Connection Blasphemy.—We have seen that the One-God religion arose out of a great struggle between the forces of social justice and the forces of social injustice. On the one side, Jehovah, represented by the Hebrew prophets, endorsed repeatedly by Jesus. And on the other side, Baal, represented by prophets coming mostly from the cities.

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General Public Today Losing Interest In Severe, Individualistic Deity. —The outrage perpetrated upon Social Monotheism in the Roman empire and subsequently is at length reaching its logical result: The reduced, non-social, individualistic form of monotheism is failing to hold the lay element from which the churches always have been recruited. The general subject is dealt with in three circulars, available without charge if stamps are forwarded to cover mailing costs. No. 1, "Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History." No. 2, "Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God." No. 3, "An Approach to Our Underlying Economic Problems." Nine cents in stamps, postage on all three circulars. Clip to card in envelope, with name and address, Sealed, first class. Also return address on outside of envelope. No letter necessary.—To prevent misunderstanding, note that no circulars will be forwarded if no stamps are sent.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

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Record Notes

By Robert E. Garis

Bach: Cantatas No. 78 ("Jesus der du meine Seele") and No. 106 ("Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit"); Stitch-Randall, Hermann, Dermota, Brown, Heiler, with Bach Guild Orchestra and Chorus under Prohaska (Bach Guild); good performances.

Bartok: Minor piano pieces including Suite Op. 14; Sandor (Columbia); good performances; cold piano sound.

Beethoven: Sonatas for piano, Op. 2, No. 3, and Op. 49, Nos 1 & 2; Gulda (London); fine performances.

Sonatas for violin and piano, Op. 30, No. 2, and Op. 96; Gulda and Ricci (London); beautiful performances.

Brahms: Piano Recital, three volumes: Op. 10, 76, 79, 116, 117, 119; Kempff (London); those who like the music may approve of these conventionally "solid" performances.

Sonata for violin and piano, Op. 100; Stern and Zakin (Columbia); fine performance. (With the dull "F. A. E." Sonata for violin and piano by Dietrich, Schumann and Brahms.)

Debussy: Sonata for violin and piano; Ferras and Barbizet (London); mannered performance. (With Faure's watery Sonata for violin and piano, Op. 108.)

Faure: Chanson d'Eve; Kolassi with Collard (London); this performance makes little of these beautifully quiet songs. (With Milhaud's uninteresting Poemes Juifs.)

Martin: Concerto for harpsichord and small orchestra; Nef with Ensemble Orchestral de L'Oiseau-Lyre under de Froment (Oiseau-Lyre); an attractively mild piece, beautifully performed; recording muffled.

Mendelssohn: Symphonies No. 3 and 5 ("Scotch" and "Reformation"); Mitropoulos and N. Y. Philharmonic (Columbia); heavily "effective" performances, without clarity and grace; confused orchestral sound.

Mozart: Symphony No. 40 in G Minor; Prohaska with Vienna State Opera Orchestra (Vanguard); fair performance; shrill recording.

Schubert: "Arpeggione" Sonata; Albin and Helffer (Telefunken); beautiful performance and recording. (With Mendelssohn's dull Sonata for cello and piano, No. 2.)

Smetana: String Quartet in E Minor ("Aus meinen Leben"); Vegh Quartet (London); fair performance; dry recording. (With Kodaly's mildly interesting Quartet No. 2, Op. 10.)

Tchaikovsky: Symphony No. 6 ("Pathetique"); Kleiber with Paris Conservatory Concert Orchestra (London); beautiful details, not much passion or fire.

Wagner: A Wagner Program: Selections from "Tannhauser," "Lohengrin," "Die Walkure," and "Die Meistersinger"; Ormandy with Philadelphia Orchestra (Columbia); the usual solid opulence.

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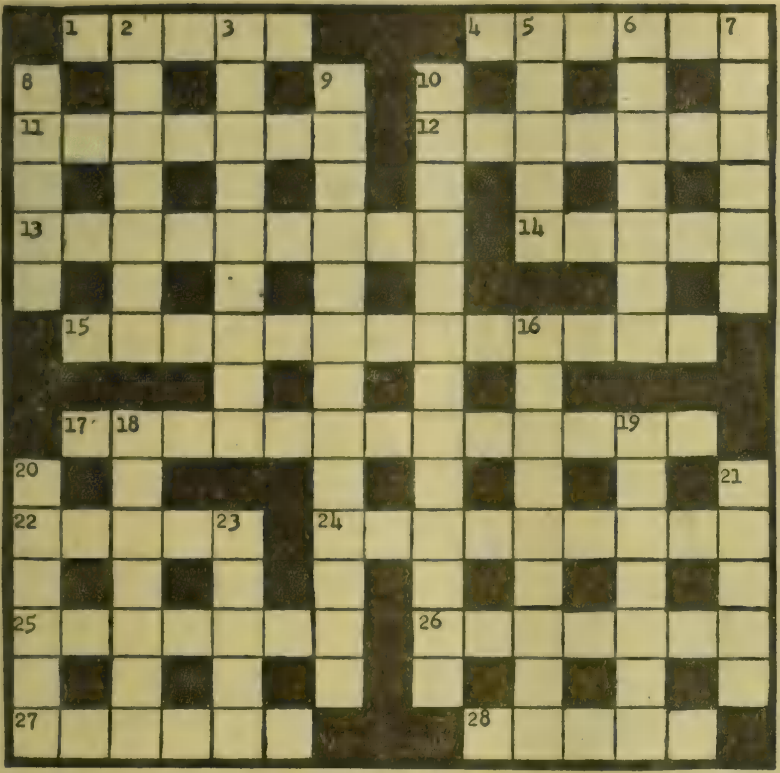
Crossword Puzzle No. 627

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 7 down You have to keep an eye on stores with multiple outlets! (5,6)

4 Proving a kind of circle is more than a portion of a circle. (6)

11 Secret society with an eccentric or divine make-up. (7)

12 Nice at one end of it! (7)

13 Sat in Alsatia? (5,4)

14 Mature. (5)

15 Implying it's possible to put something on the right-hand side? (13)

17 You wouldn't be safe to be found out in them. (8, 5)

22 He grew rich in India. (5)

24 Rhubarb might grow out of it in 17. (5,4)

25 Where the Aristocrats were kept in suspense. (7)

26 It might be the knife for the loin chop. (7)

27 and 6 down Cross-reference? (1, 5,3,4)

28 21 when its sense is leaving. (5)

DOWN

2 Looks as though it ought to measure time rather than strength! (7)

3 It might make the dust rise in a state of grace. (9)

5 He doesn't sound like a very dependable watch dog for the house! (5)

6 See 27 across.

7 See 1 across.

8 Slightly more than acid, yet less than rancid. (5)

9 This should keep you on your toes! (6,7)

10 The court procedure expands in test cases, evidently. (5,8)

16 Let out the inside of the vessel, perhaps. (9)

18 The interdiction seems to be 13 here. (7)

19 The first lady is about to bring up an endorsement tending to get out of hand. (7)

20 The mouth of a stream in a substance to promote cohesion. (6)

21 You can use it on arrival, but it doubles for 28 as well. (5)

23 4 across is likely to be like the house of an English author. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 626

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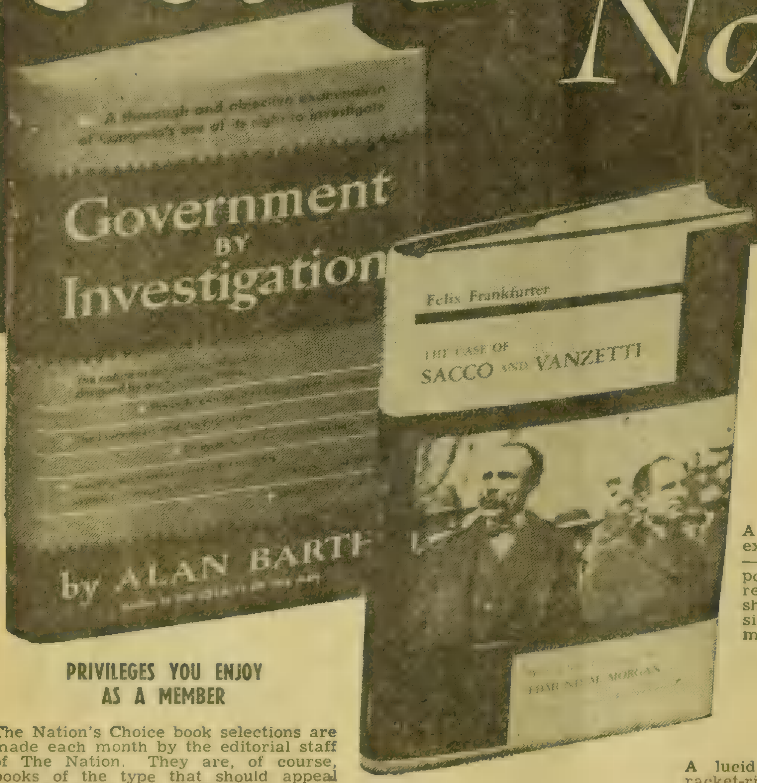
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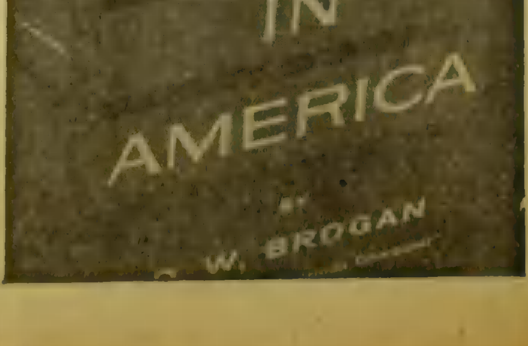

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DESPITE the hard fact that three public-school teachers lost their jobs in the wake of hearings held here recently by the House Committee on un-American Activities, there remains the equally cogent fact that never before has that inquisitorial body encountered such meaningful resistance. Well before the committee arrived, many voices had been raised against it, ranging from categorical opposition to the principle of Congressional probes of this kind to the considered disquiet of such groups as the New Jersey State Bar Association, the Americans for Democratic Action, the New Jersey Council of Churches, the Essex County intergroup Council, and the Jewish Community Council.

"Unfairness is *not* essential to the investigative function of Congress," the latter three protestants declared in a letter to the committee. The letter insisted on the right of witnesses to confront and examine their accusers. The state bar association appointed a committee of observers to "keep an eye on the hearings in Newark," as the Associated Press put it.

This is not to say, however, that the committee was without support. On the contrary, the advance build-up accorded it—particularly by the Newark *Star-Ledger*—was a throwback to the heydey of McCarthy. The customary civic, fraternal, and veterans' organizations fell over themselves to welcome the probers. At the outset, the committee appeared to display more concern for its opponents than for its supporters, solemnly promising not to conduct a witch hunt. But the appearance of the first in a long line of unfriendly witnesses sufficed to cause the committee to revert to type. Smears, intimidation, and the staged entrances of informers became the order of the day. Not many who were present will forget the treatment accorded John O. Bigelow by committee Chairman Francis E. Walter. Bigelow, a former justice of the state supreme court and one of New Jersey's most distinguished citizens, who appeared at the hearings as counsel for one of the witnesses, asked at one point for the right to make a statement. The chairman sharply ruled this elder statesman out of order without even extending him the courtesy of an explanation.

At the hearings' conclusion the teachers who had invoked the Fifth Amendment were suspended. The city council hastily passed measures requiring some 6,500 municipal workers to take a loyalty oath and to fill out a questionnaire based on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. A full-scale investigation of "Communists and other subversives" was proposed. But it was not long before the opposition within the community began to assert itself. Overflow meetings to register various forms of protests were held by such diverse groups as the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the Americans for Democratic Action, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Jewish War Veterans, the Essex County Intergroup Council, and the New Jersey Council of Churches. At these meetings the consensus was that people should not suffer public scorn or lose their jobs for having invoked the Fifth Amendment. The Teachers Union—A. F. of L. backed the suspended teachers and proceeded to raise money for their defense. A city councilman challenged the questionnaire employing the Attorney General's list, citing former Senator Harry P. Cain's criticisms.

The motion to launch a probe of the city's workers was defeated; its author was forced to resign as president of the New Jersey Region of the American Jewish Congress. The Newark *Evening News*, largest daily in the state, demanded that there be no "red hunt." Even the strident voice of the *Star-Ledger* subsided, its editors reconsidering their previous approval not only of the questionnaire but of the loyalty oath. "We are equally dubious about [the oath]" the newspaper said. "We can assume that all other Americans love their country. We don't have to force them to prove it."

THE situation in Newark developed to the point where Congressman Walter, on the eve of the final meeting of the Board of Education to decide the teachers' fate, delivered a scathing attack against the board for its slowness in "discharging un-American school teachers." The board voted to dismiss the teachers by a five-to-four ballot. Thus only a single vote saved the committee from utter rout in Newark. And the total record of the board's debates does not read well for the heretic hunters. Impassioned declarations by the minority in favor of the Bill of Rights and against the committee would have been unthinkable in any American city twelve short months ago. Teachers' counsel were successful in having the secret testimony of the ubiquitous ex-Communist, Bella Dodd, expunged from the record of the board's proceedings on the grounds that the committee had violated its own rules in releasing her testimony.

The board dismissed the teachers solely on the ground that public-school teachers who invoke their rights under the Constitution render themselves "unfit" for their jobs. Such, at least, was the effect of the ruling. Defense counsel are confident that the decision will be reversed upon appeal.

CHARLES R. ALLEN

Has Socialism Failed?

In an early issue of *The Nation*, Scott Nearing, veteran Socialist leader, and Herman Singer, editor of the *Socialist Call*, answer G. D. H. Cole's charge that democratic socialism has failed.

Coming soon in The Nation

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 16, 1955
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THE *Nation*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

The Burdett Story

The public hearings on the Winston Burdett story were cleverly timed to coincide with the annual convention of the American Newspaper Guild. Officials of the C. B. S. network concede that they had known Burdett's story since 1951; it could hardly, therefore, have been a recent discovery by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee which staged the hearings. By holding the inquiry at this time, the Burdett story could be used to smear the guild and put it under pressure to adopt a constitutional amendment barring Communists from membership. It was hoped, too, that the guild could be placed on the defensive generally by being made responsible, in the public's eye, for the failure of the Brooklyn *Eagle*. The guild delegates rejected the proposed constitutional amendment but decided not to resist the firing of members who have admitted in an open hearing "by a competent government agency or a court of competent jurisdiction" that they have been members of the Communist Party within a period of six months preceding their dismissal.

The Burdett story was calculated to put the guild on the defensive by suggesting the following phoney syllogism: once there were some Reds on the staff of the Brooklyn *Eagle;* once, too, there were some Reds who were officials of the Newspaper Guild; later the Brooklyn *Eagle* ceased publication following the collapse of negotiations with the guild; therefore, any dispute with the guild which leads to a strike is presumably instigated by Reds. To be sure, the logic is crazy; but the subcommittee has never been logical.

Challenge to the Press

The subcommittee, however, appears to be only indirectly interested in the guild; its real concern is with the American press. For several years now the various committees have been staging hit-and-run attacks on the press, becoming a little bolder with each sortie into the domain of the First Amendment that has gone unrebuked. In the Burdett hearing, a widely respected reporter for the New York *Times,* Charles Grutzner, was seated before the kleig lights and mikes and grilled about some stories he had written from Korea—ten years after he had ceased to be a member of the Communist Party. Not only was Grutzner's patriotism and loyalty impugned by this line of questioning but it was clearly suggested that the stories were "slanted" and much was made of the fact that the air force had been displeased by them. As in the past, the sub-committee retreated an inch or two by conceding that the *Times* had published the stories in good faith. But the retreat came only after the smear was launched.

Once again, the American press failed to meet with unanimity, vigor, and intelligence a clear challenge to the guarantee of its freedom set forth in the First Amendment. The time may yet come when the press will want to invoke the Constitutional guarantee against Congressional inquisitors; will it then be too late? The grilling of Grutzner is merely the latest in a long chain of incidents in which Congressional committees have been indirectly insisting on their right to demand an accounting from American editors of what they publish as news and of what appears in their editorial columns. If the challenge were direct and explicit, it would probably be met head on; but it has come indirectly, in installments, accompanied by disclaimers. But sooner or later the press will have to stand its ground. Like the guild, it has been placed on public notice that it is under Congressional scrutiny.

That Man Lattimore

On June 30 the perjury indictment returned against Owen Lattimore on December 16, 1952, was dismissed, and the long, bitterly fought case came to an end. Nearly everyone—note exceptions for Senator Jenner and the columnist David Lawrence—seemed relieved; even the Attorney General and his zealous assistant, Leo Rover, appeared to be glad that their "ordeal" was at an end. But we are not willing to let the case expire in this quiet fashion without a word or two of comment about Owen Lattimore. Every scholar, writer, editor, columnist, and newspaperman—indeed the country's entire assortment of eggheads—owes a debt to him which it would be difficult to estimate and which can never be repaid. In a sense, the Lattimore affair was the pivot of the accelerated witch-hunt which began with Senator McCarthy's Wheeling, West Virginia, speech of 1950. Fortunately for all of us, Senator McCarthy picked a most courageous, "unfriendly," non-cooperative victim; from the outset, Lattimore fought back with every resource at his command, asking for no quarter and giving none, and offering no apologies for views he had voiced or positions he had taken. Most American intellectuals admired his courage but some joined his pursuers and demanded his scalp with no less vehemence than that exhibited by the late Senator McCarran. The most disgraceful chapter in the record of the behavior of American intellectuals during the domestic cold war consists of these shrill, venomous,

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flanking attacks on Lattimore from self-styled defenders of "cultural freedom."

Not only do we salute the courage of Owen Lattimore—and the remarkable courage and fortitude of Mrs. Lattimore—but we also admire the extraordinary good humor and patience which he exhibited throughout his long and trying ordeal. Never, for a moment, was Lattimore the martyr; in general his attitude seemed to be that he was damned if those blokes down in Washington were going to push him around and get away with it. Too often scholars who can stand up to other scholars quail before political hoodlums; not Lattimore. Future historians of American intellectual freedom should reserve a chapter for his sturdy defense of that freedom.

The South African Dictatorship

By enlarging the Appellate Division of the South African Supreme Court from six to eleven members and requiring all eleven judges to participate and to decide by majority vote when the validity of acts of parliament are in question, and by increasing the size of the Senate from forty-eight to eighty-nine members, the Nationalist Party of Prime Minister Strydom has sounded the death knell of parliamentary democracy in the union. No legislative obstacles can now prevent the declaration of a republic, and the enlarged Supreme Court is not likely to uphold the "entrenched clauses" provision of the constitution which was used in 1952 to protect the franchise for the Cape Colored voters. Furthermore even this newly packed court, with the quorum restriction, may be denied the right to pass on acts of parliament in order to ensure "the further implementation of *apartheid.*" At the same time a series of new measures have been adopted which severely restrict the liberties of all citizens, white as well as colored, and give the police unprecedented powers to enter homes and attend private meetings without warrants. The bill to enlarge the Senate was passed after twenty-nine hours of continuous debate during the course of which Mr. Strydom was asked why he did not seek to get the two-thirds majority he needs for his program by calling for a general election. His reply has the merit of frankness. The bill, he said, was simply the outcome of "a series of frustrating tactics by the opposition."

The undisguised ruthlessness of this latest Nationalist putsch has aroused some opposition, for the first time, within the Nationalist camp. Thirteen instructors of the University of Pretoria have recorded their protests publicly. But the professors' protest was greeted with such savage fury that little further opposition is anticipated. Only the outward form of parliamentary government remains in South Africa today. The government is a dictatorship that acknowledges no judicial, legislative, or constitutional restrictions on its power to implement the *volkswil* which it equates with the decisions of the Nationalist Party.

are represented by McCarthyism and Knowlandism. When a people, for example, feels that it is especially endowed by nature, or other source, with the ability to cope with problems just through will, regardless of knowledge or special training, it is prone to frown on experts, even to look upon experts and learned men in all fields as dangerous or somehow treasonous, and select stupid men or demagogues for the most important responsibilities of government, considering ignorance to be somehow beneficial. This is not to say that Jackson was stupid or a demagogue, nor do I think Professor Ward intended to convey that idea. I myself continue to have a lingering admiration for old Andy. But it is to say that the ideas which made Jackson a symbol of his age can be dangerous in our own age, to the extent that they still prevail, and that this book, a brilliantly successful example of an unorthodox approach to a problem of history, performs a real service in bringing them to the surface in a striking way. It conveys a strong though implied moral that America must emerge from adolescence into maturity where its statesmen are concerned if it is to understand itself and also its true role in the world today.

Once over Lightly

CHIANG KAI-SHEK. By Emily Hahn. Doubleday and Company. $5.

By O. Edmund Clubb

AMERICAN thinking having for years so closely identified China with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, a definitive biography of the man would be of high value. Miss Hahn knows China and is a skilled writer; she had a good start in the field with her books "The Soong Sisters" and "China to Me." But her picture of Chiang is not an authentic likeness.

She portrays Chiang as a boy memorizing the first two books of the Confucian classics by the age of seven. But that precocious classicism was tempered by a rebellious nature—molded, in proper tradition, by patriotism. Chiang the youth is shown being initiated into the secret Chinese political society, the Tung Meng Hui, soon after his arrival in Japan for study in 1907. On that occasion he took a solemn oath to work for the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty, the establishment of a republic, and "the solution of the agrarian question by equitable distribution of the land." Miss Hahn says that those principles were "a genuine three" which had been evolved by Sun Yat-sen "after studying a certain amount of Western socialism." An unwary reader might easily infer that Dr. Sun's Three People's Principles had been evolved by 1911, if not 1907, and that Chiang was closely associated with the Chinese revolution and the Kuomintang from their early beginnings.

Objective histories of the period, such as George E. Sokolsky's monograph on "The Kuomintang" in the 1928 "China Year Book," do not bear out the suggestion that Chiang Kai-shek was among the prime movers of the revolution. And Sun's Three Principles were set forth in a lecture series only in 1924, under the inspiration of Soviet adviser Borodin.

The book next touches lightly on a veiled period of Chiang's life—1912-18. Miss Hahn reports that Chiang severed connections with the Kuomintang leaders and, from Shanghai, "sent money home and began to enjoy city life and learned to relax among boon companions" (associates unnamed). She says that there is only one book in Chinese which comes to grips, briefly, with the question of Chiang's life at that time by describing it as "a period of rather riotous living." The author finds it difficult to fathom the meaning of this: did Chiang drink, gamble? She suggests elsewhere that he might, in his lifetime, have been slightly naughty with the ladies. But she gave general clearance: "Only the Westerner considers this sort of thing as something shameful. The young man of 1913 was not a monster. He merely behaved like the other men of his world." It must nevertheless be recorded that there *are* Chinese interpretations that are notably less charitable to Chiang Kai-shek than is Miss Hahn's—for example, Tang Leang-li's "The Inner History of the Chinese Revolution" (London, 1930), pp. 252-55.

But we come to the vital matter of the Kuomintang's first collaboration with the Chinese Communists, under Soviet tutelage, 1924-27. Miss Hahn mutes the Soviet note. She reports that Chiang spent four months in the U. S. S. R. in 1923, but "his brief visit was not highly important either to him or his hosts." Hollington K. Tong in his "authorized biography," "Chiang Kai-shek—Soldier and Statesman" (Shanghai, 1937), contrariwise states that Chiang made his trip armed with letters from Sun Yat-sen to various Soviet leaders and was "very well received" at Moscow. Tong reports that Chiang, on his return to Canton in December, "made a favorable report on certain aspects of the Soviets and suggested a reorganization of the Kuomintang along the line of improvements which his observations in Russia had suggested to him." (That reorganization took place in January, 1924.) Miss Hahn herself, like Tong, notes that Chiang in Russia discussed plans for establishing the Whampoa Military Academy; but Tong goes on to assert that it was Chiang who selected General Bluecher as Chief of Staff at the new school. Chiang, be it noted, became head of the academy when it opened in June, 1924, with Communist Chou En-lai as his political commissar. In short, Chiang's trip to Russia substantially advanced the Kuomintang cause—and his own.

In the pattern of her book "The Soong Sisters," the biography now merges into China's history. The author would explain away derogatory comment regarding certain historical episodes. She attributes criticism of Chiang's split from the Wuhan government in 1927 to "Communist sympathizers," and says that as the result of their writings "there is left in American minds a residue, a conviction that he didn't behave nicely." The Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 commands attention for several pages but fades out after the 1932 battle of Shanghai. Miss Hahn remarks the contemporary condemnation of Chiang for failing to send help to

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O. EDMUND CLUBB, a retired American Foreign Service officer, spent twenty years in Far Eastern posts.

off to it for that, at least. The same cannot be said of France."

The second interesting development was the meeting of the executive committee of the Radical Party, at which the future of Mendes-France was undoubtedly a major point of discussion. No one expects that the ex-Premier can return to power before next year's elections. Premier Faure, his most important party rival, is at the moment in a strong position. The country is enjoying more prosperity than it has for years. Taking advantage of this fact, Faure prevailed upon his Cabinet to approve a 180-billion-franc wage increase for civil servants, thus winning to himself the support of many workers and at the same time averting what might have turned out to be a disastrous general strike. In foreign affairs, the Premier is doing what he can to capitalize on the ardent hopes of the French people that Geneva may prove a turning point in the cold war.

Mendès-France could return to power *after* the 1956 elections, however. This might depend upon his readiness to accept the indirect support of the Communists, for the 200 seats which the Radicals and the Socialists might get between them in the elections would not alone be sufficient for him. Communist abstentions, let alone affirmative support, could put him in office. But whether he would accept this indirect help is still a question, although some who know him well insist that once the elections are over he will prove more amenable.

This leads us to the third interesting development of recent weeks: the 47th Congress of the French Socialist Party. It was not, on the whole, an inspiring performance. The congress did vote to take back into the party the seventeen deputies who had defied party discipline to vote against German disarmament in the National Assembly. In other matters the party clung grimly to the narrow partisanship which has so often nearly destroyed it in the past. In the last elections for the French Senate, it will be recalled, Socialists in many localities ignored party orders to collaborate with Communists. In many instances the results were fruitful for the Socialists. Yet at the congress speaker after speaker rose to demand that the policy of non-cooperation with the extreme Left be maintained with the greatest sternness.

Evidently the Socialist leadership is hoping that a Center-Left coalition can emerge out of the 1956 balloting which would bring Mendes-France back to power and the Socialists back into the government. But the arithmetic of French politics foreshadows a different result. In all likelihood the choice that will have to be made a year from now will be between a *Front Populaire* which will have the active or passive support of the Communists, or a coalition of the Right. The evolution of the international situation may in the end strongly influence the final outcome.

J. A. del V.

THE NEUTRALIST CASE

Challenge to Geneva . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

Paris

NOT long ago "negotiation" was a subversive word. It would be amusing and instructive to set down in parallel columns the abuse that has been heaped upon those who like *The Nation* have for years argued steadily for negotiation, and the recent official statements from Washington favoring the same objective. But now that Geneva has clothed "negotiation" in respectability, "neutrality" has become the dirty word. Since the Austrian peace treaty was signed, the concept of a "neutral belt" across the Continent which would act as a cushion between East and West has gained mightily in popularity.

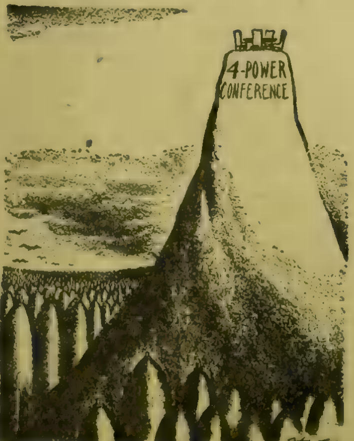
Walter Lippmann has pointed out correctly that neutrality was not invented by the Russians, although they have been exploiting the concept astutely. Certainly it has gained strength in Italy, where the election of Gronchi to the presidency indicates that 100 per cent pro-NATO, pro-Western statesmen have lost favor. The same is true in West Germany, although I do not agree with some of those who think that the neutralist pressures upon Chancellor Adenauer are so great that he will go to Moscow hat in hand. Undoubtedly the intellectual stronghold of neutralism remains in France, where men like Herbert Beuve-Mery, editor of *Le Monde*, and Claude Bourdet, editor of *l'Observateur*, are among its most persuasive exponents.

Beuve-Mery argues in favor of a "military neutrality which means neither military impotence nor the abandonment of politics." What he wants is the extension in Europe, with East-West agreement, of the "Swiss precedent." And he foresees the danger that the Soviet Union, by embracing neutralism at the Big Four conference, may force the West into the unenviable position of having nothing to offer a peace-hungry world but rigid adherence to the Paris agreements and the rearmament of Germany.

Claude Bourdet was a neutralist at a time when the word sounded as extreme as cubism did when Picasso started the vogue. He has maintained his position with remarkable consistency, regardless of whether he was attacked from the Left or from the Right. There was a time when Bourdet thought Tito was wrong in seeking the support of the West instead of trying to achieve a real neutrality; nevertheless, he defended Tito against the bitter tirades of the Communists. This particular position put Bourdet in a crossfire, the Communists attacking him because they then had no use for neutrality, and the right because they thought that neutrality played into the hands of the Russians.

THE simple truth is that the neutralists are no more pro-Russian than they are pro-American. They are pro-peace. They are convinced that the cold war, if it lasts long enough, must inevitably erupt into a hot one. Skeptical of the capacity of either the French or British governments to put up effective opposition to some of the more extreme American policies, they think that the only way to avoid war is to put as many neutral states as possible between the two main antagonists, the Soviet Union and the United States.

Neutrality as a juridical concept was given little serious consideration until the eighteenth century, when Bynkershoek asserted the right of a state to refuse to risk its existence by taking sides in a war. Wattel in 1753 sharpened and strengthened the new juridical tenet. In the following century the Italian campaign of 1859 and the Franco-German war of 1870 put to the test the principle of neutrality that had already gained much headway in the Congress of Vienna. The concept as it is accepted today dates back to the Hague Convention of 1907 and is based on two principles: the right of a nation to be impartial as between belligerents and its right to refrain altogether from hostilities. During World War I, when passions aroused by the conflict swept far beyond the boundaries of the belligerent countries, the idea of neutrality met with general hostility. The hostility diminished between the wars when the League of Nations failed to create an effective system of collective security, but it flared again with the outbreak of World War II. Neutrals were despised. The Swiss were regarded as a nation of small tradesmen who were profiting from the sufferings of others. Nevertheless Swiss neutrality, first recognized juridicially in 1815, has been confirmed again and again by the major powers in a series of international conventions and treaties, and has never been violated.



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Chance for a Broad View

In view of the tendency of European neutralists to look to Switzerland as a model, it is important to note that to Geneva neutralism means neither pacifism nor disarmament. The Swiss army is modern and well-equipped. Only the other day a government spokesman announced plans for military reorganization in view of the developments in atomic weapons and the increased need for air defense. Switzerland's is a "dynamic" neutrality designed to exact the utmost possible cost from any violator.

Of course the most aggressive and implacable European enemy of neutralism is Chancellor Adenauer, who returned from Washington more confident than ever that the United States is committed to German rearmament under the Paris agreements. It is his opinion that the Eisenhower Administration will be able to resist any Soviet neutralist maneuvers without fear of arousing important opposition from the Democrats. The recent foreign-policy statements of Senators Johnson and George are said to have removed any fears he may have entertained on that score.

A Tribute to The Nation From Frank P. Graham

Frank P. Graham, former president of the University of North Carolina and since 1951 the U.N. representative for India and Pakistan, who served as co-chairman of the dinner committee for The Nation's 90th anniversary forum on Atoms for Peace on July 19, had this to say about The Nation:

"In this age, when the average length of man's life is being increased and, simultaneously, the potentiality for ending all life is being accelerated, the pressure for conformity has become most heavy and fearful. It is therefore timely that the 90th anniversary of the founding of The Nation be devoted not only to the increase of the life span of this historic publication under the leadership of a noble and courageous woman, but that it also be dedicated to the freedom of opinion in America and to the survival and the well-being of the family of man on this earth."

In this new Washington-London-Bonn-Paris alliance it has become a question as to who are the leaders and who the loyal followers. So experienced an observer as *France-Soir's* Pertinax writes of an "American-German *directoire*" in connection with the coming Big Four conference—and this in spite of the fact that Adenauer will himself not be present at Geneva. But it is not only the sensitive French who see the amazing Chancellor playing the role of leader. O. H. Brandon, writing in the London *Sunday Times* of the Western foreign ministers' meeting which preceded the U. N. sessions in San Francisco, had this to say:

> Although Dr. Adenauer participated in the conference . . . for little more than one hour, it was nevertheless his personality that loomed largest in this meeting—not simply because Germany's future is the apple of discord between Russia and the West but also because the Chancellor's ideas have strongly influenced the policies the West will pursue at Geneva.

In the columns of *Le Monde* a Gaullist deputy, Phillip Barres, rebels at this American-German alliance which will insure the resurgence of the Wehrmacht and which —in Barres's own phrase—contemptuously ignores France's security needs. Barrès, whose name carries a great French tradition and who opposed the Paris agreements, has every right to be indignant. But other French politicians who approved the Paris treaties and now express horror at the turn of events which has transformed the Big Four into a Big Five with Bonn as the fifth member, have only themselves to blame.

Neutralists are motivated by two great fears; significantly, both in-approaches our ability to produce them.

If it can solve these problems, democracy may yet be a subject for hope and not for epitaph. Perhaps the authors deliberately refrained from evaluating the role of economic power. If so, a clue to their attitude may be found in their financial backers. "Voting" was subsidized by such corporations as Ford, Carnegie, Rockefeller, Standard Oil, Columbia Broadcasting System, and Readers' Digest Association. Does the piper dare play a tune discordant to the ears of those paying for the music?

Selected New Books

Fiction

THE HIDDEN RIVER. By Storm Jameson. Harper. $3. A fascinating examination of revenge and betrayal, with one of the most implacable and quietly terrifying females in recent fiction. Constructed in a series of scenes, "The Hidden River" has all the virtues of good drama—suspense, psychological depth, and backgrounds limited in scope but vivid in effect.

THE FUGITIVE ROMANS. By William Murray. Vanguard. $3.50. Pungent satire on Hollywood-in-Rome, as the movie capital takes over the Eternal City to make a technicolored Biblical epic. The book is fast moving, vitriolic, and effective, but when it tries to seem profound has an unfortunate aura of early Hemingway.

THE BRIDE OF THE INNISFALLEN. By Eudora Welty. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50. Fine-spun prose and polished indirection from Eudora Welty in a volume of determinedly sensitive short stories. Miss Welty, as usual, handles atmosphere superbly, although often at the expense of substance.

THE DAY OF THE MONKEY. By David Karp. Dial. $4.50. A moving novel of colonial tension, bigotry and counter-bigotry. Mr. Karp approaches his subject without political rhetoric or moral self-righteousness. His book deals dramatically with complex individuals in a complex situation, and presents a vivid portrait of new nationalism, old imperialism, and the Machiavellis of international power who feed on both.

THE LOVE EATERS. By Mary Lee Settle. Harper. $3. Wit, clarity, and irony combine to make this novel of a small summer theater group exceptionally good reading. Miss Settle is urbane but not mannered; she examines social facades with economy and precision.

A VILLA IN SUMMER. By Penelope Mortimer. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50. A savage novel of British suburban life and middle-class marriage. Miss Mortimer's talent for character demolition is quotable and completely devastating.

THE GOLD OF THEIR BODIES. By Charles Gorham. Dial. $3.50. A novel about Gauguin which suffers from its author's tendency to approach his subject on tiptoe. Some memorable scenes, in France and in the South Seas, redeem an otherwise pedestrian narrative.

THE OTHER PLACE. By J. B. Priestley. Harper. $3. Ironic fantasies with a basic theme — the terror of the isolated individual who suddenly confronts illogical and individually perceived truth while other people remain unaware. Priestley places a rather heavy emphasis on plot mechanism, but writes with humor and sharp observation.

O. HENRY PRIZE STORIES OF 1955. Selected and Edited by Paul Engle and Hansford Martin. Doubleday. $3.95. Competent short stories intelligently selected for moments of real interest. A pleasant volume for readers who enjoy short, well-crafted fiction.

THE GOODLY SEED. By John Wyllie. Dutton. $3. A perceptive first novel of a Japanese prison camp in World War II. Unlike many war novels it does not depend on externals; Wyllie's drama derives from the clash of personalities. Using neither blood and thunder nor prison-camp humor, his book presents an effective picture of men under pressure—Japanese as well as prisoners.

THE RED PETTICOAT. By Bryan MacMahon. Dutton. $3. The lift and flash of poetic wit that Bryan MacMahon's readers have come to expect appear only sporadically in this volume of short stories. An unwelcome sense of strain makes it a disappointing book.

THE BLACK PRINCE AND OTHER STORIES. By Shirley Ann Grau. Knopf. $3.50. Shirley Ann Grau is another talented young Southerner who writes stories. While her material is not limited to moonlight and magnolias, her work has a pseudo-folk quality many readers will find cloying. This is especially true when she writes of Negroes, who emerge as either simple or sensual.

STANLEY COOPERMAN

Politics

LET THE CHIPS FALL. My Battles Against Corruption. By Newbold Morris in Collaboration with Dana Lee Thomas. Appleton-Century-Crofts. $4. An astringent view of practical politics in New York and Washington. It is most valuable for its anecdotal account of Mayor LaGuardia's twelve-year administration and the evidence that city government can be exciting and constructive.

THE DIGNITY OF MAN. By Russell W. Davenport. Harper. $4. A serious effort by the late editor of Fortune to outline a philosophy of industrial man in a collectivized society. Long convinced that America has no real doctrine, Davenport devoted the last two years of his life to an attempt to formulate a philosophy "coherent with the past, yet outspread toward the future."

THE POLITICAL IDEAS OF HAROLD J. LASKI. By Herbert A. Deane. Columbia. $5.75 With elaborate detail and copious citation an American political scientist demonstrates that "Laski's political teachings were not of major philosophic significance or profundity." To his students, however, he conveyed the excitement of thinking and his faith that men could build a better world.

AMERICAN POLITICAL THOUGHT. By Alan Pendleton Grimes. Holt. $6. Although Professor Grimes presents no unique interpretations, he has written a useful orthodox summary of American political thought. Bibliographical essays for each chapter provide valuable suggestions for readers who desire to read original documents and interpretative monographs.

H. H. WILSON

gain with a union representing a majority of their workers, but the law fails to state how that majority is to be proved.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that Florida has no labor-relations board to handle labor disputes. The National Labor Relations Board has rejected jurisdiction over hotels. Senator Douglas of Illinois has asked the N. L. R. B. to reconsider its policy "in the light of the obvious impact upon commerce which a labor dispute in the hotel industry could have." The Taft-Hartley Act, he said, provides no basis for the exclusion of an industry in interstate commerce. He accused the N. L. R. B. of leaving the hotel dispute here to the "law of the jungle." The National Mediation and Conciliation Service also has declared a hands-off policy, as has Governor LeRoy Collins. Miami Beach officials refuse to get involved.

What the union is up against was made clear when the owners of six hotels sued in the Dade Circuit Court to ban picketing on the ground that there was violence on the picket lines and that the picketing was illegal. A panel of three judges turned down the plea, ruling that there had been no violence, though they withheld a decision as to the legality of the picketing. The hotels then appealed to the state Supreme Court, which ruled that the picketing was illegal because the union had not proved it represented the employees. The Circuit Court was directed to issue an order banning the pickets. At the union's request, however, the Supreme Court set down a procedure which it said the union should follow to prove it represented the employees.

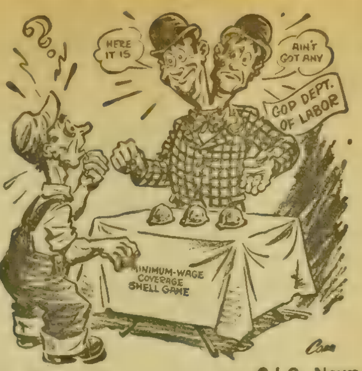
THIS procedure consisted of three steps: (1) before picketing a hotel the union should submit in writing to management a claim of majority representation and proof of this claim; (2) it should submit a list of specific demands; and (3) it should give adequate notice of its intention to picket if the hotel failed to negotiate and declare its purpose in picketing. In an effort to follow this procedure the union announced plans for an industry-wide strike vote. But no responsible group was willing to supervise the vote. So the union went ahead in a "do-it-yourself" election supervised by a radio commentator. Employees of eighty-seven hotels, including the six which had brought suit, voted to strike. The union said the vote was "overwhelmingly" in favor of a strike at every hotel whose workers took part in the election. Hotel men claimed the vote was "illegal" and of "no consequence."

After the vote the union sent letters to the managements of hotels in accordance with the procedure set down by the Supreme Court. Every hotel referred the matter to its attorney, who turned down the union's request to negotiate. More hotels were picketed but not struck. Meanwhile the union had appealed to the Circuit Court to withdraw the injunctions which banned picketing at the six hotels involved in the test case. The Circuit Court found that the union had followed the procedure recommended by the Supreme Court and declared the picketing was legal. Picket lines were restored at the six hotels immediately.

Attorneys for the hotels, alleging the hotels were losing thousands of dollars, then asked the Supreme Court to reinstate its anti-picketing order pending a final decision as to the legality of the picketing. Without giving its reasons, the Supreme Court ordered a temporary end to picketing. A final ruling on whether the picketing is legal or not is expected in several weeks. The union already has served notice that if the decision goes against it, it will appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

Pickets are now limited to two hotels, and the union is biding its time. It has a constitutional convention coming up and then an election of officers. "This will keep us busy for a time," union spokesmen say. Herman has not revealed what he plans to do while waiting for the United States Supreme Court to hear the union's appeal against the verdict of the state court in case that is adverse. Until the winter season starts he has indicated he will be "consolidating."

Many people have asked why the union waited to strike until the start of the summer season. The union's answer is that the people now working in the hotels are the hard core of the employees, the ones who make a business of hotel work and have staked their future on it, as contrasted with the drifters who work during the "season." The union's theory is that a labor organization that can improve their lot means more to the resident workers. It also argues that if it had waited until the winter season to call a strike the hotels would have had no trouble in finding replacements. Actually, the theory hasn't worked out too well. The hotels have all the employees they need, plus a waiting list. That is because business is so poor, the union says.



C.I.O. News

Now you see it—now you don't

Evidently the dispute will go on for some time. Through its locals all over the country the union is conducting a vigorous campaign to influence possible visitors to stay away from Miami Beach. It is using newspaper advertisements, radio announcements, and demonstrations in Northern cities, and even on the Pacific coast, to publicize its side of the story. Several weeks ago thouands of waiters in New York City staged a demonstration to indicate their sympathy for the Miami Beach strikers.

The hotels are carrying on just as vigorous a campaign to counteract the union's efforts. They are advertising extensively in Northern papers in an attempt to convince the public that the dispute is not affecting hotel service or general resort conditions. Through the Miami Beach Hotel Association they have sent telegrams to seventy-five newspapers in the North threatening them with libel suits if they print the union's ads telling the public of strikes at certain hotels in Florida. So far as is known, a Philadelphia newspaper is the only one that has turned down a union ad. The union has announced that it will ask a Senate investigating committee to look into this phase of the dispute.

Neither side is willing to say how

much it is spending, but the hotels recently disclosed that they had increased their advertising budget by $50,000 a week to counteract the union's campaign. Each hotel has also probably spent $5,000 in attorney's fees. Hotels which have succeeded in getting picketing banned by the courts have had to put up bonds ranging from $2,500 to $5,000. No figures are available as to what the battle is costing the union, but reliable reports put it at about $10,000 a day in this area alone.

Both sides apparently have lots of money to invest. The union's executive committee convened here recently and voted to provide unlimited funds for the duration of the dispute. Locals in the 425,000-member union have been asked to contribute. According to a union publication of June 4, about $192,000 had been collected so far.

The Miami Beach hotels directly affected are not operated by any of the major hotel corporations, though both the Schine and Hertfield corporations own and operate hotels here. There is a handful of owners who have grown up with the hotel industry, but many hotels are controlled by speculative interests. One is owned and operated by a man once called the "king of the punchboard industry." Some of the hotels took quite a pasting when Senator Estes Kefauver's committee conducted its investigation into racketeering here a few years ago.

Miami Beach hotels are all making money. The union charges they are making it at the employees' expense. There is no minimum-wage law in Florida, and according to the union hotels pay their help from $5 to $7 a day for a ten-hour and in some cases a twelve-hour day. The union contends that the seven-day week is common, without overtime, and that there are no paid holidays and no vacations with pay. Hotel men will not discuss wages and hours, but they say the employees get more than the union admits and they scoff at the union's seven-day-week charge. They also argue that a majority of employees make "plenty" in tips. This the union denies.

THE BANG FOR-A-BUCK CRISIS

Does Wilson Want Out? . . *by Edgar Kemler*

Washington.

AT FIRST glance nobody seems better equipped to take the hysteria out of our defense establishment than "Engine Charlie" Wilson, the controversial Secretary of Defense. Certainly no Secretary has ever worked harder at it. Over the opposition of admirals and air-force generals he has abolished the so-called "crash" system of weapons development, the system that produced the ill-fated, now obsolete B-36 long-range bombers. New-model jet fighters and jet bombers are now leisurely tested and remodeled for five and eight years, respectively, instead of for two and three years, before being mass produced. Although this system is both efficient and economical—last year it helped save the Defense Department one and three-quarter billion dollars—it is now in jeopardy, for Congress is forcing upon Wilson $356,000,000 for speeding up the production of B-52 bombers 35 per cent and an additional $50,000,000 for testing new jet fighters—a total of more than $500,000,000.

If Wilson's system has been rejected, it is because he never fully explained his reasons for setting it up. In January, 1953, his first month in office, he knew that by January, 1957, if not earlier, the Russians would unquestionably have the same capacity for annihilating us that we would have for annihilating them. Thus, big-time war was definitely on the way out, and to continue the arms race with Russia as if war still loomed was not only wasteful but immoral. As Wilson recently told a House appropriations subcommittee, it would tempt us "to throw our weight around too much and frighten everybody." On the economy argument, of course, the Eisenhower Administration stands foresquare with Wilson. On the moral argument Secretary of State Dulles, Vice-President Nixon, and other tough-talking colleagues are miles away from him. It is in deference to them that he has maintained that he was slowing down arms production in order to get better results and not to mark time in the arms race.

His claim to be giving a "bigger bang for a buck" has changed Wilson from the miracle man of Eisenhower's Cabinet into its most vulnerable member. Any disgruntled service man from General Ridgway down—and they are all disgruntled in our economy-size army—can make him look silly. This is a bitter and disillusioning experience for Wilson. The other day he spoke of how different it was at General Motors, where he had the respect of his subordinates and nobody tried to "end-run" him because he knew too much about the business for them to get away with it.

WILSON'S—and Eisenhower's—efforts to muzzle "end-runners" by permitting "constructive" news only has failed. As one result of the censorship, the Pentagon was virtually tongue-tied in mid-May when the Russians revealed that they had at least twenty B-52 superbombers—we have perhaps three. Nobody explained, though all the experts knew, that Russia needed these bombers for its atomic-retaliation plans, while we did not need them for ours. We already have two formidable striking forces—the B-47 medium jet-bombers based on overseas fields adjacent to Soviet Russia (the Soviet B-47's cannot reach the United States), and the Mediterran-

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ean carrier force, which is regarded as a mobile second force bolstering the first. A striking force of B-52's has long been considered preferable to the other two but not essential—even after an advance warning of the Russian B-52 build-up last year. There was such a loud protest against the new $200,000,000 aircraft carriers of the Forrestal type—the fifth will be authorized this year—that Wilson may have been reluctant to speed up construction of the $8,000,000-B-52's, which are even less urgently needed than the carriers.

Once the strength of the Russian air force was revealed and its effect on our so-called air superiority was explained by an anti-Wilson intelligence officer, Brigadier General W. M. Burgess, Wilson's slow-down program was finished. The press simply could not understand why Wilson could not hold the "lead" with more than 10 per cent of the country's wealth going into the defense effort. Wilson stubbornly refused to authorize a speedup of B-52's until—it is reported—his Air Secretary, Harold Talbott, threatened to resign. Now rumors are circulating that Wilson, because of his defeat, is preparing for his own resignation. Whether this is true or not, there is something awe-inspiring about his resistance to demagoguery. Although he has assured the public at least a hundred times that the United States still rules the air, when he was asked this question again in a secret session of the Senate Appropriations Committee he replied cryptically, "We say we do"—as if to underscore the irrelevance of the question.

WILSON'S stature appears further enhanced when we compare him with his partisan Democratic critic, Senator Stuart Symington. In Symington's defense, however, it may be said that if Wilson were a Democratic Defense Secretary being grilled by a Republican Congress, he would probably be charged with treason instead of mere penny-pinching. Having been accused of economy as if it were a crime, Wilson is immune to the criticism of Representative George Mahon of Texas, who blames him for not pushing economy far enough. Mahon, as head of a House appropriations subcommittee, has discovered that the Pentagon's loose contracting amounts to a gigantic giveaway to defense industries in general and the aircraft industry in particular. Oddly enough, the Boeing Company, which makes the controversial B-52's, has benefited most from this giveaway. Between 1950 and 1954 its net profits rose 242 per cent, while its net worth increased only 79 per cent. Moreover, its net profits are now 45 per cent of its net worth—an extraordinary ratio which is reflected in a sixfold rise in the price of its stock. Mahon's staff is quietly pursuing this scandal, and more will be heard of it when Symington has quieted down.

The battle over the B-52 speed-up is a bad omen for the Big Four conference, now less than two weeks off. It shows that official Washington, if not the country generally, is better prepared to face an impossible war than an actual peace. Perhaps President Eisenhower had this in mind when he warned people not to expect miracles from the conference. He may have been thinking more of the restraints imposed on him by the inhibitions of official Washington than of possible traps set by the once stubborn, now conciliatory Russians. To break through those inhibitions is Eisenhower's greatest problem.

EUROPE'S SICK ECONOMY

Needed: a Forward Look . . *by Douglas F. Dowd*

ONLY a confirmed pessimist can now doubt that the chances for peace in Europe have improved enormously in the last few months. For this happy train of events to continue for more than the short run, however, the European economy has to function in some relatively satisfactory manner. To argue otherwise is to fly in the face of history. The years between the two world wars were years of profound economic dislocation and disturbance, and who would deny that the ugly political developments of the period and the war they brought on were largely due to that economic chaos? In the decade since the war, Europe has moved away from the economic patterns of the two decades preceding it. How far? In what direction? For how long?

The European economy was in terrible shape before World War II, and subsequent developments have punched it out of shape even more. With a significant movement toward a basically peace-time economy in Western Europe, a presumed lessening of armaments expenditures, and the planned disappearance of Amer-

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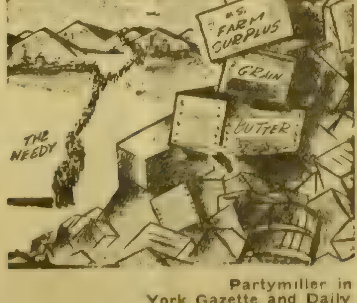
ican aid, it is almost certain that some of the pre-war problems will re-emerge with added complications. The basic characteristics and developments of the interwar period in Europe are dealt with extensively in a recent U. N. publication, "Growth and Stagnation in The European Economy," by Professor Svennilson of Stockholm. I shall lean on his work in what follows.

ONE learns nothing from the simple drawing of parallels. It is nevertheless intriguing to note the degree of parallelism that does exist in the first decade or so following World War I as compared with that following World War II. Western Europe—meaning the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, the Benelux and Scandinavian countries—has enjoyed a boom in the last five years. It did so in the years 1925-1929, too. In both cases the boom was preceded by five years or more of distress and difficulty. In both cases the European boom rested to a critical extent on prosperity in the United States; and, in the present boom, on cold- and Korean-war stimuli. In the earlier period, the reaction to the boom was to assume that the pre-1913 "normalcy" had been or was on its way to being regained. That attitude now seems to be spreading as regards the present boom, although here and there a cautious voice is heard. Europe's boom of the 1920's was shattered when the depression began in the United States in 1929; whether a similar catastrophe awaits should be a leading question of the day.

Few think America will again experience a depression as sharp or as deep as that of the thirties. There is even less reason to believe that the current boom in America will last. With no slackening in armament expenditures, an optimistic estimate would place the duration of present levels of employment and income at a year and a half at most. If and when recession sets in here, it will doubtless be gradual; doubtless also it will not be allowed to fall to the levels of the thirties. But the international repercussions of such a recession are still likely to be severe, because more of the world leans more heavily on us than was the case in the interwar period. In the last fifteen years, the bull in the china shop has grown faster than the shop.

It appears that today what is still hoped for is essentially the quality and the environment of European and world economic affairs as they existed prior to 1913—with "convertibility" as the symbol of all that means. The nineteenth century has certain aspects which have either been ignored or misunderstood by those who would recapture its qualities. It had, as Veblen would say, the defects of its virtues. If it was a period of vigorous economic and geographic expansion, it was also a period in which that expansion was malignant in nature. As industrialism and capitalism spread outward from England, they were wedded to a vigorous, even an aggressive nationalism—particularly in Germany and Japan. The Hundred Years' Peace, although it saw relatively few wars, was a restive peace, one in which it was wise to keep one's powder dry. England had industrialized first. Any nation which was to catch up had to run faster than England. Institutionally, this meant that the industrialization process outside of England was carried out in a framework deliberately shaped to the narrow needs of national economies.

Although it was held back to a degree in the depression of the seventies and eighties, the European economy from mid-century on enjoyed a quickened and sustained expansion. Transportation networks, mines, and mills lined and spotted the map of the world. The available portions of the globe were gobbled up, and those portions previously acquired were exploited more intensively. Imperialism provided cheap and increasing supplies of foodstuffs and raw materials, outlets for "surplus" capital, and markets for the industrializing nations' goods. The globe is unfortunately fixed in size, unlike national appetites and needs. Cecil Rhodes, apparently brooding on this, remarked, "I would annex the planets if I could." In the nineteenth century it was thus only a matter of time until disputes over external areas led to war.



Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

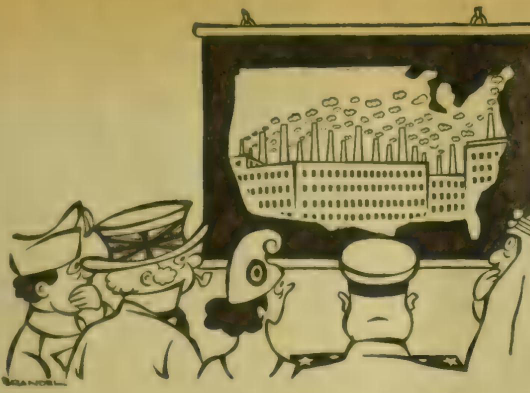
The Long Grey Line

THE first war having been fought, those who have hopes for our species thought that a lesson had been learned. But Europe once more sought the pre-war state of affairs, and once more proceeded to play out the pre-war drama—with some different players, some with different costumes, but with basically the same plot: narrow domestic markets, a beggar-my-neighbor attitude, and struggle over a fixed or reduced pie in Europe and abroad. Moreover, during the years of World War I certain developments long in the making came to a head, rendering Europe's economic problems even more difficult than they had been before 1913:

1. The American economy became the leading national economy in terms of industrial technique, productive capacity, and financial strength. Among other things, this meant American penetration of vital markets formerly held by Europeans, principally in this hemisphere but also in Europe itself. During the war, America emerged as a net creditor nation. By comparison with England, whose role as creditor had been matched with a necessarily high volume of foreign trade, the United States possessed the unfortunately combined characteristics of relative self-sufficiency and competitive superiority in foreign markets. The "dollar" shortage had its beginnings in this period, not after World War II.

2. Japan, similarly, was able to take markets away from Europeans in Asia, particularly in light manufactures.

3. European overseas economic and political dependencies became increasingly costly to maintain while the benefits from them decreased. In the period 1913-1939, for example, not only did nationalism grow to feverish heights in India: India also became transformed from an importer to an exporter of cotton cloth. Also, during World War I England lost something like one



third of its earning capacity from overseas assets.

4. The checkerboard national boundaries of Europe, which had not made economic sense before World War I, became more numerous and less sensible after the war.

5. Russia became the Soviet Union and fell off as a source of primary commodities and a market for consumer and capital goods.

EUROPE'S economies were faced with a deep challenge as the 1920's began. To meet the challenge successfully, Svennilson argues, an internal and an international "transformation" was necessary. The proof is manifest in the fall of Western Europe's rate of economic growth to half that of the period 1880-1913. This was associated with persistent, and widespread unemployment, with excess capacity in all but the newer industries, and with increasing cartelization of European economies. With the onset of the depression in 1930, the cracks in the Western European economy—which had begun to appear as far back as the 1870's—widened and deepened. Nation after nation pursued policies whose nature was restrictive and autarchic, and whose result was disastrous. Nazi Germany was only more logical than its compatriots and more in keeping with the times. Such were the times.

With World War II over, we would like to think that *this* time the lesson had been learned. But it is probable that the lesson learned is more relevant to the problems of Post-war I than of Post-war II. As generals seem always to be fighting the last war, peacetime policy makers seem to be fighting the preceding peace. Old problems remain and new ones have developed since 1939:

1. Today America—which produces close to 60 per cent of all manufactured goods in the world—and its hemispheric colleagues have emerged as a virtually self-sufficient area, needing only a string of strategic raw materials found almost entirely outside of Europe.

2. Japan remains a troublesome and threatening competitor for Asian markets, and, like Germany, is prepared through aggressive commercial and technological competition to capture them.

3. What amounted to ripples in overseas dependents in the early interwar period have developed into a full-scale tidal wave. Europe's income from overseas assets today has fallen to the point where it will buy roughly a third of what it could in 1938. In addition the terms of trade between Europe and the underdeveloped countries have turned against Europe. Many colonies have been lost, and the cost of holding on to those which remain is becoming a serious burden. Markets for light manufactures in these countries are dropping off as they develop their own production of these, even to the point of exports.

4. Europe's checkerboard national boundaries remain.

5. In addition to the continuing loss of the Soviet Union as a significant part of the European trading pattern, Europe must now contemplate all of Eastern Europe as though it had sunk into the sea.

The upshot, concludes another U. N. report, "Economic Survey of Europe Since the War" (1953), is the necessity of creating a "new pattern of economic relationships harmonizing the needs and interests of Western Europe with those of other areas." Today as in the interwar period an internal and international transformation is needed. An idea has to give way to reality—the idea that Western Europe is or can be the industrial center of the world. That role now belongs to the continental-sized countries: the United States, the Soviet Union; perhaps later, China. This is not to ignore the excellent resource base of Western Europe, nor to overlook its accumulation of commercial, industrial, and financial skills. It is to say, however, that the organizational framework necessary for the satisfactory utilization of these resources and skills today is no longer national —if it ever was—but regional or continental. What has to be transformed in and out of Europe is an interrelated set of variables: products and productive methods, patterns and levels of consumption and of investment, internal and external markets. Involved are large-scale social changes and an appropriate change in social outlook. How can the changes be made, if at all?

ONE way is that of regional and international cooperation to broaden markets, stabilize finance, and coordinate production. This is the way of the European Coal and Steel Community, the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, and the European Payments Union. These organizations, and the thinking that lies behind them, constitute something of a departure from nineteenth century and pre-1940 thinking. But they may prove to differ from earlier thought and practice more in form than in substance when the present boom slows down or is reversed. For example, although the authorities administering the coal and steel organization are public rather than private, this does not preclude that in a period of contraction they will behave like their private predecessors in the earlier cartels. Indeed, even in today's good times, the High Authority of the coal and steel group is having difficulty—to use a mild word—trying to repress "Georg," the sales agency for Ruhr coal, which has been operating as a cartel would since 1952. As for the O. E. E. C., how long it will maintain life without American funds to administer and a boom to ride is at least a moot question. And whether the payments-union arrangements will survive a period of downward pressure seems subject to serious doubt.

Another means of adaptation might lie in a serious movement toward economic planning and social democracy. This, combined with regionalization, would have the effect of stimulating consumption and investment; of broadening, deepening, and rationalizing markets and productive techniques. In this respect, G. D. H. Cole's recent comments in *The Nation* regarding contemporary Socialist movements must be taken into account. Such movements are now, and are likely to remain, national in outlook and gradualist in temper. But what is needed is an international or at least a regional Socialist movement in Europe. There is no sign of one at present.

A third way out, most desirably in combination with the preceding two, lies in expanding markets abroad. The major potential area for markets lies in the underdeveloped countries. Even without cold-war restrictions, East-West trade does not promise too much, and American markets are unlikely to open much wider even with a lowering of tariff barriers. For markets in the underdevloped regions to increase significantly, however, the rate and type of economic development there must increase and change. New investment in those countries must be demonstrably for the immediate benefit of the peoples there as well as incidentally beneficial to outsiders. This is scarcely a novel observation, but in many countries as a matter of practice it retains the air of novelty. Furthermore, for the rate of development to increase, it seems to be true that the United States must act as a trigger through capital grants or very cheap loans.

There remains the distant possibility of the integration of Western and Eastern European economies. The reasons militating against this possibility are not economic, but political in nature. This is truly an imponderable, lying in an incalculable future.

WHERE does all this leave Western Europe? In a nutshell, it seems that so long as good times continue and American aid takes up slack, the stimuli to the needed degree of change are insufficient. When bad times threaten or materialize, European national economies tend to move in a direction precisely opposite from that which is required. Western Europe is faced with a profound economic problem. Now that the heat of the cold war is diminishing, it is time overdue that our best minds turn to that problem.

LABOR AND THE FARMER

Solidifying an Alliance . . *by Robert G. Lewis*

Washington

THE bill to repeal the "sliding scale" of reduced farm-price supports enacted last year by the Republican-controlled Eighty-third Congress and to replace it with firm 90-per-cent-of-parity supports came to a vote in the House on May 5. It was a critical moment. The clerk droned through the roll call. Frequently he was interrupted by farm-bloc Congressmen from deep in Dixie who called out in a broad drawl to inquire whether they were recorded correctly. It became obvious that the shrewd Southerners were stalling the final tally to allow time for rounding up a tardy vote or two. Suddenly the room resounded with exultant cheers—rebel yells, no less—and a panting Representative hurried down the aisle to get his vote on record.

That belated vote for higher farm supports was cast by a Democrat from Chicago! The little emergency illustrated a political realignment of considerable significance today. H. R. 12 finally squeaked through by a margin of five votes, 206 to 201. The farm bloc's victory was won with the help of Democratic Congressmen from urban districts who only a year ago had voted for President Eisenhower's sliding scale. In the past two years Republican cooperation with the farm bloc has all but disappeared. This is a consequence of the remarkably effective party discipline on domestic issues enforced by the Administration. Only twenty-two Republicans voted or were paired for the repeal bill on May 5.

The place of the old bi-partisan farm bloc has been taken by a new farmer-labor bloc operating almost entirely within the Democratic Party. Votes in the House during the past three years reveal this development. In 1952 and in 1954 roll-call votes were taken on the identical issue presented this year in H. R. 12. In 1952, 65 per cent of the Republican Congressmen from rural districts voted for 90-per-cent-of-parity supports. Last year only 20 per cent of the rural Republicans voted for 90-per-cent supports. In the May 5 vote this year the percentage was the same.

In 1952 only 51 per cent of the Democrats from city districts voted for 90 per cent of parity. The percentage rose slightly to 54 per cent in 1954—not enough to offset the Republican defections. But this year 79 per cent of the city Democrats voted for 90-per-cent supports, and succeeded in overcoming the Republican desertions from the farm bloc. Democratic Congressmen from rural districts have fairly consistently backed firm farm-price supports by about nine to one.

The growing strength of farmer-labor political collaboration was made clear when Walter Reuther, president of the C. I. O., gave his views on the farm bill to the House Committee on Agriculture and when James Patton, president of the Farmers Union, spoke on minimum-wage legislation before the Senate

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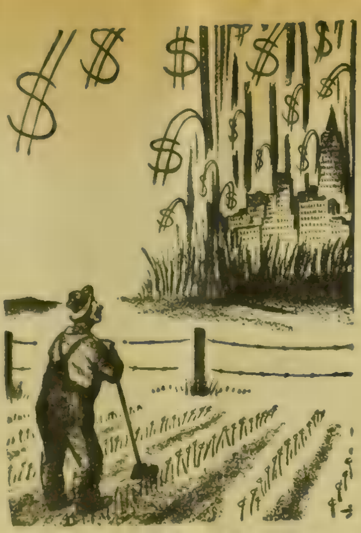
Labor and Public Welfare Committee. In his carefully drafted statement, Reuther declared that the C. I. O. strongly favored legislative action which would reverse the current sharp drop in farm income and restore prosperity to farmers. Representative Harold Cooley, chairman of the committee, as an orthodox Dixie Democrat had never been conspicuously warm toward labor, particularly not the C. I. O., but he signaled the new turn in intra-party politics when he said to Reuther at the conclusion of the latter's testimony: "I regret that it was not possible for every member of both houses of Congress to have heard your speech. . . . We have had many farm leaders appear before the committee . . . and not one of them has surpassed you in the presentation of the farmers' cause." Patton, for his part, urged increasing the minimum wage from 75 cents to $1.25 an hour, and extension of its coverage to about 6,500,000 additional workers.

These demonstrations do not represent any change in economic ideology. Organized labor, both A. F. of L. and C. I. O., consistently gave at least tacit support to the New Deal farm legislation, and the Farmers Union has always befriended labor politically. What is new is that the long-standing ideological agreement between labor and the liberal farmers is now finding effective political expression. Democratic farm-bloc leaders, chiefly Southerners, are realists. More quickly than anyone else they saw the danger in the large-scale withdrawal of rural Republicans from the bi-partisan farm bloc. They had to find new allies, and there was only one place to look for them.

REPUBLICANS are naturally distressed by the new alignment of forces and are directing their fire at two sensitive spots. They are trying to excite suspicion and fear among the farmers that labor will dominate the writing of farm legislative policy, and to embarrass conservative Southern Democrats in Congress about their unaccustomed cordiality toward labor leaders. The Republican "line" was laid down succinctly by *The Farm Journal* in its first edition after passage of H. R. 12. With Robert McMillin, son of its editor, in Secretary of Agriculture Benson's office, *The Farm Journal* has a line into high G. O. P. agricultural councils. "Will organized labor take over the making of farm policy in Congress?" it queried rhetorically, noting that "it was pressure from the newly merged C. I. O.—A. F. of L. that turned the trick." The editorial wound up on this scary note: "Have farmers realized what the C. I. O.—A. F. of L. merger means, to them and to the country? . . . It's quite possible that we're headed toward a labor government, much like England's. If so, it will affect a lot more than farm policy."



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Greener Pastures on Wall Street

Secretary Benson has sounded the same note in speeches to farm audiences, and so have other Administration orators. It was even echoed by Representative Harold Lovre, one of the rare Republicans who voted for H. R. 12, in a speech to his South Dakota constituents. Lovre was compelled to back away painfully when hard-boiled farm leaders asked him where, if not from labor districts, the rest of the needed votes to pass the bill could have come from.

The ability of Democratic leaders to deliver united party support for some of the crucial "labor" bills is still untried. But that is a test of whether the Democratic Party itself, not simply the new intra-party alliance, can hold together. Republican discipline on domestic issues spells defeat for almost any of the popular Democratic measures unless Democrats can achieve greater unity than they have displayed in recent years.

The farmer-labor alliance is much more than an expedient bargain between two groups—support for farm prices in exchange for an increased minimum wage. Its deeper meaning is that the agricultural South and West and the industrial North are developing a political program in which the interests of farmers and industrial workers can be reconciled. The community of their interests was expressed recently by President Kennedy of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen in these words: "If the city worker doesn't make enough money to feed and clothe his family adequately, obviously the farmer feels the pinch in lessened demand for his products." On the other hand, he continued, "farmers are major consumers of the industrial goods which keep our railroad men working. They buy 12.7 per cent of all rubber products, 16.6 per cent of all petroleum products, 10 per cent of all chemicals, and 9 per cent of all steel products. The drop in farm income such as has occurred since 1952 has been felt by every production and transportation worker in the nation."

President Patton of the Farmers Union based his argument for a higher minimum wage on the same mutuality of interest, declaring the wage legislation "as vital to the welfare of Farmers Union members as any agricultural bill which will come before Congress this year." He estimated that about $600,000,000, or 30 per cent, of the increased wages received would be spent for food.

THE results of such a joint program can be far-reaching. Traditionally Republican farmers are responding to the attraction of Democratic policies. The recent election of Democratic Congressmen in districts long Republican—Johnson in Wisconsin, Marshall and Knutson in Minnesota—is an index of shifting farm sentiment against the G. O. P. This shift assumed massive proportions last year in dairy-producing areas. In Wisconsin 26 per cent of the farm vote swung from the Republican candidate for governor in 1952 to the Democratic candidate in 1954, with the same men running. When the impact of Republican farm policy, already clearly felt in dairy areas, is extended to other commodities, the Democrats may win new seats in Congress at many points in the great wheat and livestock belt.

BOOKS

Ideas of Adolescence

ANDREW JACKSON: Symbol for an Age. By John William Ward. Oxford University Press. $4.75.

By Harry Barnard

ALREADY looming larger even than two hands of a common man, a legendary concept of Harry S. Truman is rising in the land and the way I hear it Mr. Truman is to emerge as another Andrew Jackson. This process, as such things go, may not be altogether objectionable, but it is bound to raise some questions about Mr. Truman and also about General Jackson.

Concerning Old Hickory, one question that comes to mind is why the modern Democratic Party has never really made much of him as a hero figure. In the Andy Jackson legend it would seem that the Democrats possess a ready-made, perfect counterbalance for the Abe Lincoln legend that serves the Republicans so well. It would also seem that Jackson could have been presented effectively all these years as an even more appealing figure than Lincoln, at least to the masses of industrial workers and working farmers. Yet this has not happened, and there was little attempt to make it happen in the decades after the Civil War, though before the Civil War, what with Jackson pole-raisings and the like, Jackson Day was the big day in the Democratic party calendar.

One reason for the Democrats' failure to capitalize more on Jackson as a politically meaningful and profitable myth may be a feeling that the Jackson legend is especially vulnerable, even for a legend. Or is it? It is curious that there should persist confusion about the meaning of Jackson, or of the legend, as well as of the Jackson age, when we have had some first-rate books, as well as other pieces, about Jackson in recent years, including Marquis James's fine study and Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr.'s superbly written "The Age of Jackson." Schlesinger's work, for all the praise it has received as a piece of literature, is odd as a piece of history in that it leaves the impression that it is less a study of Jackson and the Jackson age than a disguised vehicle for the author's views on the Roosevelt New Deal and especially the problem of modern liberalism.

Perhaps just as curious, and for somewhat the same reasons, is this new work on Jackson by Professor Ward of Princeton. Its title, "Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age," suggests a biography, or at least an essay on Jackson the man. But it is nothing of the kind. It is an attempt to accomplish in a way what the title of Professor Schlesinger's book promised—to give us understanding of the so-called age of Jackson. Ward does this, however, not by describing what was happening in America in the Jacksonian period, but by showing how Jackson symbolized, or was made to symbolize, certain important and basic ideas current in the America of the early nineteenth century.

Of Jackson himself, either by way of fact or of legend, not much will be found in this book, despite the title. But it is an important book. For what Professor Ward does, and with a clarity that makes him a delight to read, is to use the Andy Jackson legend as a device to illuminate aspects of the American political mind and character in an important formative period, aspects that are well worth illumination but are not necessarily pertinent only to Jackson or his day. He might just as effectively have used for his purpose U. S. Grant or William McKinley or Theodore Roosevelt, Calvin Coolidge, or even Dwight D. Eisenhower. For he deals with basic symbols and myths that continue to shape some basic American political attitudes.

It is Professor Ward's thesis that in the time of Jackson, as well as earlier, dominant American thinking with regard to the role of the United States on this continent and in the world has been along three main and related lines: (1) that America profited spiritually, as well as materially, from having been a new land, one in which its people were "close to nature," and that this newness and closeness to nature permitted it to escape the "corruption" and "decadence" that marked European countries and also endowed Americans with natural insight better than any to be obtained from study, especially study based on "book learning"; (2) that God had especially favored America and Americans and consequently Americans had the power as well as the responsibility of being the hope of a redeemed world, if the rest of the world would but adopt American ideas; and (3) that the representative American is a man who by the will to solve problems can solve them, and that in the style of "the self-made man" and "the self-reliant man," Americans can overcome obstacles to progress in a way not possible for Europeans or Asians.

THE significance of Andy Jackson in his era was not primarily that he was a "people's President" or the symbol of the Western frontier spirit, as he has been conventionally presented, but rather that his career, especially his astonishing victory over the British at New Orleans, made him a special symbol of the foregoing three concepts. But it is these concepts, not Jackson himself, which are important to know about Jackson's age, Professor Ward believes.

What makes this book important, as well as somewhat frightening, is the realization that its illumination of the Jacksonian era also tells much about the Age of Eisenhower (as well as the Age of Truman), even though Professor Ward scrupulously refrains from anticipating events or ideas beyond Jackson's time. For while the ideas, or even ideology, that Jackson so perfectly symbolized may be comforting or ego-satisfying to Americans, they are really ideas of adolescence—and also, I think, in large part fantasy. Also they are concepts which help to support, as well as explain, a distressing American penchant for every once in a while going in for binges of anti-intellectualism, the latest of which

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The H-Bomb Splits The English Church

Ye have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth:

But I say unto you, That ye resist not evil: but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.—Matt., v, 38-39.

London

WHILE the United States was perpetuating the myth of defense against the atom, presenting a "mammoth" civil-defense demonstration in the Nevada desert, Christians in England were debating another aspect of the problem: Can a Christian offer a moral defense for manufacturing hydrogen bombs?

The Most Reverend Dr. Cyril Forster Garbett, Archbishop of York, second prelate of the Anglican church, thought he could. The British government's decision to produce H-bombs had presented him with "an agonizing challenge to conscience," he told the House of Lords, but since the Russians had the bomb and international control was no longer feasible, he saw no alternative. Although "I hate and detest" the making of H-bombs, and "wish to God they had never been invented . . . possession of the bomb seems to me to be at the moment the one possibility of preserving peace in the years immediately ahead." He admitted that Jesus's injunction against resisting evil "is an argument that must appeal to every Christian," but he believed no democratic government could agree to a demand to forego use of the bomb unless it was certain that the demand voiced "the deliberate convictions of the greatest majority of those it represents. Not the strongest pacifist can claim that this today is the case."

No pacifist came forward to make the claim, but Dr. Garbett set off an avalanche of soul-searching that is in many ways reminiscent of many previous efforts to make the church take a stand on God or man. English churchmen have commented as follows:

> We Christians have every right to proclaim that the use of the H-bomb is completely indefensible. We have no right to maintain silence. . . . Christians cannot commit themselves to a diabolical form of destruction which aims at the final blasphemy, the blotting out of the human race.—The Reverend Dr. W. Russell Shearer, president of the Methodist Conference.
>
> The fact that such terrible weapons should be made . . . is hard to reconcile with decent civilization. . . . I cannot well reconcile it with the will of God.—The Anglican Bishop of Chichester.
>
> My personal view is that under no circumstances can the manufacture of the H-bomb be justified.—The Right Reverend D. Conley Eades, moderator of the Presbyterian Church in England.

Letters to the editor were equally direct. Some representative ones from the London *Times, New Statesman and Nation,* and *Manchester Guardian* read:

> Dr. Garbett is still propounding a gospel that we must meet evil by evil, and that the great armaments will bring peace to the world, which is surely a contradiction of all our history. . . . [He] says that sermons and resolutions cannot turn away the threat of the bomb; surely this is proof that many people today are searching desperately for an answer to this problem, but the only reply they get from most church leaders is: Follow the state, we have no faith in the gospel we have proclaimed all our lives. . . . Let the Christian church give a lead.
>
> [Dr. Garbett's speech] means that almost the highest churchman in the land cannot take a full Christian position until he has the consent of the untutored and largely pagan masses.
>
> [Does the failure of] "the greatest majority" of men —in a West which, while claiming to make its stand in the name of Christian civilization, has so largely ceased to be Christian—[to] range themselves on the side of . . . Christian absolutes . . . absolve Christian leaders themselves from the duty of denouncing the use of these weapons? And is it really possible to condemn their use and yet rely, in any way, upon the threat of their unleashing? . . . It is surely high time for Christian bodies to speak out without anxiety upon this issue.

Pope Pius XII has already condemned the use of weapons which are beyond the control of man as "immoral" and "not lawful on any title." Cardinal Gerlier, Archbishop of Paris, categorically stigmatized atomic weapons as "aberrations . . . which dishonor humanity."

In the United States there is so far only a feeble echo of the great debate.

France and the 1956 Elections

Paris

THREE recent events here throw light on the political battle which will be taking place during the French national elections in 1956. The first event was General de Gaulle's press conference, attended by about 500 journalists. Physically and mentally the man who liberated France gave the impression of great strength; he spoke without notes and was quick and exact in replying to questions. But when at the end of the conference he said, "Goodbye, gentlemen—it may be for a long time," everyone in the room felt that they had been witnessing a kind of farewell performance.

The general displayed a good deal of sympathy for the current French regime, with which of course he disagrees on basic principles. He offered no magical formula for solving the vexing North African problem, saying merely that France must be "firm" without alienating the people it wants to retain as friends. On another issue he was more explicit. Asked whether he considered that recent events in Eastern Europe must be considered as part of a pattern or merely a series of coincidences, he said: "When a country has a foreign policy, it treats events as a whole and nothing happens by coincidence. Moscow has such a foreign policy. Hats the Cantonese troops who fought that battle, but comes forward in defense: "The criticism is unfair. Chiang had no authority to send a single soldier into battle. . . . What Chiang could do, he did; kept in touch with the officers of the Nineteenth Route Army by telegraph."

In describing the 1936 kidnaping of Chiang Kai-shek at Sian, Miss Hahn goes to the trouble of transplanting a "Communist government" to Sian to bemuse future historians but makes no mention of the Communists' important part in effecting the Generalissimo's release. Other interpretations bewilder, as where the author asserts that the duties of Chiang's secret police "smacked more of the Y. M. C. A. than is usual in modern armies" and adds that "something in him [Chiang] has always responded to the voice and spirit of Lord Baden-Powell."

But, with the contention of some political Calvinists that the Nationalists' loss of China was due to American witchcraft, it is World War II that brings Miss Hahn's story into its most controversial phase. Many of the props are by now familiar. The Institute of Pacific Relations makes a tired reappearance; foreign correspondents are depicted succumbing to the Communist spell; there are "bright young men from Washington" wandering about, "sending independent reports on the situation, making . . . their own promises to friends they had picked up beyond the Red frontier." And Miss Hahn holds that General Joseph W. Stilwell, that American soldier distinguished for his knowledge of China as for his sterling courage, was prejudiced and did not understand the Chinese character. "Not once did it occur to him that the Chinese method, . . . 'defense in depth,' which meant in blunt words simply running away until the enemy was tired out chasing you . . . might after all be the right one."

Miss Hahn deals summarily with the civil war that followed the second period of Kuomintang-Communist collaboration and V-J Day. She has a good quote at the end of her book to the effect that Chiang is "so obstinate he won't even stop trying," but omits the Generalissimo's 1949 New Year's message tendering the olive branch to the Communists and Nanking's request of January 8, 1949, to the United States, Britain, France, and the U. S. S. R. to mediate between the warring sides. She simply states that Chiang "walked out" at that stage of China's history and left Vice-President Li Tsung-jen in charge, declaring that "it isn't the Communists who have driven me out. It's the Kuomintang."

Chiang duly landed up in Formosa where, Miss Hahn says, his associates also made their several ways. "There were two outstanding exceptions—Li Tsung-jen, who was in America, and Feng Yu-hsiang." Apparently forgotten are other notable "exceptions": two of the three Soong Sisters, one of whom is in Peking and the other in New York; Sun Fo (son of Sun Yat-sen), H. H. Kung and T. V. Soong (Chiang's brothers-in-law—both ex-Finance Ministers), and Chen Li-fu (nephew of Chiang's early sponsor, Chen Chi-mei—and well-known head of the C-C Clique), who also reside in the United States; and a host of prominent former Chiang associates—Premiers, Cabinet Ministers, Generals, and Ambassadors—now with the Peking regime.

A faithful portrait of Chiang Kai-shek is yet to be drawn. The task is admittedly made difficult at this moment by his being a "controversial" figure, but Miss Hahn in "China to Me" scorned the influence of controversy by saying: "China doesn't have to depend on exaggeration. The truth would have been enough." The Generalissimo's real place in history will ultimately be determined in accord with that principle.

The Drama of the Mind

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL NOVEL, 1900-1950. By Leon Edel. J. B. Lippincott Company. $3.

By Jacob Korg

WHILE novelists have always paid at least token attention to the thoughts of their characters, only in the last fifty years have they attributed crucial importance to the weird flotsam and jetsam of fragmentary ideas that float on the surface of consciousness. In examining this development Professor Edel points out that the modern psychological novel, in spite of Freud, is concerned with conscious rather than subconscious thoughts, and that for all its occasional affinities with such arty influences as symbolism and surrealism, it is fundamentally a form of homely naturalism. The "stream of consciousness" does not copy actuality but, like naturalism, seeks to create the illusion that it does, presenting as its counterpart of the "slice of life" the thoughts that fill the mind in a "slice of time."

It is natural to ask precisely what the contribution of the moderns to psychological fiction has been. If Professor Edel is not very clear about this, perhaps the difficulty arises from his view that the founder of the new technique was Henry James. He shows that James, by composing some of his novels exclusively of material drawn from the thoughts of the characters, became the first novelist to create a drama of the mind. But James's method, the minute description of clearly formulated thoughts, is really a refinement of the character analysis of such traditional masters as Meredith and George Eliot rather than an anticipation of the monologues of Benjy Compson and Molly Bloom. The distinctive convention of modern psychological fiction is, after all, the imitation of thought. Since this device traces its descent to the novel which suggested the inner monologue to Joyce, Edouard Dujardin's "Les Lauriers sont coupes," attributing the modern innovation to James blurs a distinction which is otherwise quite clear.

THE discussion is somewhat clouded, also, by its failure to differentiate between the Tweedledum and Tweedledee of the fiction reviewer, "stream of consciousness" and "inner monologue." William James coined the expression "stream of consciousness" to describe the fluid passage of thought. "Inner monologue," as Professor Gleb Struve has recently found, goes back beyond Dujardin, who is generally

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credited with inventing it, to the Russian critic, Chernyshevsky, who used it in 1856 to describe the style of Tolstoy's stories about the battle of Sebastopol. Do the terms really mean the same thing, as Professor Edel seems to assume?

One of the central questions in this inquiry is: since the only mind accessible to the stream-of-consciousness author is his own, can the psychological novel be anything but autobiography? This seeming paradox is pursued over a path that cuts across Proust, James, Virginia Woolf, and Joyce, and skirts Dorothy Richardson and Faulkner, to the bland conclusion that autobiographical material can be transformed into art by appropriate methods. The problem has a certain relevance, but both its formulation and its solution seem to miss the astonishing talent many authors have for reproducing the thoughts of people totally unlike themselves. Joyce's advertising canvasser and Faulkner's idiot are products, not of autobiography, but empathy. They seem to have been created by bringing a modern awareness of the mind's complexity to the old-fashioned novelist's practice of observing the behavior of people and reflecting on it.

It must have been a strong temptation for authors who wrote in the days of the excitement created by Bergson and Freud to surrender completely to the new mystery of the mind, but none of the great psychological novelists did. In fact, Professor Edel's survey leads to the inference that they were less impressed by the creative power of the imagination than by the pathetic spectacle of limited minds lost in an external world they cannot encompass.

The Citizen at the Polls

VOTING. By Bernard A. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee. The University of Chicago Press. $7.50.

By Marc Karson

"VOTING" is an analytical study of factors affecting the voting behavior of one thousand citizens of Elmira, New York, in the 1948 Presidential election. The material was obtained in four waves of interviews using the "area" and "panel" technique, which was recognized by the authors as under-representing marginal groups. The study confirms countless earlier hypotheses and presents some new ones: (1) the more partisan the voter, the more he projects his own stand on an issue to his party's candidate; (2) when the choice of the voter's party is not supported by both friends and religion, a change in voting intention may result; (3) for the undecided voter, judgments formed earlier in life and the opinion of friends become crucial.

Unlike many projects, this one was concerned with the subjective as well as the objective forces affecting voter behavior. Politics cannot be separated from its human motivation; to consider the surface phenomena of any behavior without attention to the wellsprings of unconscious conflict would be to forget the submerged mass of the iceberg. "Voting" shows that a citizen's political acts are not based on purely rational considerations. Nevertheless, the resultant political structure functions in a logical way. Although democratic theory anticipates citizens who discuss, participate, and vote, political disinterestedness has its merits. "Extreme interest goes with extreme partisanship and might culminate in rigid fanaticism that could destroy democratic processes." For the authors, a heterogeneous population in which class, group, and individual characteristics balance and check one another is democracy's greatest safeguard. Political equilibrium is for them the desideratum.

The defects of "Voting" lie in its final interpretation of its data. Completely neglected is the impact of economic factors on social and political development. Yet a political system does not exist in a vacuum. The rise of the liberal state, and its death in some countries, suggests how new political forms are brought into being by economic forces. American economic power influences politics, education, social organizations, and the mass media, thus making the business man's *mores* a powerful force in American culture. Inevitably, great wealth means power over the state and over men, and the purpose to which this power is put is not the realization of the best in each individual.

The report describes a "democratic citizen" whose political activity is determined by status needs, selfish desires, "misperceptions" of issues, in fact, by almost everything but intelligent discrimination and principle. Should not the next step in the inquiry be to ask why the voter is like this? What factors in our culture have brought him to this pass? Must he be this way—if not, wherein does our society fail him? The authors' crusade for political balance in our system obscures these crucial questions. The durability of a tradition, political democracy not excepted, depends on its ability to gratify its supporters. Stability in American political life will be a result of, not an exception to, stability in economic life. And economic stability will be in danger until our ability to distribute goods

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volve Germany. One is that the dynamics of the current situation will inevitably lead to German dominance over Europe. The other is that Chancellor Adenauer may have prevailed upon his Western colleagues to accept his plan for prolonging East-West negotiations and conferences over a long period of time. This tactic is admirably adapted to gaining the time necessary for bringing the Wehrmacht into being. It is also adapted to wrecking the great opportunity which the Geneva meeting offers for the solution of some immediate critical problems and for the general easing of the cold war.

In the meantime the concept of a kind of non-aggression pact between the Western Alliance and the Soviet bloc, as a substitute for a neutrality belt between the two, is gaining ground. This, too, is a plan which Adenauer has been pushing. Clearly it is the intention of the West to pursue this idea at Geneva.

TROUBLE IN PARADISE

The Miami Hotel Strike . . *by B. L. Donaldson*

Miami Beach, Florida

RA-TA-TA-TA, ra-ta-ta-ta, ra-ta-ta-ta goes the staccato melody of the riveter's hammer on the steel beam. Another building, probably a hotel, going up. Downtown, along Collins Avenue and Lincoln Road, gaily dressed tourists fill the sidewalks, restaurants, and smart shops. The beaches are crowded with sun worshipers. A steady stream of traffic clogs the arteries in and out of the city—cars from every state in the nation and from Canada, Hawaii, Nassau, Cuba, Mexico. By airplane, train, and bus they come from all points of the compass.

To all appearances this modern city of 50,000 people, having been transformed recently from a winter resort to a year-round pleasure resort, is bustling with business and summertime activities. But behind the facade of prosperity things are not so rosy. Miami Beach has been hit hard by a labor dispute affecting the city's nearly 400 hotels. The damage cannot be accurately measured. but it undoubtedly runs into hundreds of thousands of dollars.

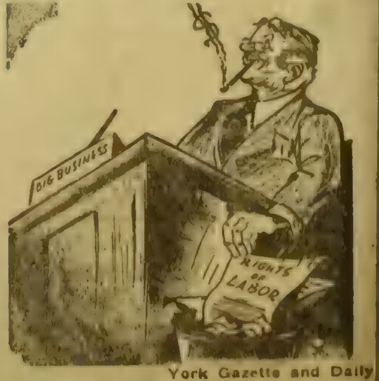
Twenty-two of the biggest-name hotels have suffered the most. They are not saying, publicly or privately, what the cost has been, but the Miami Beach Hotel Association admits that hotel business in general is off at least 10 per cent from this time last year. Other sources say it is off nearly 50 per cent. Whatever the actual figure, hotels form the backbone of the city's economy, and when they get a jolt everyone else feels it.

The 400 hotels employ at present about 10,000 people. Most of them are residents of the Greater Miami area. Very few are Negroes, but a large number of them are Cubans and Puerto Ricans. When the winter season gets under way in the late fall, another 5,000 to 7,000 persons, many of them "professional" hotel workers now employed in the Catskills and other Northern resort areas, will be on the pay rolls.

In past years several half-hearted attempts to organize these workers have been made. They got nowhere. Only one hotel, the Delano, has a union contract. This year, however, the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union (A. F. of L.) decided that the industry was "ripe" for organization. The groundwork was laid. Late this winter the international picked David Herman, president of its New York City local, to run the show. Miami Beach Local 255, which was chartered in 1954, began an all-out drive for members.

The union announced at civic meetings and in the newspapers that it was organizing hotel employees and that it was going to ask the hotels to recognize it as the employees' collective-bargaining agent. It wrote to the Miami Beach Hotel Association requesting that hotel owners sit down and negotiate. Taking the attitude that it couldn't speak for the hotels in labor negotiations, the association did not even reply. The union then approached individual hotel owners. It got the brush-off. On April 13 the union called a strike at the Saxony and the Monte Carlo, contending that the workers were overworked and underpaid. Since then it has struck or picketed nineteen hotels here and three in Miami, across Biscayne Bay.

An estimated 3,000 hotel employees have struck to back up the union's demand for recognition and the right to negotiate contracts for them, but the courts have repeatedly ruled against the union, and picket lines have now been temporarily banned at all but two hotels. This situation has come about chiefly because Florida is in what the union describes as a legal no man's land. Florida is one of the eighteen states that have adopted "right-to-work" laws, which means that everyone has the right to work whether he is a union member or not. The law makes it difficult to void anti-picketing injunctions, for there is no working definition of what constitutes a strike. Florida employers must recognize and bar-



York Gazette and Daily

The Real Father of Scab Laws

BRYAN L. DONALDSON is on the staff of the Miami Herald.

Records

B. H. Haggin

THIS appendix to my recent articles on reproducing equipment is about the new Janszen Model 130 electrostatic speaker ($161 in a service enclosure) that I am now using with the woofer of my Bozak 207-A in the country. Since its range begins at 1000 cycles it is more than a tweeter, and Janszen describes it as "a wide-range electrostatic transducer." What is important is the sound it produces, which is not only astonishingly beautiful but different in kind from the beautiful sound of other speakers. What strikes me is the cleanness of the sound, its freedom from all impurities (resonances etc.)—even the impurities that are now revealed to exist in the sound of the Bozak that seemed so clean and sweet. And also the fact that the sound seems simply to be there without the slightest effort or strain, rather than to be produced. With the one Bozak woofer I get sound with completely satisfactory balance of treble and bass, but not with the additional impressive solidity down below that I heard when the Janszen was used with two woofers. I don't like to think of what the Janszen may make the beautiful highs of my LC-1A speaker sound like in the fall.

And an additional word on steep roll-offs. They create ringing resonances that are undesirable and can be disturbing, but that are less so than the defects they have to be used to take care of. When one has a record which produces a hash of high-frequency tracking distortion (e. g. near the center of the record) or break-ups of vocal sound, and when one has eliminated all possibility of defect in the cartridge or in the mounting of the arm and all hope of improvement in other copies of the record, then one has to accept the lesser evil of a ringing resonance introduced by a steep roll-off at 10,000 cycles that preserves the brightness of the sound while it eliminates the high-frequency distortion and break-ups (the gradual 6-db-per-octave roll-off that would eliminate the defects would cut back so far as to eliminate the brightness of the sound). I have been speaking of a wide-range LP recording of today; but the same thing is true of the steep roll-offs at lower points that are needed for the distortion and break-ups of the Victor LP dubbings of the old Glyndebourne Festival recordings of "Figaro," "Cosi," and "Don Giovanni" and the old Lehmann-Olszewska-Schumann-Mayr recording of "Der Rosenkavalier," and for the noise of old 78s.

VOX, which a few years ago issued all twelve of Vivaldi's Concerti Grossi Op. 3, "L'estro armonico," followed this a year ago with the unfamiliar twelve Violin Concertos Op. 4, "La stravaganza," of which only a movement here and there proved to be comparable with the wonderfully beautiful works in "L'estro armonico." Now Vox has issued on the three records of DL-173 the twelve Violin Concertos Op. 8, "Il cimento dell' armonia e dell' invenzione," of which the first four are the well-known "Four Seasons," and the other unfamiliar ones turn out to be—with the exception of No. 5—equally fine, and extraordinary in the variety of the invention with which Vivaldi fills out the same scheme over and over again. The works are played well by Barchet with the Stuttgart Pro Musica String Orchestra under Reinhardt. And unusual enough to be worth mentioning is that the de luxe album offers a de luxe brochure of notes —de luxe not just in format but in the soberly accurate information supplied by Joseph Braunstein, as against the pretentious fake of most record envelopes and fancy brochures.

THE charming music from Bizet's unfamiliar "Roma" Symphony that Balanchine used in his ballet of that title is performed well by Barzin with the New York City Ballet Orchestra on Vox PL-9320; but recording in an excessively live studio and at too close range gives the playing a coarseness that can be reduced by cutting down treble and volume. This isn't necessary with the final movement, which is less live and loses volume near the end. On the reverse side is the Chabrier music of Balanchine's "Bourree fantasque"; and about this one thing to say is that while it is understandable that only the concluding section of the "March joyeuse" should be played as a prelude to the ballet in the theater, it is shocking that Barzin doesn't play the entire piece in a recorded performance that is going to be listened to for itself. And another is that the sound is as muffled as if an accidental throwing of a wrong switch had cut out the treble entirely.

VOX also gives us the entire suite that Prokofiev arranged from his superb early ballet score "Chout," played well by Horenstein with the Paris Philharmonica Orchestra on PL-9180 (with the inconsequential "Lieutenant Kije" Suite). It now ap- Paris Philharmonia Orchestra on formance with the St. Louis Symphony on Capital P-8257. omitted a few movements; but on the other hand his performance offers orchestral playing of greater refinement of execution and sonority, and greater clarity and refinement of recorded sound.

I keep hoping for a good performance of the original piano version of Musorgsky's "Pictures at an Exhibition," and keep being disappointed by each new one that is issued—the latest being Alfred Brendel's on Vox PL-9140 (with an arrangement of Stravinsky's "Petrushka" Suite and Balakirev's "Islamey"). What is wrong is the imaginative perception that embodies itself in, among other things, the tempos: the fast pace of *Promenade* is, most obviously, not the leisurely saunter of a person looking at pictures. And if the rushing which Brendel does at times suggests that he may be trying to get the entire piece on one side of the record, that notion is contradicted by his dragging of *The Old Castle.*

Another disappointment is Jose Falgarona's performances of all twelve of the engaging pieces in the four books of Albeniz's "Iberia" on Vox PL-9212. Falgarona's excessively mannered playing, often unclear in execution and producing a lack of clarity in the complex texture, has taught me to appreciate Arrau's simple and unfailingly clear performances of Books 1 and 2 on Columbia ML-4194.

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Letters

More Tributes on The Nation's Birthday

Dear Sirs: Integrity is implied in the magazine's name. The Nation should represent the very qualities and ideals for which our nation stands. Otherwise the title would be a libel. And I think that The Nation's courage, its candor, its sense of urgency and dedication, and its refusal to be intimidated either by the powerful or the puny has reflected in journalism the things that make us deeply grateful for our nation.

EDWIN McNEILL POTEAT
Minister of the Pullen Memorial
Baptist Church
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Sirs: Congratulations on topic chosen for dinner forum and best wishes for success. Your focusing of attention could create turning point from destructive to constructive use. May the crusading spirit displayed by The Nation for ninety years continue unabated to serve our country as part of an interdependent world.

L. D. MacINTYRE
President, American Ethical Union
New York

[We thank sincerely the many friends who have sent us birthday greetings and apologize for the fact that space limitations make it impossible to publish all of them.—Editors The Nation.]

Allan Garland Harper

Dear Sirs: Allan G. Harper, aged 54 years, died April 29, at Espanola, New Mexico. He died too soon, by many years. But his too-few years were enough to encompass much of North American and Pan-American aspirations, strivings, and causes which momentarily seem clouded or lost. His identification was with civil liberties, natural resources, conservation, watershed management, and American Indians. He spent himself even to the bitter end.

I write of Allan Harper with a somewhat mournful intensity. Through Roger Baldwin's initiative, he moved in 1933 from greatly successful civil-liberties work into American Indian work. He replaced myself as executive officer of the American Indian Defense Association. I had become Commissioner of Indian Affairs, U. S. Department of the Interior. In 1934, though not a member of the government, he served as one of three who drafted the Indian Reorganization Act in its final form as enacted last year. In 1935, through the initiative of Harold Ickes and myself, he became a field representative of the Indian Commissioner; and until 1937 he headed that unit of the Indian Bureau which assisted a hundred Indian tribes to organize and incorporate under the Reorganization Act. Thereafter, for five years he directed the work of soil and water conservation in the western Indian areas; and this work included the tri-cultural problems of the Rio Grande River in New Mexico.

On leave from the Indian Bureau from 1934, Harper worked in the Inter-American field; previously he had helped to establish the Inter-American Institute of the Indian, a research and action institute, which continues its work from headquarters in Mexico through most of the hemisphere.

Returning to Indian Service in 1946, Harper became identified with the Missouri River Basin problems. In 1949 he assumed the most difficult post of Superintendent of the Navajo Reservation. His supreme effort was to carry Navajo administration out from Washington and out from Window Rock (the central Navajo headquarters) to the people at the grass roots of Navajo life. This effort consumed Harper and aged him. He transferred to the Washington Bureau of Indian Affairs as a program director on April 1, 1954. There frustration enveloped him and killed him.

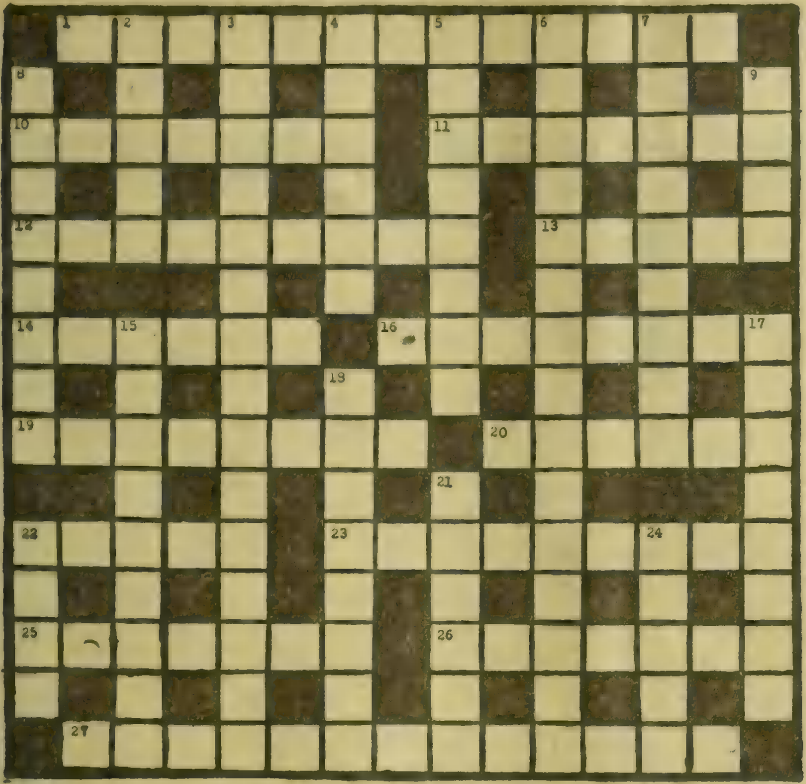
Creativity and realism, democracy and freedom had become outlawed in the Indian Service. A bitterness filled Allan Harper's soul. Too much of all that was within him had been burnt up through defeated, through unyielding, endeavor. He is buried beside his first wife, Kathleen, at Fort Defiance on the Navajo Reservation. He has left a son, Edward Neil Harper, aged 17 years, and his second wife, Eloise Lovine. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has revealed to the public no information about the death of one to whom all Indians and all America owe much. But history will know what he represented and what he did.

JOHN COLLIER
New York

BUY
UNITED STATES
SAVINGS BONDS

Crossword Puzzle No. 628

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Dance-spot enclosure? (4-5,4)
10 Rush around loose when free and easy. (7)
11 Cries, in a peaceful way. (7)
12 Sine curves, but no sign of success! (9)
13 You might so gather a finer product. (5)
14 One-barred flag. (6)
16 Oil embedded in clays, as most are acceptable. (8)
19 Scared me with a loud noise, no doubt! (8)
20 Suggests a fine-looking carriage. (6)
22 A curve as representing a given function. (5)
23 All set to return the cheese? (You might buy such things right off the racks.) (5,4)
25 With three replaceable hydrogen atoms. (7)
26 Upgrade. (7)
27 In the arts, girls allow the rest to finish poorly. (6,7)

DOWN

1 A British general got by with this in Palestine. (5)
3 Relating to where you can find the answer, if necessary. (15)
4 What people sometimes take in church and give in the service. (6)
5 It's a bad sin to be in the corner. (8)
6 The lower part of the card. (11,4)
7 Are the ten-penny variety tabbed here? (9)
8 See 22 down.
9 Not sure who employed it? (4)
15 Realizes I should be put out in several editions! (9)
17 Evidently there's a sweet-potato color about me! (8)
18. She is disturbed about the appearance of the one who is given away. (8)
21 Very quiet in the valley spot. (6)
22 and 8 down Do they wreck bars in a different way than Carry Nation? (4,8)
24 How to make a rhyme at one of the poles? (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 627

ACROSS: 1 and 7 down WATCH CHAINS; 4 ARCTIC; 11 CAMORRA; 12 RIVIERA; 13 INTER ALIA; 14 RIPEN; 15 CREDITABILITY; 17 BASEBALL GAMES; 22 NABOB; 24 CLOSE CALL; 25 LANTERN; 26 NEOLITH; 27 and [illegible] down X MARKS THE SPOT; 28 ADIEU. DOWN: 2 AMMETER; 3 CARTRIDGE; 5 ROVER; [illegible] ACRID; [illegible] BALLET DANCING; 10 TRIAL BALLOONS; 16 LEASEHOLD; 18 ALBANIA; 19 EVASIVE; 20 INFLUX; 21 ALOHA; 23 BLEAK.

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THE NATION AND MR. BROWNELL'S "JUSTICE"

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

"Happy" Chandler and the Dixiecrats

Louisville, Kentucky

KENTUCKY'S Democratic primary election affords the people an interesting spectacle this summer. Here, in an ostensibly Southern state, is a candidate for governor—"Happy" Chandler—shying like a hog in a slaughter-chute from the Dixiecrat label his opposition has thrown at him. He reacts to the word as if it were an epithet and he replies to it with proclamations of his loyalty to the One Party that still runs the South.

Yet, if Chandler enters the governor's mansion this winter there is not an iota of doubt that he will immediately set out to rid the Senate of its substitute majority leader, Earle C. Clements, a party man above all. Clements will stand for reelection next year.

Indeed, Chandler insists that his principal motive in returning to politics after a ten-year absence is to "free" Kentuckians from the yoke of Clements and the present governor, Lawrence Wetherby. They are both backing Chandler's opponent, Bert T. Combs, a brilliant young lawyer from the East Kentucky mountains and a relative newcomer to politics. Chandler refers to Clements and Wetherby as "little Hitlers, prototypes of those dictators across the sea." What he means is that they are in and he is out.

It is quite obvious that the "Dixiecrat" cry is offensive to the Chandler ear this summer. There is something to the charge; how much, let the reader judge.

Chandler owns a country newspaper, the Woodford *Sun,* which bolted the Democratic ticket in 1948 in favor of the Dixiecrats. The paid editor of the *Sun,* Orval W. Baylor, was state chairman for the Dixiecrats in Kentucky. Chandler's wife was one of the 1,000 signers of a petition that put the States' Rights candidates on the ballot in Kentucky. J. Strom Thurmond opened his Kentucky campaign with a speech at Madisonville and got in an airplane after the speech and flew to the Chandler home at Versailles to spend the night.

"Happy's" own hand was never above the table in all this because as Baseball Commissioner, at $65,000 a year, he was duty bound to stay clear of politics. Nevertheless, Dewey Fleming of the Baltimore *Sun* visited Kentucky a few days after Thurmond's appearance and wrote: "It is not altogether accidental that many Kentuckians are calling Happy the 'spiritual leader' of the Dixiecrats hereabouts. . . ." Surely, Chandler was never spiritually antagonistic to the Thurmonds and Wrights. While in the Senate he voted against the anti-lynching bill in 1940, and against bills to repeal the poll tax in 1942 and 1943. He must hope that this record is atoned for or forgiven or better still, forgotten, because he is obviously convinced that he could not stand on it and win. After all, the Dixiecrats barely polled 10,000 votes in this state in 1948.

THE reverse Dixiecrat twist to the Chandler-Combs election is but one of the curious aspects of the affair. Equally curious is the support Chandler has drawn from labor. The A. F. of L. leadership in the state is working desperately to elect him. C. I. O.-PAC has endorsed Combs but some of their local leaders have defected, notably among the auto and steel workers.

This is particularly singular in the light of Chandler's labor record. As governor of Kentucky in 1939, he sent 1,000 National Guardsmen to "restore order" in the coal fields of East Kentucky where the U. M. W. was striking to win a union shop. Said Chandler: "No one, and that includes John L. Lewis, can compel a Kentucky worker to join his union and pay dues to it in order to work." Every labor organization in the state, including the A. F. of L., condemned Chandler as a strike-breaker.

As a Senator, Chandler's record on ten major bills affecting labor was nine wrong votes, according to C. I. O.-PAC. Among them was his vote for the Smith-Connally anti-strike bill in 1943 and his vote to override President Roosevelt's veto of that measure. But now he has promised the A. F. of L. that he will oppose any "right-to-work" legislation that may come up in the legislature next year. Of course, in 1939, during the coal-miner's strike, he had said that his use of troops was "to protect the right to work of the citizens of this state." In other words, to protect them from a union shop.

Governor Wetherby, whom the A. F. of L. has turned on this year, saw to it that a "right-to-work" bill was killed in the Kentucky legislature last year. And Clements, by the A. F. of L.'s own reckoning, has voted "right" by labor ten out of eleven times during his tenure in the Senate.

AT THIS stage of the campaign it is well nigh impossible to say who is ahead, Chandler or Combs. Combs has none of "Happy's" showmanship or gift for fanning the flames of petty discontent. He is a quiet, almost shy man. But he has solid opinions and he expresses them plainly. Much of his political labor consists of walking up and down the streets of the country towns, shaking hands and getting himself known. It seems no longer to be a compliment a call a man "sincere," but that is Combs's big asset, next to the very substantial influence of the Clements-Wetherby organization.

So far as Combs is concerned, the issue between him and Chandler is liberalism versus a moribund conservatism. Combs has put himself on the record, as Chandler has not, as to the rightness of the Supreme Court decision on school segregation. His liberal approach to economic and social questions is evidenced by a number of decisions while sitting as a judge on the Court of Appeals. Chandler's record is part of history, too.

The votes will be cast on August 6.

RICHARD HARWOOD.

[*Richard Harwood is on the staff of the Louisville* Times.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 23, 1955
VOLUME 181, NUMBER 4

THE *Nation*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Nation and Mr. Brownell's "Justice"

IN THE wretched history of the Department of Justice under the direction of Herbert Brownell there is no more discreditable or revealing chapter than the indictment of R. Lawrence Siegel, his associate Hadassah Shapiro, the separate indictment of Martin Solow, and the attempt to link *The Nation* to these indictments through a process of tricky legal legerdemain. The indictments confirm a consistent impression of the department's behavior and strategy in this and similar cases, namely, that the country's chief law-enforcement agency is today dominated by the morbid fear that its incompetence will at long last be exposed to public scrutiny. No action of the department more eloquently attests to the dominance of this fear, and of the unfair tactics it induces, than these indictments.

R. Lawrence Siegel, Hadassah Shapiro, and Martin Solow are known to us as persons of high moral integrity whose devotion to the principles of American democracy is unquestioned. Mr. Siegel is a former assistant attorney general of the state of New York and a former New York state special assistant attorney. He has had a distinguished career at the New York Bar for the last twenty years. His reputation for loyalty to America, honesty, integrity, and idealism is exceptionally high. He has participated in many important civil-liberties cases and has long been active in the American Civil Liberties Union, bar association and community affairs, besides serving as counsel for *The Nation*. Hadassah Shapiro is an attorney in his office. Neither Mr. Siegel nor Miss Shapiro make policy for *The Nation*, nor are they in any manner responsible for what it prints. Mr. Siegel and Miss Shapiro have been indicted under a series of counts charging them with obstructing justice, conspiracy to obstruct justice, and perjury in connection with the government's investigation of Harvey Matusow. The case has now passed from the grand jury to the courts and is, therefore, *sub judice*. For this reason we cannot discuss in detail the facts but we feel entirely justified in making certain general comments. For the benefit of those of our readers who may have been confused by the artful press briefing—in typical Department of Justice style—which accompanied the announcement of the indictments we should like to point out that Mr. Siegel, as a highly successful New York counsel, has many clients other than *The Nation*. (He was described to the press only as "general counsel for *The Nation*.") The indictments do not charge that the alleged acts on which they are based had anything to do with Mr. Siegel's representation of *The Nation*. We have every confidence that Mr. Siegel and Miss Shapiro will be vindicated. Without commenting on the facts in detail, we venture the general statement that nothing that either of them did obstructed the investigation of the Matusow case in the slightest degree.

NO MORE than Mr. Siegel or Miss Shapiro does Martin Solow make policy for *The Nation*. Mr. Solow is assistant to the publisher of this journal, which means, in our jargon, that he is in charge of circulation promotion and performs various other business functions. Mr. Solow's indictment is entirely tactical and we are certain that he, too, will be vindicated. He is charged with "obstructing the administration of justice" because he destroyed four items of correspondence which he had conducted in his individual capacity and in no way in behalf of *The Nation*. How much his action was an "obstruction" can be discerned from the fact that the grand jury's knowledge of his action comes apparently from his testimony given to the grand jury freely and voluntarily, without the compulsion of a subpoena. The substance of the offense laid to Mr. Solow, it seems, is that some time before he knew, or could have known, of the grand jury's inquiries into Matusow's affairs, Mr. Solow had taken from his individual files several items of correspondence to or from persons other than Matusow. This action by Mr. Solow, incidentally, had nothing whatever to do with the actions charged to Mr. Siegel or Miss Shapiro, nor had it the slightest tendency to "obstruct" the investigation of Matusow's testimony. When he was before the grand jury, Mr. Solow advised that body of his action and then informed it as to contents of the correspondence in question. Mr. Solow's conduct amounts to an "obstruction to the administration of justice" only to a Department of Justice or a grand jury intent on conjuring up a bete noire to replace the image of the government's irresponsible use of professional informers. The necessity, as measured by the Department of Justice, for the indictment of Mr. Solow is quite clear: neither the department nor Mr. Brownell has ever forgiven *The Nation* for the first major expose of the informer system (see the issue of April 10, 1954). If the minutes of the grand jury which has been handling the Matusow matter are ever made public, the questioning about this article will shock our readers who are as devoted as we are to the guarantee of a free press embodied in the First Amendment. It is not by chance that, coinci-

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The Nation, July 23, 1955, Volume 181, No. [illegible]

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dent with the return of these indictments, a Congressional committee should be conducting a full-scale investigation of "communism among newspapermen," with the principal targets being drawn from the staff of the New York *Times* which has been critical, in the past, of aspects of the informer system.

The indictments of Mr. Siegel, Miss Shapiro, and the indictment of Mr. Solow is merely another brick in an edifice that the Department of Justice is artfully constructing: (a) To defend against subsequent reversal or other legal modification the various convictions it has obtained in the courts, as well as the findings and orders of administrative agencies, against political dissenters based on the use of professional witnesses and political informers of highly dubious character and veracity. The department has an enormous vested interest in maintaining these convictions and findings. (b) To safeguard the system of political informers which has been built up in recent years and which now shows every sign of early distintegration. And (c) to terrorize and silence any organ of opinion that has criticized the use of political informers or that has called for an investigation of their veracity as witnesses. These are serious charges, but the facts amply substantiate them.

THE Department of Justice had, of course, good reason to fear the consequences of Harvey Matusow's recantation. Not only did it set a dangerous example but it exposed the department's incompetence in screening political informers and its reckless use of their testimony. As early as January, 1952, the United States Attorney's office in New York received a report indicating that Matusow was suffering from "a mild but acute form of psychoneurosis." Assistant Attorney General William F. Tompkins told a Congressional committee that the report had been "found in the files." Yet the Department of Justice and other government agencies continued to use Matusow as their witness. On February 11, 1955, some time *after* Lowell Watson, still another professional witness, had confessed that he had given false testimony in the Edward Lamb case before the Federal Communications Commission, the department ordered the deportation of Doris and Alan Shifrin against whom Watson had been one of only two direct witnesses.

Some of Matusow's tall tales under oath should have aroused the skepticism of a country bumpkin, but the alert lawyers of the Department of Justice pretended to see nothing preposterous about them. Even Matusow's statement that he knew by sight "probably 10,000 party members in New York" at a time when the F. B. I. officially listed only 11,695 in the whole state was accepted at face value. Nor was the department curious when Matusow charged that "the Sunday section of the New York *Times* alone has 126 dues-paying Communists," despite the fact that the Sunday staff numbered only eighty-seven, including two part-time copy boys. Impressed by the department's sponsorship of Matusow, wide-eyed Texas Rangers listened as he solemnly instructed them that undercover Communists sometimes betrayed themselves by humming or whistling "subversive music," and even paid him $25 a day to record the tunes. Reading Matusow's account of these and other antics, the nation began to laugh, and when a nation laughs even case-hardened political opportunists like Mr. Brownell become alarmed.

The department, moreover, was in a difficult position over the use of professional witnesses quite apart from the embarrassment which the irrepressible Harvey had caused by his confession. A long list of these witnesses, including Paul Crouch, Manning Johnson, Leonard Patterson, Elizabeth Bentley, George Hewitt, David Brown, Louis Budenz and others had given testimony which had been contradicted under oath in circumstances clearly calling for an investigation of their credibility. But the department failed to act. Back in January, 1953, Mr. Brownell had told the Alsops that an investigation was being made of the testimony of Paul Crouch. Perhaps it was halted, as Anthony Leviero wrote in the New York *Times*, because "Congressional committee staff members in the anti-Communist field have been expressing dismay since Mr. Brownell announced he would investigate Crouch." After all, as one official said, Mr. Crouch had compiled a "blood bank" of paid informers used by the government. Thad Mason, another informer, had given testimony before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1953 that had brought widespread demand for Justice Department action. According to an official memorandum, Mason had admitted to the F. B. I. that parts of his testimony had been fabricated. Again no action was taken. "One factor in the decision [not to act against Mason]," reported Murrey Marder in the Washington *Post*, "was that the government might have to disclose statements to the F. B. I. by confidential witnesses, including other and more important matters than their references to Mason." On April 20, 1955, William Henry Taylor, an employee of the International Monetary Fund, accused by Elizabeth Bentley of having been a member of a Communist spy ring, filed a 107-page report with the Civil Service Commission's Loyalty Review Board pointing out, in elaborate detail, glaring discrepancies in her testimony and demanding an opportunity to cross-examine her before the board. "Why a Privileged Sanctuary for Miss Bentley?" the Madison *Capital-Times* of May 7, 1955, wanted to know. The witnesses Marie Natvig and Lowell Watson both had recanted their testimony before the F. C. C. against Edward Lamb. Later another informer, David Brown, tearfully recanted his testimony. For the first time since Mr. Brownell took over the department a general clamor began to go up against the use of professional witnesses in political cases. The *Democratic Digest* (November, 1954) denounced Mr. Brownell's "Hired Witnesses" who "Tell Strange Tales for Pay," and other periodicals, along with such columnists as Doris Fleeson, Marquis Childs, Thomas L. Stokes, the Alsops and others, began to attack the informer racket which *The Nation* had been one of the first American publications to expose. In an editorial of February 22, 1955, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* issued a sharp editorial challenge: "Whose side is Attorney General Herbert Brownell on anyway? Is he on the side of law and decency? Or is he not?"

MR. BROWNELL is an old hand at wiggling out of tight political corners. On March 21, this year, in a speech in Boston, he announced the discovery of a new, startling "Communist plot" to smear government witnesses—meaning professional informers—and said that an attempt to get Matusow to recant was the spearhead of the attack. The charge was repeated and elaborated by Brownell in a long interview in *U. S. News and World Report* on April 29. The "discovery" that Communists dislike government informers can hardly be rated as first-class confidential top-level intelligence, but the theory of a Communist plot falls to pieces for the reason cited by Judge Edward J. Dimock in his decision granting a new trial to two of the thirteen second-string Communist leaders on the basis of Matusow's recantation. "The fact is," Judge Dimock observed, "that it was the news of a statement by Matusow that he had given false testimony that led these persons sympathetic to the defendants to seek his aid." In other words, the attempt to use Matusow as an *anti*-government witness followed, rather than produced, his recantation.

None of these considerations, however, deterred Mr. Brownell. A man-in-a-hurry, he did not wait until obliging underlings had confirmed the existence of the "plot" he had invented; he proceeded to have Matusow hailed before Judge R. A. Thomason in the federal district court in El Paso. There Matusow was summarily sentenced to three years' imprisonment for criminal contempt, a sentence harsh enough to serve as a warning to other professional witnesses who might be thinking of repudiating earlier testimony. But no effort was made then or later to find out when Matusow had lied or when he had told the truth. Not every statement in his confession is subject to verification; but such a fabled "fact-finding" agency as the F. B. I. should be able to verify, for instance, whether Matusow had in fact been paid by Republican organizations to smear Democratic candidates in Montana, Washington, Utah, and Wisconsin. Certainly Judge Dimock had no difficulty in determining when Matusow had lied. "The internal evidence," he said, "all points to the original story as the lie." If the Judge were off the bench and made that statement he would promptly be subpoenaed before the federal grand jury investigating the Matusow case in New York.

The grand jury was put to work by Mr. Brownell on February 8, 1955, to dig up the evidence to confirm his theory of a "plot." Grand juries have often been used as dragnets, but this one, under the prompting of Mr. Brownell's assistants up from Washington, has set a new record. As far as we can see, most of the individuals to whom Matusow attempted to peddle his book or tell his story—and he made the rounds—have been hailed before this body for questioning. According to Murray Kempton, writing in the New York *Post* on April 29, even the ten printers and production men who handled the mechanics of publishing Matusow's books were called to testify.

> What brings suspicion on them [said Mr. Kempton] has to be their sin in distributing material which shames the Department of Justice. The most shameful thing in the product they turned out is its sheaf of letters from F. B. I. and Department of Justice officials attesting their faith in the pre-improved Harvey Matusow. Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney wrote one of those letters; no one, of course, has suggested calling him to explain how he came to bring the Government of the United States into disrepute.
>
> These printers are no braver than the average citizen. . . . [They] are private enterprisers; they have many clients and a businessman's natural reluctance to involve the firm in scandal.
>
> And, after being called before the grand jury for processing the Matusow book, even at a nice profit, just how fast will they rush into a contract to do the next book which happens to afflict Herbert Brownell's self-esteem? . . . Herbert Brownell's assistants push on past the frontiers of decency, because to stop short of the limit might give us all the time to see the point. The destruction of Matusow has to be the main focus of their passion.

After five months of endless harassment of witnesses and listening to mountains of gossip, scuttlebutt, and irrelevancies, the grand jury has finally come forth with four indictments. Of the indictment against Matusow little need be said; the Department of Justice is determined to shore up and preserve the informer system which has been showing signs of disintegration and to protect its counsel who helped create this system. The public seems to have forgotten the Val Lorwin case where the Department of Justice had to ask that the indictment be quashed because one of its attorneys had twice deceived a grand jury. In justification of this indictment Mr. Brownell explained that the attorney had "felt it was better to indict Mr. Lorwin on slight evidence rather than appear before a Senate Committee to explain why he had not obtained an indictment." The attorney subsequently was dismissed from his post. There is no evidence, however, that the department is generating, in the New York *Times'* prayerful hope, "a truly enthusiastic determination to take severe action against any attorneys or other officials who may have let their eagerness to win a case overrule their devotion to justice and their sworn duty to pursue it." On the contrary Mr. Brownell proposes to control his stable of unstable informers by changing the requirements for a successful perjury prosecution. His spokesmen have asked Congress for legislation abrogating the requirement that, when an indictment is based upon contradictory sworn statements, the government must prove in which instance the witness lied. With this device at hand, the elimination of what Mr. Brownell calls "a ridiculous requirement" would seal the lips of the false informer and offer a premium to those who had once lied to keep silent.

The Nation is fully aware of the fact that one of the purposes of the indictments against Mr. Siegel, Miss Shapiro, and Mr. Solow is to punish, and if possible silence, this publication for the political sin—and it is that in Mr. Brownell's book—of having repeatedly, consistently, and from the outset, denounced the unjust and incompetent administration of the Department of Justice under his direction. We have no intention now or later of permitting a crude tactic of this kind, more in keeping with the practices of a totalitarian regime than of a democracy, to divert us from focusing attention on the informer system and pointing to the threat to civil liberties and civic decency implicit in the use of paid witnesses to impose a system of political surveillance on a sizable section of the population. *The Nation* has been aroused for a long time, much longer than Mr. Brownell, and we have no intention, in celebrating this year our ninetieth anniversary, of surrendering our independence under pressure of his vindictive bullying.

The Shape of Things

The Spread Widens

On July 5 the farm-price index as computed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (based on the 1947-49 average as 100) stood at 89.8, the price index of all commodities other than farm and food products at 115.7. The price spread between farm and factory products has been widening since 1951. In March of that year the two indexes were within a fraction of a point of each other but by the start of 1953 the spread had increased to 17 points and is now close to 25.

What this spread means in human terms is illustrated by a recent study made by the Grain Terminal Association of 221 diversified farms in a western Minnesota county. Figures from this study showed average net income per farm for 1954 of $1,739 on an average capital investment of $37,905. This is less than 5 per cent. The farmers included in the study had an average of seven days off during the year, enjoyed an average vacation of three days, and worked an average of 5,576 hours annually. During the period covered, costs of fertilizer went up 80 per cent, gas and oil 15 per cent; taxes, interest, and utility charges also showed sharp increases. The spread between farm and factory prices, which is now at its greatest since World War II, should be of major concern to the Administration. But there is every reason to believe that President Eisenhower's agricultural advisors are actually pleased with it.

The Magnificent Decline

The relative decline of American agriculture as a factor in the national economy is indeed so sharp that it is being billed as a magnificent forward advance—a semantic device for turning bad news into glad tidings. The June issue of *Fortune*, for example, carried an article entitled The Magnificent Decline of U. S. Farming. Its main point is that farm efficiency in the last ten years has risen faster than the efficiency of the rest of the economy. Indeed, in the last fifteen years output per man-hour has risen faster on the farm than in any long-established industry—and three times as fast as in industry generally. Total investment in farm machinery has tripled since 1930; working capital in agriculture has quadrupled since 1940; the number of tractors on farms has increased from 1,000,000 in 1935 to 4,500,000 in 1955. As a result of this remarkable rise in productive efficiency, the number of farms has declined from 6,300,000 in 1930 to 5,200,000 in 1954 and it is currently estimated that a third of those remaining are no longer needed to meet the demands of the domestic and export markets.

As *Fortune* is at considerable pains to make clear, the decline of American agriculture must continue despite its remarkable record of increased productivity. By 1980 only 8 per cent of the population will, by this reckoning, be living on farms as against 13.5 per cent today. And of the 8 per cent, only 4 per cent will be on the commercial farms that will then supply the nation's food; the others will be living on "residential" or part-time farms. Sooner or later we will arrive at the "magnificent" goal defined by *Fortune* as "the transformation of every genuine farmer into a highly capitalized, highly productive, highly specialized, prosperous professional entrepreneur."

Fortune's dream is, of course, the basis of the Administration's policy. In discussing his "small-farm program," the President has said that "off-the-farm" employment is the chief solution for the problem of displaced or marginal small farmers. The Administration has perversely insisted on regarding the farm problem not from the point of view of the American farmer, but in terms of a narrowly defined "efficiency." By what terms shall efficiency be measured? Are we interested in social as well as economic efficiency? What provision is being made for a "magnificently" declining farm population as automation "magnificently" cuts agricultural employment? Is the elimination of the family-sized farm socially desirable? Unfortunately, social considerations have not influenced agricultural planning in Washington since the disappearance of the last of those starry-eyed "idealists" one used to meet in the Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, whose misfortune it was to view American agriculture in terms of the well-being of American farmers as well as of the country as a whole.

How Much Can We Stand?

By Norman J. Birrell

[*As part of* The Nation's *efforts to acquaint its readers with what scientists have been saying about the effects of A- and H-bomb test explosions—see Peril from A-Dust, by G. H. Waddington, in our February* 19 *issue, and Biology and the Bomb, by Paul G. 'Espinasse, in our issue of June* 25*—we are reprinting the following excerpt from an important statement by Norman J. Birrell, Stratheona professor of zoology at McGill University, which appeared in the July* 9 *issue of* MacLean's Magazine. *Dr. Birrell's statement is particularly timely in view of the plea for the outlawing of war recently issued by Bertrand Russell in behalf of a group of world famous scientists. Dr. H. J. Muller, whose work is cited by Dr. Birrell, was one of the signers of the Russell statement.*]

WHILE most mutations appear to arise spontaneously, some are the result of natural radiation at the surface of the earth and any increase in the general radiation level raises the rate of their production. This has been shown experimentally in animals in the laboratory by Dr. Curt Stern, geneticist at the University of California, and we have no reason to believe that humans would be immune. In a recent publication Dr. H. J. Muller, professor of zoology at Indiana University, in fact estimates that about one quarter of all the mutations that arise in the reproductive cells of human beings are produced by the natural radiation resulting from radioactive materials in the earth's crust and the cosmic rays streaming in from outer space. In other words, we are already contending with undesirable results of radiation, and inasmuch as we endeavor to keep every born individual alive until he or she is old enough to reproduce in turn, we nurture our misfits along with the rest. Nature's way has been to get rid of the misfits as quickly as possible so that the strain remains health and vigorous.

What the test explosions have been doing is to raise the radiation level of the world we live in slightly above that which prevailed before. And since the radiactivity of fission products may last for a century, every time a bomb explodes the level is raised a little more. They all add up, and the longer we continue our pretty experiments the longer the excess radiation will take to die down.

This process would not spell the doom of humanity, however. Not even atomic war would do that. But the penalty for persisting in adding radioactive materials to the air we breathe and the ground we walk on could eventually become appalling. The greater part of the human race would become deficient in various ways, with loss of fertility, loss of vigor, and loss of intelligence. Sooner or later humanity would become incompetent to maintain the Atomic Age. Then in the course of a few centuries the man-made radioactivity would disappear, and during the course of the next few hundred thousand years the degenerate human stock would become weeded out and replaced by healthy strains that have survived among the wreckage. It would be a slow process of recovery and the Atomic Age would not have been worth the cost. It is our business to see that such a price will never have to be paid.

GRASS-ROOTS RACISM

White Council at Work . . *by Alfred Maund*

Selma, Alabama

I JOINED the Dallas county White Citizens Council here the other night during a rally at which Georgia's former Governor Herman Talmadge gave bold counsel to an appreciative crowd of some 6,000 men, women, and children. The gathering, held at a municipal stadium, was the largest council meeting to date in Alabama. Talmadge represented the most important Southern politico yet to associate himself publicly with the Mississippi-spawned outfit. I sat through the two hours of oratory whose repetitiousness was emphasized by the echo of the public-address system off the far fence of the field, and was alternately moved to laughter, to pity, and to alarm.

Finding humor in the situation required a tough stomach, but I smiled at references to "leftist magazines like *Look* and *Life*," "the Mixocrats," meaning the national Democratic Party, and, a coinage of abuse that was new to me, anyway, "the National Association for the *Agitation* of Colored People." There were some nifty boners, too, such as one assertion that the N. A. A. C. P. "was founded in 1910 to take over after Russia had failed in its attempt to establish a black empire in the South." The state senator who introduced Talmadge read the first page of his prepared introduction twice before he caught himself. I don't think the crowd would have noticed if he had not made a flustered apology.

THE audience sat in the J-shaped concrete grandstand, as widely representative in age and social station as the crowd at a baseball game. They did not talk among themselves except for an occasional side remark; their attention remained fixed on the rickety speakers' platform mounted on home plate, and they applauded in ready unison. The women around me wore vague, Sunday-sermon expressions of relaxation; the men's eyes were squinted, hungry, as they sought the Word, or new versions of the Word, to take back to the crossroad stores and filling stations and lumber mills. The youngsters listened quietly, eager to catch on to the dialectic of the adult world. Two boys in their early teens who sat in front of me turned at regular intervals to ask me to repeat some florid phrase that they had missed.

It was much like an open-air revival meeting, only the assembly of sinners seeking expiation was a more earnest group than an old-time fundamentalist can expect these days —and the reason for this intensity, I think, is that the guilt to be washed away is apparent even to the most obtuse. Dallas county, of which Selma is the county seat, and the counties around it are Black Belt counties with large Negro populations that have been displaced from their traditional field labor by the shift from cotton to cattle-raising. Uprooted tenants are migrating in a steady stream, but the substantial numbers left behind still glut the job market and are obliged to work for wages as low as $2 a day "from sun to sun." In Selma the median income for Negro families amounted to $865 in 1950. This economic imbalance, plus virtual disenfranchisement and harsh legal surveillance, produces visible results in the fantastic shacks that stretch for blocks like a poisonous dream.

The Black Belt white shares the dilemma of the South African Boer. He suffers the psychological disquiet of being outnumbered by Negroes, but he is reluctant to let Negroes leave because of the financial and egotistic gratifications their exploitation furnishes. The Supreme Court public-school desegregation decision, taken as an indication that the rest of the country misunderstands and disapproves of his position, has heightened this regional neurosis. The W. C. C. spokesmen offered no prescriptions at Selma, they only pandered to confusion. They distorted both science and Holy Scripture, with one speaker shouting, "If segregation is cruel and unjust, then God Almighty is to be blamed, not us." They urged impeachment of "the nine men who are not fit to empty the wastebaskets of Justices of the past." They professed glowing love for the "good" Southern Negro and felt certain they were loved in return. The "mulattoes" of the North are the ones behind the "mongrelization menace."

THESE frenetic thoughts are not expressive of the attitude of the state of Alabama as a whole, much less the entire South. Their potency can be counted on to diminish with time. But the time required is a matter of concern, and the presence of Herman Talmadge—"Young Hummun" —on the platform that night made it a matter for some alarm. He is the Golden Boy of Deep South politics at the moment. Repeated reports have it that he is going to force Senator George into retirement and move to Washington next year. He has a remarkable knockout record. He impelled Adlai Stevenson to pay a conciliatory visit to Georgia in 1953, and he won the affection of the erstwhile Talmadge-hating Atlanta *Constitution* and *Journal*. That night he sat in the stadium, his legs spread while he kicked at his folding chair with confident energy, looking like a middleweight title contender surrounded by handlers, waiting for an exhibition bout to begin.

He performed in classy style, too. His diction was perfect, his tones pear-shaped—only his flopping black forelock and his loud red socks certified his descent from old Gene. His speech began with a sketch of the founding of the Republic and he belabored with scholarly flourishes the growth of Big Government and the rise of the rampant bureaucrat. He seemed to be working up to a plug for the Bricker Amendment, but then he abruptly changed scripts in midstream and began ridiculing the

Supreme Court and upholding the divine integrity of the white race.

Remarkably, Talmadge was the only speaker to mention "economic reprisal," which has become the trademark of the councils. After summarizing the legal defenses Georgia has rigged against integration, he recommended that "present-day scalawags" be treated as follows: "Don't admit them to your homes. Don't let them eat at your table. Don't let them trade at your store or filling station." This presumably applies only to white foes of segregation; he did not lay down sanctions appropriate to Negroes.

The reluctance of the White Citizens Council chieftains to talk publicly about tactics was matched by their desire to claim respectability. Appearing as an impeccable front for the Mississippi unit was its executive secretary, Robert Patterson. Ex-football star, operator of a large Delta plantation, relatively decorous in speech and modest of manner, he told how women's auxiliaries were being formed in his home state. His fellow Mississippian at the festival, Yale-educated Judge Tom Brady of Brookhaven, was saturnine, and enamoured of purple prose. He is lightly regarded as a perennial officeseeker in Mississippi, but this day he outdid Talmadge as a spellbinder. Still, he sprinkled his harangue with exhortations to "keep our cause on a high plane." He denounced the N. A. A. C. P. as being party to a giant plot by "Socialist preachers, Communist teachers, and leftist editors" to stir up class, racial, and religious strife; he pleaded for unity and tolerance. However, his paper-bound book "Black Monday," which was being peddled at the meeting, held stronger views. "It is lamentable that attention should be called to the alarming increase of Jewish names in the ranks of Communist-front organizations of this country," one chapter of the rambling, supercharged text disingenuously begins.

THE recruitment drive held at the meeting also strained at being open and genteel. A loudspeaker droned, "If you have come to hear Governor Talmadge speak, you are interested in segregation, one way or another, so join your local Citizens Council." Booths with oil-cloth signs reading, "Join here, Dues $3," were stationed at the entrances. I had intended to watch the enlisting process, but it was impossible because there was no appreciable business going on at any of the stands. Finally, to be able to learn what was involved, I joined up myself. After all, I was interested in segregation "one way or another." It was the fastest three dollars I ever spent. I told the stocky funds-taker I lived in another county, so was I eligible? He said, "Sure, we've got lots from your county." He wrote the name and address on a three-by-five card, and that was it. No oath, no badge—no receipt. While I was standing there another volunteer appeared, as furtive and frantic as a man placing a bet with a corner bookie at post time. He tossed down his money, whispered his name, and dashed off into the crowd without waiting to see the transaction recorded.

Edward Jones

Herman Talmadge

This lack of enthusiasm to become "activists" was reflected further when an invitation to come shake hands with Talmadge was politely but almost unanimously declined by the crowd at the end of the meeting. It bore out the sardonic remarks of a non-Black Belt Alabamian, who had told me before the meeting: "Those bastards ain't going to take sides. They know the Supreme Court is the one that made the decision and they don't want the F. B. I. coming around investigating them, because everyone of them has something they want to hide." Such response—or rather lack of response—was the most heartening thing about the affair.

The White Citizens Councils are prominent and malignant in Mississippi. Their stalwarts, Delta planters, take credit for passage of an infinitely complex vote-registration law, and for scaring away those Negroes who have registered and those who urge them to register. They are accused of murdering an N. A. A. C. P. leader, of forcing foreclosures—even by federal agencies—on Negro farmers, and of ousting uncooperative white pastors. But what should be remembered is that the Delta planters, by virtue of their wealth and their disproportionate political power, have always done these things to "uppity" Negroes and dissident whites without benefit of a formal organization. All the admitted or alleged achievements of the W. C. C. have taken place in the Delta; the "hill country" whites have been more reserved. In Alabama the Black Belt land barons hold a firm grip on their domains, but their statewide influence is being sharply challenged by the growing populations of the industrial sections. By their own pronouncements, the councils have not been able to gain foothold outside the Black Belt.

IT CAN be argued, then, that the formation of the councils marked no gain of strength by the vested racists, but rather an admission of weakness. And among the vested racists one should include not only the large landowners but also such corporations as the Georgia Power Company, which has been a friend indeed to the Talmadges. They saw that they stood isolated in the defense of their peculiar institutions, and they are condescending to include other, if poorer, whites in their clique for the nonce.

They are employing the same strategy the ante bellum plantation owners used to get the non-slave-owning farmers to fight the Civil War; the same strategy which, about fifty years ago, led to the disenfranchisement of not only the Negro but a substantial number of whites. They are mouthing legalisms and piety to lure the timid while at the same time employing "Aesopian language" to inspire the feverish to acts of violence and intimidation. Judge Brady declaimed at one point, "We are coming to see that the Stygian cold of apathy is worse than the infernal heat of bloodshed and strife." It is doubtful that many of the audience unraveled the classical imagery, but his tone and insinuation were clear to all present.

The press of Alabama has generally been hostile toward the councils, but—unhappy echoes of McCarthy—they dare criticize only the methods, not the objectives. Lacking is a voice of even moderate courage to correct the demagogues' perversions of historical fact. Yet, despite all, there is evidence that the Common Man in the Deep South, however much he may enjoy the racial views of Talmadge and Company, is reluctant to take up a rifle or go to jail in their behalf.

THE ELECTRONIC CLERK

Is Your Job in Peril? . . *by Bernard Nossiter*

THE vacuum tube and the magnetic tape are moving into the bachelor female's preserve—the nation's business offices. In their wake will come a battery of social and economic problems that offer trade unions a prime chance to organize white-collar workers.

So far, automation on the production line has made the biggest splash. But "automation is likely to have its greatest immediate impact on office occupations," say George B. Baldwin and George P. Shultz of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the Monthly Labor Review. "Automation will have an even greater impact on the white-collar field than in the industrial field," predicts C. I. O.'s Education and Research Director Stanley H. Ruttenberg. However, exploiting white-collar automation for trade-union membership depends on reversing two strong tendencies. One is the traditional resistance, compared to production workers, of clerks to unions. The other is the labor movement's burgeoning bureaucracy which shows much more interest in extending gains within organized industries than in reaching out for the unsheltered.

The new office technology is embodied in large boxes called electronic data-processing machines. These awesome gadgets store great quantities of information and perform mathematical operations on their contents with incredible speed. International Business Machine's large computer, renting for $20,000 to $30,000 a month, can perform 10,000 internal operations a second. One of its 2,400-foot magnetic reels carries more than 5,000,000 characters.

The boxes, although less decorative, make surplus Miss Suzie Jones whose job typically is to go to a cabinet, look up a paper, copy an item from it onto a form, and then replace the paper and put the form in another cabinet. Typists, file clerks, billing clerks, payroll clerks, production-control clerks, inventory-control clerks, accounting clerks can all be supplanted. "For some business operations, computers can replace almost the entire work force," Professor Walter S. Buckingham of Georgia Tech told the C. I. O.'s April automation conference.

THE big brains are already installed or on the way to every major industry. At the start of June, twenty-three of I. B. M.'s newest models, the 700 series, were in operation and 130 were on order. The smaller, 650 series, capable of a mere 100 internal operations a second, had been ordered by 600 companies with thirty already at work. I. B. M. and Remington Rand are the two giants in the king-sized computer field.

I. M. B.'s best customers to date have been the front offices of aircraft builders, electrical manufacturers, and insurance companies. Douglas Aircraft, for example, feeds parts inventory data into a machine. Thus, when an assembly job must be done requiring hundreds of items from many storage bins, punch cards tell the requisition-filler the optimum stockroom sequence to fill his list. Prudential Life replaced eighty-six machines with one I. B. M. 702. It will service 80,000 policies a day, sending out annually ten million premium notices, and accounting for an equal number of remittances. These tasks, horeover, are only a beginning. In time, more jobs will be programmed and handed to the computers. Any firm with large quantities of paper work is a good customer for an electronic computer.

Business, of course, turns to electronic computers for one primary reason. They cut labor costs. National City Bank put a trial problem to an I. B. M. device that normally requires 1,000 man-hours; the machine did the job in nine and a half minutes. Prudential's machine now does the work of 200 people. Franklin Life Insurance Company has bought a Univac from Remington Rand (which, unlike I. B. M. sells as well as rents) that will also replace 200 people. Its planning vice-president told the *Wall Street Journal* that Univac will save $425,000 a year and pay for itself in four years or less. No one has calculated how many workers have been displaced by existing models with their assigned jobs; it would be impossible, of course, to determine what level future displacement could reach with improved models and new tasks.

Nevertheless, a leading automation consultant, John Diebold, thinks the computers will "score their greatest gains" by giving management "better and far more current information" than it now gets; for example, producing profit and loss statements in one day rather than thirty days after books close. He thinks this will be a bigger selling point than "reductions in clerical staff." But another consultant, Hiram S. Hall, told the American Management Association in May that labor is "pricing itself out of the

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BERNARD NOSSITER is on the staff of a New York metropolitan daily.

market" and forcing management to turn to automation. A *Journal of Commerce* summary also concluded the incentive is "high labor costs."

The new technology has set off a wordy debate about whether it is properly called revolution or evolution. Behind these labels lies a key question with profound implications for public and trade-union policy: how fast will offices automate? Dr. Cuthbert C. Hurd, I. B. M.'s Director of Electronic Data-Processing Machines, says a series of restraining influences are at work that will check rapid conversion and he decries talk of revolution. Dr. Hurd notes the big computers cost around $1,000,000 each to build and I. B. M.'s productive capacity is limited. Moreover, it takes about a year to train a dozen engineers to service one machine and customers must spend months programming jobs for it. He predicts I. B. M. will be installing them at arithmetical, not geometric rates of increase. But computer-makers have a vested interest in assuring the public the new technology won't cause major disturbances. They fear unions and government may develop programs that would inhibit their customers. In any case, industry, public-relations wise, tends to speak with one voice to the public and another to itself. T. V. Learson, an I. B. M. official, told 150 bankers last November that at least 100 banking organizations alone would find big computers useful for accounting and other tasks. General Electric, opening a new plant to produce assembly-line automation equipment in May, predicted demand would double by 1961 and triple by 1965. In a letter circulated to its own management, G. E. said "the question is not whether a given industry or all industry will automate as far and fast as feasible" but "whether a given company will be among the leaders of the parade, or will try to follow, or will even earlier fall by the wayside . . . the employer must automate to stay alive . . . it is imperative . . . that he remove from his payroll any substantial surplus of employees . . ." W. C. Newberg, president of Chrysler's Dodge Division, put it simply to the Society of Automotive Engineers: "Automate or die."

This warning is more likely to be heeded sooner in offices than in production lines. Industry will not want to wipe out its investment in existing capital equipment. No such barrier, however, will interfere with automation in offices where investment is comparatively small and labor costs high.

But in public, industry has tried to pour oil on troubled thinkers, assuring its listeners that everything will work out for the best in this best of all possible worlds.

Benjamin Fairless, retired United States Steel chairman, approvingly quotes a report that "the manufacturing industry on the whole has passed on to its customers and employees virtually all of the savings from increased productivity—that rarely and only temporarily have the owners retained any gains whatever from this source." G.E. tells its management that those displaced by machines will be "quickly absorbed in the new jobs created as the new savings go into added purchases." If there is some temporary dislocation, "the employer has provided out of his funds alone an unemployment compensation." Mr. Diebold notes that automation is now a $3,000,000,000 industry itself, providing new jobs, making available new products and more jobs. Also, he says, early retirement reduces the labor supply.

BEHIND much industry talk is an implicit assumption that lower production costs will bring lower prices, that lower prices will increase demand to be met by increased output requiring more workers. This theory has all the simple charm of a beginning economics textbook. It overlooks the more advanced theory which deals with topics like administered prices. The cost of electronic computers is high; it is thus no accident that their customers are industry's blue chips—Metropolitan Life, U. S. Steel, DuPont, and the like. Both theory and practice demonstrate that firms in oligopolistic industry maximize profits by limiting output and maintaining price rather than lowering prices. Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney says that automation technology is "likely to find its fullest use in the so-called 'administered price' industries where prices are notoriously insensitive to decreases in cost." Moreover, the competitive advantages of automation are likely to increase tendencies towards oligopoly, towards fewer firms in a given industry

Orders By Magic

The new and somewhat amazing electronic order-invoice system [replaces] repetitious manual paper work processing and all its chances for human error with foolproof electronic "brains" and "hands" . . . . Pre-punched cards, which include the customer's name, address, and shipping-charge information, are matched with product-description cards key-punched with information pertinent to the order, and "mark-sensed" to indicate quantity. The cards are fed into a card-to-tape-machine which . . . . controls a teletype transmitter which produces three copies of the order for sales department use. Simultaneously, hundreds of miles away in the warehouse nearest the customer, a receiving appearatus receives three copies for shipping orders.

From an advertisement in the New York Times by the Rockwell Manufacturing Company.

Dave Beck of the Teamsters Union, a business-minded man, said recently, "I have complete confidence in the capacity and ability of industry to assimilate the workers displaced by automation." But then Mr. Beck added, "This is where the union plays such an important role because this can be accomplished over the collective-bargaining table in the type of contracts we negotiate. Contracts must include a shorter work week; good retirement and pension and welfare programs are essential. Also increased unemployment compensation. A guaranteed annual wage is important, too, for workers who have peaks and valleys in their employment."

In sum, says Beck, business can save us from automation's dislocations—if strong unions compel business to share its savings and relieve the short-run burdens. Higher wages, earlier pension, broader seniority and preferential rehiring, bigger severance payments, relocating and retraining the technologically unemployed have also been added to Mr. Beck's prescription by other labor spokesmen. But all these programs depend on organization at both the political and the economic level.

The white-collar worker, however, is far less organized than his blue-collar brother. A Bureau of Labor Statistics survey of seventeen major labor markets in 1953-54 found four of five plant workers under union contract compared to one in six office workers. White-collar workers are "essentially middle class in outlook," a *Harvard Business Review* study by George Strauss observed. "To them unions are dirty, noisy, and 'lower class.'" The large number of female office workers, moving in and out of job markets. also make organizing difficult. Whatever the problem, the new technology may force office people to abandon some cherished myths. Kenneth O'Dell, president of the C. I. O. Insurance Workers, has discovered automation is a selling point in signing up new members.

Two of three office workers under contract, the B. L. S. found, are in the same union as plant workers. It is just here that status drives are most likely to divide members. The "pure" white-collar unions, like the A. F. of L.'s 60,000 member Office Employees International, so far have not demonstrated signal success in signing up the unorganized millions in their jurisdiction. But George Meany and Walter Reuther both told O. E. I. U.'s recent convention that white-collar organizing will get top priority from the merged federation. Merger talks are also underway among independent, C. I. O., and A. F. of L. office-worker unions. If labor costs are spurring automation, a side effect unlooked for by industry could well be the mass organization of its targets.

NEW CRISIS IN KENYA

Adventure in Imperialism . . *by Keith Irvine*

BECAUSE—as in the music-hall song that gave the word "jingo" to the English language—the British have "got the ships, got the guns, and got the money too," they are on the verge of establishing military control in Kenya, even though it is publicly admitted that "pockets" of Mau Mau in the forests may continue resistance for as long as another ten years.

Ever since a state of emergency was tardily proclaimed in October, 1952, the British have been in the habit of speaking of their "two-pronged attack" upon the situation. The first stroke constitutes the military suppression of the Mau Mau revolt; the second, an "attack" upon the political and social problems that have given rise to Mau Mau. The military punch having been delivered, the British are now following through with their political punch, in the hope that it may prove the knock-out blow. Initially it takes the form of the East Africa Royal Commission Report, a 482-page document published on June 9.

From the British point of view the publication of this report is timed to a nicety. It appears at a moment when military advantage coincides with a mounting demand, both in the United Kingdom and elsewhere in the world, that the British authorities take the initiative in controlling the Kenya settler community and/or the Kikuyu Mau Mau. In addition to this the British Conservatives find themselves newly-elected with a popular mandate. (The report, ready months ago, was delayed until after the British general election.) It becomes difficult to imagine a more favorable moment for initiating a new Kenya policy. For, although official hand-outs are at pains to stress that the report does not represent government policy, its recommendations plainly foreshadow the guiding principles to be used in the new chapter now opening in the history of British East African colonialism.

The first fact that leaps to the eye in examining the report is that it is not, as might be expected, a report solely on Kenya, but upon all three East African territories—the Crown Colony of Kenya, the Protectorate of Uganda, and the U. N. Trust Territory of Tanganyika. This fact will appear less surprising, however, when it is remembered that the idea of the report originally sprang from the brain of Sir Phillip Mitchell, Governor of Kenya from 1944-52, who is an advocate of federation of the white-controlled governments of these three territories. For, by considering the problems of the three territories as if they fell naturally within the same frame of reference, the report implies that solutions should also be applied on the same basis. Nor does it stop merely at implication. It specifically recommends the creation of a single intra-territorial authority for mineral exploitation, to be known as the East African Prospecting and Mining Leases Board, the establishment of an East African Road Corporation, and an East African railways and harbors administration.

Plainly the publication of the report is the opening gun in the stormy battle for East African Federation—a project that has been violently opposed by African leaders in the three territories concerned. In Tanganyika, where the British rejected out of hand a U. N. commission's recent recommendation that a target date for self-government within twenty years be established, feeling against federation runs high. Ugandans have also expressed themselves strongly on this subject. Even the tiny but influential white minorities in these two territories have balked at the thought of unification with the inflamed body politic of Kenya. Nevertheless it is an open secret that British policy is oriented towards the project of eventually founding an East African super-state. Once established, the coterminous "nations" of East and Central Africa could together realize

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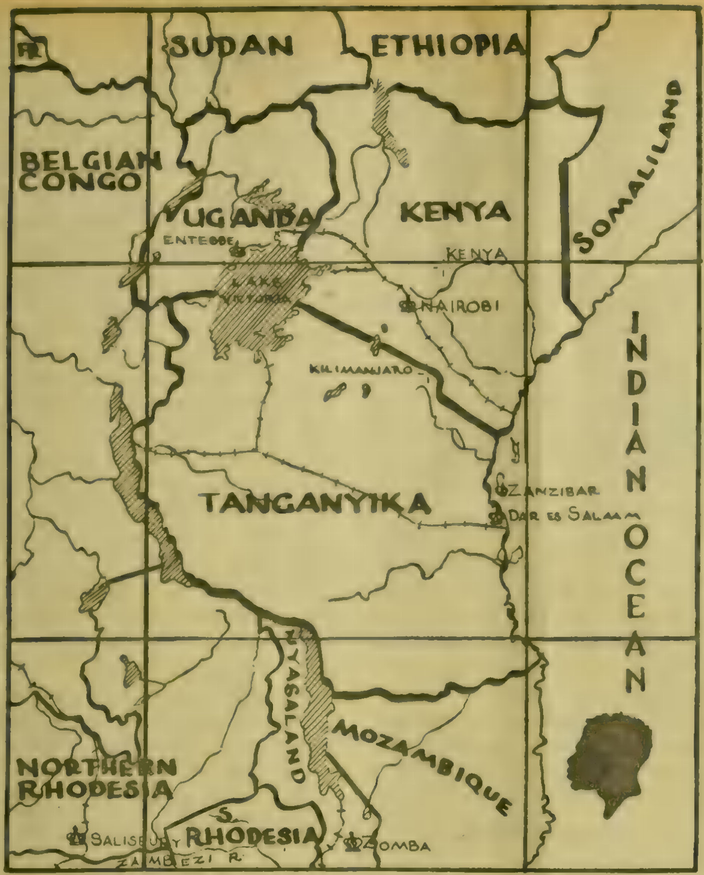

Proposed Federation: Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika

the old German dream of a *Mittelafrika*—a giant state stretching from the borders of Strijdom's South Africa up to the frontiers of the Sudan. There is, however, one paramount objection to this: the Africans do not want it.

Collective land ownership, racial differences, tribal customs, African religion, and other resistances to the Western way of life, the report in effect contends, are best thrown into Mammon's melting pot for speedy dissolution. In accordance with such a mode of political thinking, the authors of the report naturally justify whatever moral misgivings they may have by assuming that the obtaining of profits by outside investors is synonymous with the raising of African standards of living. That such a raising of standards is an automatic consequence of capital investment is of course not inevitable—as many historical precedents, in Africa and elsewhere, testify. Secondly, even if some such amelioration were to take place, it could of course occur only as an incidental good attendant upon the fundamental evil: a movement away from Kenya's economic independence through a further reaffirmation of extraneous white financial interests in the country.

The most basic problem is that of land tenure. The report recommends that Africans and Europeans alike throw open "their" lands to the operation of the market, making them available for unrestricted sale and individual ownership. Numerous references to the need for ending the concept of the "White Highlands" distracts attention from the fact that the abolition of the principle of "discrimination" in land ownership, instead of curing present African grievances, further jeopardizes the security of tenure of those lands that Africans now hold. In Tanganyika, for example, the pressure of business interests attempting to alienate more tribal land from Africans has been great, but has been resisted with some success, although there have also been reverses as in the recent forcible eviction of some of the Meru tribe from their ancestral lands.

Adoption of the new proposals would mean that money becomes the arbiter of land ownership. Do the authors of the report profess no knowledge as to which community possesses the money? They themselves explicitly state that there is a need for the African to be placed upon a wage-earning basis. By the time that this has been done the foundations of African society will have been largely undermined by money from abroad, and the land—the very basis of life itself, however it be used—pulled from out of African control as neatly as if a rug were pulled from under a man's feet. With a present estimated African population in the three territories of close to 19,000,000 as compared to a total European population of 69,000, the problem plainly concerns the future rather than the present. Nevertheless, the establishment of this principle, combined with the further white immigration—a new immigration campaign was launched only the other week—would be sufficient to lay the foundations of a future inimical to African interests.

WRESTING the land from Africn control implies, of course, the scattering of the tribes and the death of tribal religion, with its mystique of the relation between people and land. Thinking of the excesses of Mau Mau, there may be those who will hold this to be a good thing. The fact remains, however, that Mau Mau stands in much the same relation to the Kikuyu religion as did the Black Mass to mediaeval Christianity. It is no accident that the Black Mass and peasant uprisings, such as the Jacquerie, were both characteristic of fourteenth-century Europe, marking the death throes of the old pre-Christian order. In twentieth-century East Africa, however, what is envisaged is not the indigenous development of a new society so much as the imposition of an alien form of life from above.

Even that bulwark of enlightened British conservatism, the London *Times*, expresses misgivings at the "revolutionary" recommendations of the Royal Commission's report, declaring that the disintegration of tribal structures will give place to "the perennial distress of the unassimilated urban proletariat." To propose a tropical slum as the cure for the situation which produced Mau

Mau bears witness to the bankruptcy of the British ideal in Africa today.

But what hope *does* the report offer to the Africans? Not, that is, to the "safe," screened, and politically sterilized minority, but to the future leaders, the passionate nationalists, and to those sullen Kenyan villagers who, the British admit, still remain sympathetic to the aims of Mau Mau whatever collective punishments they may receive. What substance does the report offer to such as these to nourish their demand for self-respect and the right to choose and work towards liberty as they—and not as the Westerners—conceive it? The answer is inevitably a dusty one. The Royal Commission's summons to the African to give up his way of life is hardly likely to achieve more success than the calls to surrender habitually rejected by Mau Mau forces.

After casting the African, willy-nilly, into the modern world of supply and demand, capital and labor, getting and spending, the report does not even recommend the usual modern safeguards, going so far as to specify the unsuitability of trade unions "on the British" pattern. In Kenya today the whites are the employers as well as the rulers, and the Africans the workers as well as the ruled, so this comment is hardly surprising. The fact remains that trade unionism, in embryo, has already been established in the territory.

Since the future of Kenya is now being outlined in multi-racial terms, it is legitimate to ask what hope there will be for multi-racialism if all the power is to remain in the hands of one race? Power will be shared only by encouraging self-reliance amongst Africans in their relations visa-vis the whites. Since the Africans constitute the workers, the encouragement of trade unions is the only possible way to build up this self-reliance.

IT IS also unfortunate that the report does not face the other basic necessity for founding a multi-racial state in Kenya—the establishment of multi-racial education. It has been stated that if the principle of multi-racial education were to be generally introduced in Kenya, an immediate exodus of whites would result. If this is true, nothing could demonstrate more eloquently the fact that the whites who have congregated in Kenya are inimical to that country's best interests. For only multi-racial education can guarantee any degree of racial stability in the Kenya of tomorrow. At the moment, however, there is only one multi-racial school throughout the entire territory—a pilot project, highly unpopular with the settler extremists, and subsidized by the government with a niggardly $7,000 a year. The same sum, spent on "security," is just enough to turn one of the propellors of one of the aircraft that are now dropping bombs on the Aberdares. Such a calculated disproportion in expenditure may indeed "end the Emergency by Christmas," but that is the best that it can achieve.

Whatever turning the conflict between Mau Mau and the British may now take, the underlying problem of Kenya's future independence will remain. For if the six million inhabitants of Kenya are to attain dignity and freedom, their future society has to be conceived in terms of self-liberation. This alone can warrant genuine progress, as opposed to the palliatives advanced by the East Africa Royal Commission's report.

RAIDING THE JOBLESS

The Attack on Benefits . . *by Steven Warshaw*

San Francisco

ONE of the axioms of American social legislation is that it is only enacted when pressure for it is intense. Federal unemployment compensation was one response to the depression. Enacted as part of the Social Security Act of 1936, it survived repeated attack in the courts and in Congressional hearings. It has also survived maladministration in several states, the lack of enthusiasm of local governments, and an inhibited growth. The question now is: can it survive prosperity?

Despite the industrial boom, expansion of federal and state law has become necessary. Between 500,000 and 800,000 persons are entering the labor market every year. Millions of jobs are being taken over by machines. In addition, if the guaranteed annual wage becomes an accepted part of the economy, unemployment compensation will be its core.

Yet last year more than two million workers exhausted the sums due them under present laws. Weekly payments, moreover, were in many states nearer the level of depression pay than of the post-war period. When President Eisenhower signed an increase of $5 into the District of Columbia law last fall, Labor Secretary Mitchell sent a letter to governors urging that increases be made by the states. But a $5 increase in a dividend is not the whole picture. While benefits are going up in some states, the chances of getting it are going down, especially for the lowest income groups. And on the state administrative level, a patchwork of amendments is working to change the basic philosophy of the unemployment acts.

The state that typifies the new philosophy is California. In some respects it was a test state for liberalizing unemployment compensation. One of the first to enact the law, it became one of the most generous with benefits, duration of payment, and extent of payment. But things have changed. Within the past few years California decreed first, that workers must show definite attachment to the labor market be-

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fore making a claim. That was intended to disqualify transient and migratory workers. Second, it ruled that if a worker earned 75 per cent of his qualifying wages in a single quarter he could not receive benefits. That eliminated thousands of seasonal cannery workers. In its present session, the state's assembly voted to double the qualifying minimum to $600, thereby eliminating an estimated 17,000 to 30,000 more.

It is true that more white-collar workers have been brought into the compensation program. But the workers for whom the law was essentially created, those with the least purchasing power in the least stable industries, have been shut out. Moreover, this process is being achieved in more ways than by merely making disqualifications severe. It is abetted by some of the most stringent administration in the history of the laws. California's department of employment, a one billion-dollar bureau that is among the largest in the country, is headed by William A. Burkett, who was formerly vice-president of the Inter-Association Unemployment Insurance Committee, a group of some of the state's most powerful employers.

While a management spokesman, Burkett's goal was to reduce the cost of the compensation program. At first he said 4,000 persons took $620,917 in fraudulent claims from the reserve fund in 1951. A year later his estimate grew to $20,000,000. He then demanded that restrictive amendments be passed. Governor Warren answered Burkett by saying, "Anybody can pick a figure out of the air and make a general accusation when he has no responsibility for proving it. It's a libel on the working people of the state." But Burkett had become a power to be reckoned with. Only a few years before he had been a scrupulously nonpolitical agent for the Treasury Department. About the time a San Francisco newspaperman broke the story of favoritism by officials of the Internal Revenue Bureau, however, he resigned, protesting that his bosses had held back on the prosecution of racketeers. His testimony before the Kefauver and State Crime Committees became a significant factor in the 1952 elections and made him a hero of the Republican Party. After he made an unsuccessful race for Congress he was given the employers' association job. When Warren left for the Supreme Court, Governor Knight chose Burkett, in one of his first appointments, to head the employment department. Labor unions, in California represented mainly by the A. F. of L., protested in vain.

Governor Knight

As director, Burkett continued to find more fraud. "Since unemployment-insurance payments started in 1938," he announced, "$200,000,000 would be a conservative estimate of the sum lost by the state of California to chiselers." All of Burkett's charges, of course, have been more than welcome ammunition for business groups who have been watching their tax bill for unemployment benefits grow year by year. Every Hearst newspaper is under orders to publicize abuses until they now appear to be out of proportion to their extent. On the national level, *U. S. News and World Report* fired the opening shot. "Scandals in jobless pay," said one article datelined Sacramento. "States find up to one-fifth of benefits illegal." The magazine had only Burkett to support the figure. New York has found its fraud rate to be far lower.

How did Burkett arrive at the notion that anywhere from 15 to 43 per cent of California's unemployed are defrauding their government? The seventy-six investigators in his department do not examine many claims. Instead they concentrate their efforts, spending as long as forty hours on each. This comprises what Burkett believes to be a random sample sufficient to reveal fraud in claims. Across California, where $11,7001,000 is paid out to a weekly average of 117,716 claims, his men check 130 cases in an entire quarter.

Many mathematicians agree this random sampling method may be accurate. But here the mathematicians are dealing in figures for which they may never find confirmation. For although Burkett boasts of doubling his convictions of frauds—thereby "proving" his case—judges say many of them are convictions in the technical sense only. Defendants rarely are imprisoned. They plead guilty when approached by investigators. Most, say judges, take the money in ignorance and are willing to pay it back. Nevertheless, they are charged as criminals, often for "frauds" as low as a few dollars.

Whether or not he is accurate, Burkett's solution to the problem is an impressive example of the new approach to unemployment compensation. He wants to double most penalties for fraud. Because he believes the greatest proportion of frauds falls in the lowest income groups, he wants to remove them from the program by increasing qualifying earnings. His way to cut out fraud, in short, is to cut out claimants.

IN THE meanwhile, the source of the problem in California is rarely mentioned. Using the common rating system, the state taxes employers on a sliding scale that may go down from a top of 2.7 per cent of covered wages to nothing at all. The tax on businesses with the least turnover is zero. This system means that big firms, especially subsidized ones, may pay nothing into their state's reserve fund while the small or seasonal industries send millions of workers to make claims and are taxed heavily for it. But in neither case are the companies responsible for their employment capacity or lack of it. That, according to economists, is a national phenomenon. These flaws in the program prompted Sinclair Week's business advisory committee to hold an executive session last fall. The best reason for liberalizing the state laws, it said, is that the benefits act as a "wedge against the guaranteed annual wage." But if the states maintain the present tax structure for big businesses, they will be tempted to finance liberalization by reducing the scope of the program, as the California experience shows.

BOOKS

The "Different" French

FRANCE AGAINST HERSELF. By Herbert Luethy. Translated by Eric Mosbacher. Frederick A. Praeger. $6.50.

By Alexander Werth

THE ORIGINAL German title of this book is "Frankreichs Uhren Gehen Anders," which means all kinds of things—that the French "way of life" is slower than that of the other capitalist countries of the world; that the French do not, in their foreign or colonial policy, keep in step with the rest of the world; that, altogether, they are "different"—that they are, in short, as was so often said fifty or a hundred years ago, "the Chinese of Europe." (Not, of course, the Chinese of today, but the Chinese with pigtails.)

There is some truth in all this, and Mr. Luethy's general idea of trying to show just *why* the French are "different" was a good one. The result of his efforts is, however, disappointing. Whether he speaks of the French defeat of 1940, of Vichy, of the Liberation, of De Gaulle, of *tripartisme,* of the "firing" of the Communists from the Ramadier government in 1947, of the Schuman Plan, of EDC, of the Geneva Conference that put an end to the fighting in Indo-China, he seems to look at everything through a pair of distorting spectacles: one lens is focused, as it were, on the "quaintness" of the French, and the other is focused on both the wickedness and the "un-Frenchness" of the Communists. This distorted view results in some strange contradictions in Mr. Luethy's book: on the one hand, he seems to agree that the great majority of French opinion was anti-EDC (and he even quotes with relish Claude Bourdet's angry outburst, *"C'est Cambronne qu'il nous faut,"* when Anglo-American pressure at Bermuda in favor of a rapid ratification of EDC became plainly insulting to France); but then, when he comes to the actual rejection of EDC under Mendes-France in the summer of 1954, all he finds to say is that it was really rejected by a coalition of Communists "who represent no French cause" and Gaullists of whom he says, "it is no longer certain what they represent in the country." Perhaps Mr. Luethy is right in saying that France objected more, in the case of EDC, to its loss of control over its own army than to the actual fact of German rearmament; but to say that EDC was rejected by an "unrepresentative" coalition is to neglect the fact that people as weighty as ex-President Auriol, Marshal Juin, M. Herriot, General De Gaulle, dozens of other major public figures, and practically the whole intelligentsia of France, not to mention all the "vehement and self-centered groups" in Parliament (as Churchill called them in a moment of anger) were against EDC. That the French were "more favorable" to plain German rearmament is also a very doubtful suggestion: it was, in the end, only Churchill's threat of the "empty chair" that made them capitulate.

WHAT Mr. Luethy does not bring out clearly in his book are many of the truly fundamental facts: the fact that Vichy was, by and large, a triumph of the "sixth of February" spirit (and not just, as he puts it, "the old state apparatus, deprived of its republican and democratic facade") or that 1944-45 were, in the last analysis, not so much the personal triumph of De Gaulle, as the gradual triumph of a "derevolutionized" De Gaulle, allied to the *status quo ante* elements in France, over the revolutionary forces in the Resistance, not only Communist but also non-Communist and "New Dealer." The most interesting psychological evolution of De Gaulle from "rebel" to "champion of law and order" is not explained at all. Mr. Luethy takes the oversimple line that the early post-liberation years were merely chaotic; that the Communists were only interested in the purge of the traitors and collaborators and "wholly indifferent" to the structural reforms of the Resistance charter; if this was so, it was because they were anxiously waiting for the Red Army to march into France! All this is an absurd distortion of what really happened. So long as the cold war had not become too violent, the Communists were, on the contrary, not only extremely interested in seeing the Resistance charter applied (and did a good deal in that direction as members of the government), but, what is more, they hoped to remain in the government as an orderly government party, and to gain gradual control of France. Hence the fact that at the end of 1944 Thorez actually came to De Gaulle's rescue when he took the side of the central government against the revolutionary Liberation committees and the *milices patriotiques,* and when he summoned the working class to "work like blazes" for the rapid restoration of French industry and the French economy generally. The truth is that De Gaulle (and "bourgeois society") benefited greatly from the presence of the Communists in the government, and from the moderating influence Thorez was constantly exercising on the revolutionary temper of the working class and on their legitimate economic discontent. No doubt the Communists hoped to gain from all this in the end, whereas in reality they were "duped" when, with Marshall Plan aid coming to the rescue, they were told that their services were no longer required. But the fact remains that, as British Ambassador Duff Cooper told me at the end of 1945: "It's very, very smart of De Gaulle to keep the Communists in the government—it's saving him no end of complications." The more "romantic" or "Blanquist" elements in the Communist Party (Marty and Tillor among them) foresaw this Communist fiasco very clearly.

On the question of why the Communists were "fired," Mr. Luethy gives only a partial explanation. It is quite true, as he says, that their position in the government was becoming untenable, with the Renault workers going out on strike, and challenging the Communist ministers to disavow a further freezing of wages; but the reasons for the de-

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parture of the Communist Ministers were much more fundamental: after the breakdown of the Four Power Conference in Moscow in April, 1947, the cold war had reached an acute stage, and the continuance of *tripartisme,* which had always symbolized, internally, the international unity of East and West, had become nonsense. Moreover, it was increasingly impossible for the Communists to stay in a government that was, against their advice, continuing the war in Indo-China and had condoned the massacres in Madagascar in March, 1947. And finally, it was clear that France badly needed United States aid, and that the presence of the Communists in the Ramadier government was an obstacle, as the State Department had, indeed, made it amply clear to Leon Blum in Washington a year before.

I NEED not dwell here on some of Mr. Luethy's particularly silly polemics—for instance when he challenges the Communist claim that in the Resistance 75,000 Communists were shot, whereas in reality, he says, they had produced only 176 names! The fact remains that the Liberation armies (F. F. I., F. T. P. F., and other forces of the Resistance and Liberation)—a high proportion of them Communists—lost 79,000 men, that 65,000 "political and Resistance deportees" died in Germany, as well as 40,000 "forced-labor" persons, not to mention the 117,000 "racial deportees." (Official figures reprinted in *Le Monde,* December 8, 1954.)

Not only wholly irresponsible "polemics" like Mr. Luethy's figure of "176 Communists shot," but the generally muddled thinking that pervades the whole book make it disappointing. France *is* a "difficult" and highly complicated country, with a singularly tricky position in the Western world. Its very reluctance to be a satellite of America, combined with its willingness to be economically dependent on America; its mental superiority complex, combined with a physical inferiority complex; its *poujadisme,* and the provincial backwardness of the Center and South, combined with the fastest and most efficient railway trains in Europe; its highly developed social services and its 5,000,000 Communist votes—all this is not easy to explain in even a long essay on France. It could, however, have been done. Only, what Mr. Luethy lacks is a proper gift of historical analysis, and, above all, a detailed knowledge of the actual facts.

WITHOUT a proper study of both the internal and international facts (with their amazing *parallelism* in France) determining a given development, be it the rise and fall of De Gaulle's R. P. F. or the sudden rise of McCarthyism in France in 1952, or the Mendes-France phenomenon, one cannot hope to write a convincing and coherent story. Moreover, one sometimes wonders whether Mr. Luethy is not approaching France with far too many preconceived notions. Thus he employs, over and over again, the old cliche about French super-centralism, with Paris as the center of the spider's web—and, indeed, the spider itself. I am sure he has not read an important recent book like Mr. Brian Chapman's "French Local Government" (London, 1953), which would remove from his mind many of these time-honored cobwebs.

Fugitive from a Chain Reaction

THE HOUND OF EARTH. By Vance Bourjaily. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.50.

By Herbert Gold

VANCE BOURJAILY'S first novel, "The End of My Life," had a slightly anachronistic flavor. It told of a second world war that was something of a lark, with ironic sad young men going to Africa to make funny conversation and die. With its extreme youthfulness it constituted a poignant memorial to the wide-eyed college intellectual of the last days of the New Deal.

"The Hound of Earth" reveals a writer purified of most of the postures of extreme youth. The mocking bright-boy melancholy of Skinner Galt has been succeeded by a frighteningly immediate, perversely humorous perspective upon contemporary American problems of conscience. Allerd Pennington, a scientist in uniform working on a problem which led to the "successful" use of the atom bomb at Hiroshima, deserts the army, abandons his wife and children, and vanishes into the living death of anonymity within the great jungle of America's floating misfits. He cannot live the happy suburban life of convenience and ease, he decides, while he has the bomb on his conscience.

The action details his flight, the pursuit, and his picaresque adventures as stock man in a San Francisco department store during the Christmas rush. The earnest reflection of the liberal and puzzled Javert in charge of the federal hunt provides a counterpoint to some finely imagined incidents of love and commercial competition in a bargain basement. The minor characters, particularly Finn, a super-pressure salesman, and Tom, a high-school boy marked out to be used by others, sidestep the danger of becoming puppets in a parable. They surprise the reader, and yet remain themselves. Bourjaily's narrative skill and imaginative sympathy is such that they flesh out their small roles, engaging us as human beings.

The fugitive is caught at last. Love, responsibility, and the need to take a stand "deprived him of his freedom to live alone with guilt." As Bourjaily says, "The hound of earth had caught him. No man escapes that hound, his own humanity."

This novel is sometimes arch, as in the romances of its moral suicide; it is frankly sentimental at times then abandons itself to whimsy; and Pennington's desertion of his wife and children, although he is declared to have been happy with them, is somewhat too convenient to Bourjaily's theme—men usually have better reasons for leaving their wives than the cosmic one of conscience about happiness in the atomic age.

But for the most part it holds in balance its humor and its pathos—this tension is the special note of Bourjaily's style—and endures past a first reading as an effective drama about how difficult it is to be both responsible and an individual in contemporary America.

HERBERT GOLD is a member of the Department of English at Wayne University.

Of War and Man

THE NIGHT OF TIME. By Rene Fulop-Miller. Translated from the German by Richard and Clara Winston. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $3.75.

THE SEIZURE OF POWER. By Czeslaw Milosz. Translated from the Polish by Celina Wieniewska. Criterion Books. $3.50.

By Stanley Cooperman

MODERN novelists, like the epic writers of the past, often use war for the study of men under crisis. There is, however, an essential difference: the enormous complexity of modern war all but eliminates personal responsibility and personal choice. The hero has been replaced by the pushbutton, and the modern war novel must deal with the virtual separation of the hero from the act.

The writer who also attempts to recreate a war situation is likely to find himself concerned largely with externals, with the mechanism of battle itself; while the writer who concentrates on personal tragedy must isolate his individuals precisely because of the vast impersonality of war environment. There have been few artists able to distil from modern war the essence of external suspense and at the same time present the human mind, acting and acted upon.

Rene Fulop-Miller with "The Night of Time" has succeeded in exploring war in its fullest dimensions. With neither the romantic personal negativism of the novelists of the First World War nor the broader but shallower attack of those of the Second, he blends irony, surrealism, and physical precision in a novel which breaks beyond the limits of specific conflict. His book is a multi-level poem not of any one war, but of war itself—and of human experience as well.

Just as Kafka used "The Trial" to capture basic configurations of memory and despair, Fulop-Miller makes of his unnamed and untimed war an image bearing within itself the deepest pressures of individual life and death. The book is not simply an allegory, which inevitably involves distortion to fit a preconceived thesis or sermon; his people and situations are in the truest sense vital and full-fleshed, although external action carries a pyramid of symbolic meaning. The method, of course, is not new; symbolist writers have been much discussed and much imitated. War, however, has been primarily the realm of the realistic novelist. Rene Fulop-Miller, in utilizing the techniques of symbolism—the ironic juxtaposition, the proliferation of value, the distortion of the obviously "real" for the symbolic examination of reality—has produced a book which disturbs and terrifies in its comic moments, the ludicrous forever linked with the tragic.

IN THE "cold war," as in other wars, the demand for inspiration or indictment is amply met by widely ballyhooed novels giving all the sanctioned answers. Horror is reflected upon a specific target and tragedy traced to a specific cause. In this manner the most soul-shattering events give, in their own way, considerable comfort—the reassurance that the reader is hating the right people.

A "cold war" novel poses as objective in order to sooth the literary sensibilities of the critic and provide a frame of sophistication for the audience, but at the same time the approved position must remain constant; the novelist, while dealing with ideological complexities, works from a specific point of reference. An author—such as Czeslaw Milosz—who carries objectivity far enough to depart from the correct position is bound to be challenged. Where antagonists have an interchangeable ruthlessness, for example, the reader conditioned by ideological fiction is likely to demand a key, somewhere in the book, which will open the door of hope and hate. If none is forthcoming, he has been disturbed "to no purpose."

Milosz, writing of the last days of World War II in Poland, is not likely to give comfort to any partisan reader. Interlocking violence shatters human life in the name of a multiplicity of causes and emerges as the central fact in "The Seizure of Power." These causes so resemble each other that everyone seems to be traveling the same way while shouting different reasons for it.

Milosz alternates realistic description with lyric passages and metaphysics. One of his characters describes what is perhaps the basic approach of the novel: "You can only express properly through details. When you've observed a detail, you must discover the detail of the detail." This, of course, is one of the commandments of modern poetry, and Milosz—who is himself known as a poet—applies it to his fiction. Shifting rapidly from detail to detail, using richly metaphorical imagist, or violet prose, he swings from the past to the present, from antagonist to antagonist in a blood-colored kaleidoscope.

Coming at a time when fiction dealing with the "cold war" is usually propagandistic, "The Seizure of Power" is a memorable work in that it condemns the methods power often uses to perpetuate itself.

STANLEY COOPERMAN is a free-lance writer specializing in fiction.

The Mechanics of Influence

POWER AND INFLUENCE. By Lord Beveridge. The Beechhurst Press. $5.

By Keith Hutchison

IN a prologue to this autobiography, Lord Beveridge distinguishes the two ways things get done in the world of affairs—power and influence. Men with power—in government or business—"can mold events by an exercise of will," can enforce orders either by punishments or control of awards. Influence, on the other hand, requires persuasion; it "means appeal to reason or emotions other than fear or greed; . . . if influence is to be for good, it must rest on knowledge."

Lord Beveridge, while seldom able to exercise power, has, in the course of a long and busy life, accomplished as much through the mechanics of influence as any of his contemporaries. A great social inventor and technician, he has played a prime role in the building of the welfare

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KEITH HUTCHISON is a contributing editor of The Nation.

state from the days when, as a young civil servant, he promoted labor exchanges and a limited scheme of unemployment insurance, to 1942 when he electrified the world with the Beveridge Report. At that point, indeed, his influence became so strong that in effect he achieved power because his report fulfilled the hope he had expressed a few months earlier of "making sufficient popular appeal to compel the government to take it up." Almost certainly the visible reluctance of Mr. Churchill to do so was an important factor in the Labor Party's victory in 1945.

In a chapter headed Beveridge: Boom and Boycott, the author expresses surprise at the reaction of the Cabinet to his report which included orders to the Civil Service to refrain from cooperation with him while he was preparing his subsequent unofficial report on full employment. Yet, after encroaching on the preserves of political power, he could hardly expect other treatment; it was, left-handedly, a tribute to his success. Moreover, Lord Beveridge, as he unwittingly makes clear in this book, has not always exercised influence tactfully. The moral and intellectual arrogance which he combines with his many virtues, undoubtedly raised hackles in Whitehall and may well annoy some of his present readers. All the same his book can be recommended both as good reading and an important contribution to recent British history.

Books in Brief

Generations of Love

THE MEMOIRS OF MAISIE. By Maude Hutchins. Appleton-Century-Crofts. $3.50.

Maude Hutchins is a painter, a sculptor, and a writer of great natural gaiety. She is in effect a type of eighteenth-century realist and satirist, a comic spirit of the Enlightenment who has been playing around the edges of the industrial grime. One of her earlier novels, "A Diary of Love," though it has been attacked or suppressed for its frank descriptions of sexuality, is marked nevertheless by a pervading innocence of spirit, a sort of angelic laughter. Another book, "Love Is a Pie," is a collection of odd and diverting short stories and sketches. In this field Mrs. Hutchins is almost incomparable; there is nobody else around, except perhaps the ghost of Ronald Firbank, who can approach her off-beat individuality. The present book starts out very brightly, too, as the chronicle of a matriarch whose memory confuses her own love affairs in the past with those of her children and grandchildren. We see the goddess of love pursuing her sweet antics through three generations of women whose function is primarily to be women. But the portrait of old age becomes difficult for Mrs. Hutchins to develop and maintain; her natural home is with the young in spirit. The best parts of "Maisie" are the separate scenes and episodes in the first half of the book; and these sections are still very much worth reading for their power to entertain and their brilliance of style. Mrs. Hutchins is a writer to be respected even when she isn't at her best; and to be treasured when she is.

Failure of a Mission

BLACK MOSES. The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association. By Edmund David Cronon. Wisconsin. $5.

It has been said of Marcus Garvey that he was a great "idealist, a man of God and destiny"; he has also been called a "mountebank." That opinions about this Jamaican Negro have tended to polarize at the extremes gives solid value to Edmund David Cronon's book, which fills in that middle ground upon which the truth can be established. "Black Moses" is an objective examination of the most controversial figure ever to stride through American Negro life.

Garvey came to the United States, a young man of twenty-nine, in 1916. Already puffed up by the success of his organization in Jamaica, it was his hope to include in the Back to Africa movement all the Negro peoples of the world. The times were in his favor; the temper of the Negro people, long depressed and dispirited, was in his favor; and Garvey's gift for flamboyant drama and his soaring oratory were in his favor. He nearly succeeded.

But beneath his gifts lay defects—certainly of intellect and probably of character—that only the ignorant failed to see. One after another, his schemes failed. The ships of the Black Star Line rotted. The trade the ships were supposed to carry dried up. The plan for the colonization of American Negro families in Africa fell through. Garvey came under the suspicion of important men in government, and was finally tried and sentenced to five years in prison for using the mails to de-

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fraud. Though some of his followers gave Garveyism sporadic jets of life, the movement collapsed, and the Negro people sought other means of social salvation.

Those who are interested in the revolutionary aspects of the twentieth century in America should not miss Cronon's book. It makes exciting reading.

Post-War Japan

HOMECOMING. By Jiro Osaragi. Translated from the Japanese by Brewster Horwitz. Knopf. $3.75.

IF "Homecoming" is any indication of the work now being done by Japanese novelists, American readers have been missing a great deal. It is more than a "different" kind of novel; within the unique landscape of post-war Japan it deals with the universals of human loneliness, love, fear, and greed.

"Homecoming" is at once individual and national; conflicts of personality combine with a picture of an insular society completely disrupted by war. The social meaning of the novel is not simply a frame for the narrative; post-war Japan becomes a drama in itself. Shattered traditions, the specter of national poverty, the intense problem of overpopulation are filtered through the minds of Japanese individuals.

Osaragi is a master of the alternating point of view, moving from one mind to another with impressive craft. He often focuses on a natural object—a cloud, a tree, a view from a hill—to provide the transition. The narrative flows freely. The author's observations are subtle and pungent.

Brewster Horwitz's fine translation retains "Homecoming's" exotic flavor: the delicate etching of the natural scene, the placing of action within tableaux, the use of coincidence to achieve contrasting tones and plot unity. The value of the novel, however, is precisely that Osaragi avoids the picturesque for its own sake. His book is effective, often sophisticated fiction, presenting a portrait of a culture in flux.

Films

Robert Hatch

JOSEPH KRAMM'S "The Shrike" is the case history of a man whose manhood has been amputated by his doting, deadly wife. Deprived of all faith in himself, he attempts suicide and is locked up in a city hospital. There, the doctors abetting his wife, he is brain-washed with totalitarian efficiency.

This grim chronicle had a tremendous stage success—a tribute to Jose Ferrer's virtuoso performance and Kramm's spare and probing dialogue. Also, perhaps, a reflection of the fact that sidewalk psychiatry is still in fashion and that cannibalism is rifer among American females than we had suspected.

Because of its Broadway history, "The Shrike" could scarcely escape Hollywood, where Universal-International has fixed it in approximately the way that Ann Downs, the shrike, fixed her husband, Joe. We won't complain because the studio hacks have softened Kramm's lines with explanatory padding or made his wife's neurosis so apparent that a chiropodist should have been able to spot it. That tax every author is asked to pay to Hollywood's creed of the least common denominator.

And we may agree that the flashbacks, invented to inject some physical motion into a psychological struggle, are necessary for the screen, even though they dissipate the aseptic horror of the situation.

But Universal-International has tacked a happy ending on to the play that is unparalleled in an industry that never hesitates from reasons of artistic consistency to sugarcoat the ideas it buys. Kramm closed his play with Joe Downs utterly supine, helpless, and hopeless. It may not be the inevitable ending, but it is the only one possible for the play Kramm wrote. The movie reaches the same spot by the same route, but then it adds a footnote in which Ann reveals that she has undergone a thorough, thirty-second analysis and promises never to be a naughty girl again. Joe smiles like a man saved from the gallows, and they embrace and walk hand-in-hand down the twilit street. If Kramm could swallow this, there is no reason for me to gag on it—except that I am not paid for swallowing.

The movie, for all the up-to-date clinical detail, looks old fashioned because it relies so heavily on Ferrer's strained, sweating, and often weeping face. I can't remember a picture that has used so many close-ups since the heyday of Greta Garbo. Ferrer directed, but I don't accuse him of megalomania; his face is the real scene of the battle. June Allyson, as the shrike, has been accused of seeming too amiable to be so destructive. On the contrary, the few man-eaters I have known showed just this sweet womanliness. Her husky, slightly babyish voice is chillingly in character. As you would expect, the hospital wards and common rooms are gratifyingly authentic—Bellevue, I think, and the therapy is no advertisement.

"WE'RE NO ANGELS," also from Broadway wth a slight title change from "My Three Angels," is a jolly lark that would be jollier if the three principals—Humphrey Bogart, Aldo Ray, and Peter Ustinov—were less impressed by their own whimsicality. Arch is the only word for their behavior.

The story is antique. It turns on the sentimentality of hardened criminals when confronted by trusting innocence, particularly on Christmas Eve. That's all right, though, in a farce; the trouble here is that the plotting lacks invention. Gags are repeated and the dialogue appears to have been written on a turntable. For long stretches the three desperate escapees from Devil's Island and the family they have befriended (headed by Leo G. Carroll and Joan Bennett) stand about grinning at one another with nothing much to do. The drama is solved with two identical murders—not a very witty or ingenious conceit, since two of the heroes are murderers.

However the audience is lifted quite out of itself by the spectacle of Bogart being overcome by benevolence, and the contrast between Ustinov's gross body and debutante mannerisms sustains a fusillade of laughs. Recommended for drive-ins.

B. H. HAGGIN is on vacation. His column will be resumed next week.

Letters

More on the Braden Case

[The Braden case involved the purchase by Carl Braden, a Louisville newspaperman, of a house in a white subdivision of that city in behalf of a Negro friend, Andrew E. Wade. The case developed into a cause celebre. Braden was indicted and convicted of sedition under an obscure Kentucky law and was sentenced to fifteen years in prison. In jail since December, Braden was released last week under $40,000 bail pending his appeal.]

Dear Sirs: Walter Millis's informative article on the Braden case in the May 7 issue points up the danger inherent in participation of those who can be identified as Communists or Communist sympathizers in civil-rights cases. Almost invariably, as here, the issue is lost sight of in a welter of controversy over the motives or activities of these outsiders. However, as Millis himself demonstrates, it is not always easy to get assistance in cases of this kind. He says: "It must have been apparent to the Bradens that the appearance of a Negro family in the newly completed house would ruin the development and seriously jeopardize the speculative values throughout the area." The plain import of that statement is that Millis, and other sincere opponents of segregation who agree with him, regard the dummy purchase of the Bradens as immoral.

Laying aside the fact that Millis accepts the easy, and often disproved, generalization that Negro occupancy lowers property values, it is apparent that the very difficult problem of residential segregation in urban areas has entirely escaped his notice. He remarks that Wade could have bought "without difficulty in one of the several 'mixed housing' areas which have developed in the older sections of the city." Perhaps that is true, but the assertion does not answer the question of why he should have done so. Probably he didn't want to live in one of the older sections of the city, and if he had not been a Negro nobody would have questioned his choice.

The sound and fury over Wade's attempt to live in a suburban area highlights one of the gravest problems facing the nation today. Residential segregation breeds its own problems in the shape of segregation in schools and other community facilities, which must accommodate residents of the neighborhoods in which they are located. It is costly, too. Negroes who must buy in the "older sections of the city" recommended by Mr. Millis cannot get the advantages of low down payments and low interest rates that prevail in the new suburban areas because of FHA loans and interest policies. They must make higher down payments and pay higher interest rates for hand-me-down housing in second-hand areas.

It is extremely regrettable to see Millis accept the proposition that Negro occupancy ruins property values and throw his weight behind the equally untenable proposition that a Negro who refuses to accept housing in an older section of the city has acted in a reprehensible manner.

LOREN MILLER

Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Sirs: Some of the facts in Mr. Millis's article, Louisville's Braden

Religious Advertisements Reviewed In Brief

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General Public Today Losing Interest In Severe, Individualistic Deity. —The outrage perpetrated upon Social Monotheism in the Roman empire and subsequently is at length reaching its logical result: The reduced, non-social, individualistic form of monotheism is failing to hold the lay element from which the churches always have been recruited. The general subject is dealt with in three circulars, available without charge if stamps are forwarded to cover mailing costs. No. 1, "Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History." No. 2, "Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God." No. 3, "An Approach to Our Underlying Economic Problems." Nine cents in stamps, postage on all three circulars. Clip to card in envelope, with name and address, Sealed, first class. Also return address on outside of envelope. No letter necessary.—To prevent misunderstanding, note that no circulars will be forwarded if no stamps are sent.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

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Case, are hard to square with those of other reliable reporters, but I will leave the straightening of the record to those who are closer to the case than I. What disturbs me even more is the jaundiced nature of Mr. Millis's omissions and assumptions. Why not mention, for example, that two of those charged with sedition—the Misses Spiker and Gilbert—are local leaders of that same Women's International League for Peace and Freedom which Dan Gillmor praises in your issue of May 14? Why not report that Vernon Bown—the volunteer guard at the Wade house—has affidavits to support his contention that he was in Wisconsin at the time of the bombing? And, above all, why assume that "the appearance of a Negro family in the newly completed house would ruin the development?" I am willing to wager that an interracial suburb in Louisville would attract many of the good people there. But I don't expect Mr. Millis to share my optimism; I merely expect him to give his ruination hypothesis as just one possibility and not as an iron law. It is fortunate for the nation that his gradualist position is not shared by a majority of the Supreme Court.

JOHN M. PICKERING
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Millis's Reply

Dear Sirs: Mr. Miller's seems to me a serious letter which highlights aspects of the problems of segregation in housing into which my article did not attempt to go. I resent a little his saying that I "recommended" that the Wades should have bought in a mixed area; I was trying to state the fact that they could have done so had they wanted to, in explaining that this was what Wade did not want. I was trying to avoid making any recommendations to anybody and give a factual account of what happened.

On Mr. Miller's other point—"the proposition that Negro occupancy ruins property values"—I think I was correct in saying that under the conditions existing in the newly-built suburban developments in Louisville this is the situation, regardless of its ethics or its desirability. The Rone development, at any rate, was thoroughly ruined. It may be argued that if the Rones had welcomed the Wades and put up a fight for them against the neighbors, surrounding property-owners, mortgage interests, and so on they might have succeeded. It is arguable. My feeling is that it is very doubtful; and that at best it was not entirely just to put the Rones in a position where they had to contemplate such a choice, doing it by misrepresentation and subterfuge.

This last is the main point in Mr. Pickering's letter. It is not I whom he is asking to wager that an interracial suburb in Louisville would succeed; it is the Louisville property-owners, and I don't think he ought to involve them in such a gamble without telling them what he is doing. Heaven knows, I don't pretend to be able to solve all the problems of either housing segregation or the anti-Communist hysteria, but it does seem to me that we all ought to be able to start on a basis of the actual facts of such situations, not on "optimism" as to what the facts ought to be.

WALTER MILLIS
New York, N. Y.

Not So Gray

Dear Sirs: I am writing in reference to the article entitled Gray New World in your issue of June 25. Mr. Aldridge says that Mr. Riesman's book, "The Lonely Crowd," foreshadows the future for us, and that the present novelists are already writing about the new gray world. He ends his article with the comforting thought that we are in for long ages of a world run by young men and women whose world is bounded by a ranch-type house, a new Ford, and no doubt a membership in the local country club.

Since Mr. Aldridge does not like Vermont, which is my favorite state next to Alabama, he very likely would not like Alabama either, but at least he would learn that individualism is still rampant, that there are lots of people here, good and bad, who are themselves, and neither hell nor high water will make them conform to any pattern. Whatever the future holds down here, it certainly could not be as bad as the soiled picture he paints of American life. Of course there is suppression and conformity, but there is also the resistance to it. Those who resist don't get their books published very often, but that does not mean the resistance is not there.

VIRGINIA DURR
Montgomery, Ala.

"A Breath of Air"

Dear Sirs: This is to express my high regard for the articles written by John W. Aldridge. They read like a breath of clean, fresh, wholesome air that is particularly welcome these "gray" days of which he speaks in his article in the June 25 issue.

PEARL W. AXELBANK
New York, N. Y.

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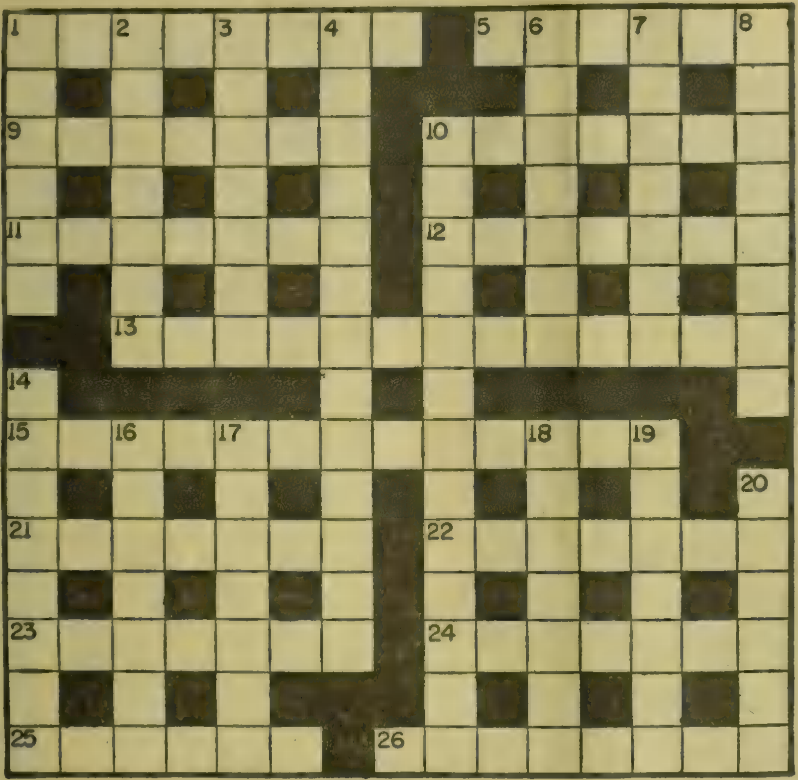
BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Is ironed, and perhaps irony. (8)
5 Gum arabic, one with [illegible] doubled account in front. (6)
9 No men on this side of the house! (7)
10 Stand in the way of the abettor. (7)
11 Such things could make a burn critical! (7)
12 Is the clue air for the chamber? (7)
13 Is a red signal best, and useful when getting ready? (8,5)
15 It might keep you from recognizing some tricky little thing. (9,4)
21 Indian hunter. (7)
22 The way quartets get started? (7)
23 Glued in, but getting away. (7)
24 Tribe before a port of Aden. (7)
25 Look at the old soak! (6)
26 Spread out. (8)

DOWN

1 Cut dead without [illegible] sort of this. (6)
2 Not much money put in to divide up! (7)
3 Let's eat at this place for a change! (7)
4 When not playing hockey, look at the card playing politics! (6,7)
6 One of those places where Tom is about skinned? (7)
7 The last might eat the first, but it sometimes meets its match. (7)
8 It's one way of making Ned alert! (8)
10 Educating the board where they might supervise the courses? (8,5)
14 Restrains snatches of it. (8)
16 This time it isn't occupied. (7)
17 An exclamation to help to [illegible] degree when climbing in. (7)
18 Likely to be the real sort within [illegible] column of support. (7)
19 One of Jack's bad qualities? (7)
20 Is 8 without a sort of tree surrounded by water? (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. [illegible]

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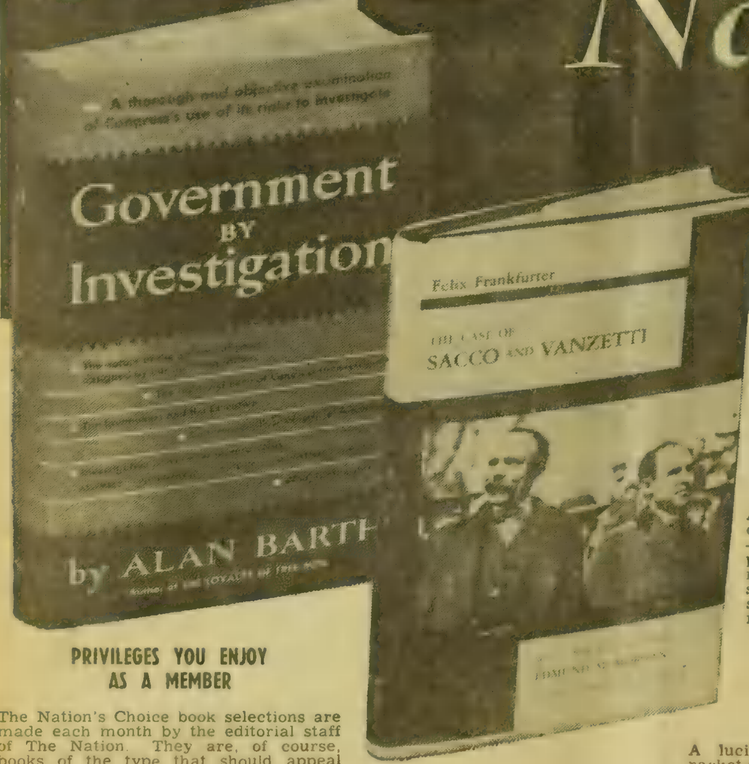
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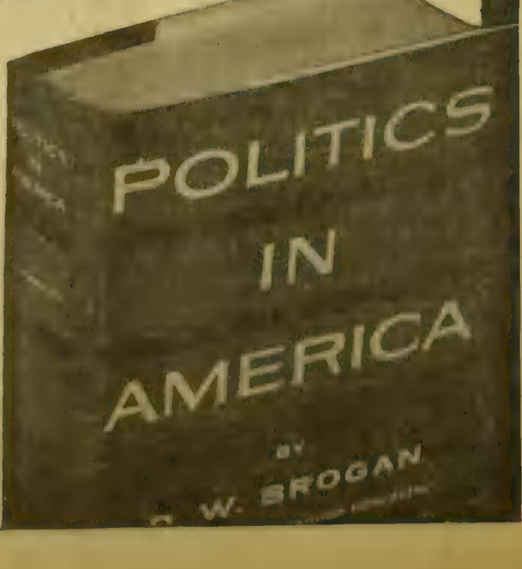

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Geneva Meeting

"A Mortal Blow to the Cold War . ."

by J. Alvarez del Vayo

Reunion in Belgrade	*Marvine Howe*
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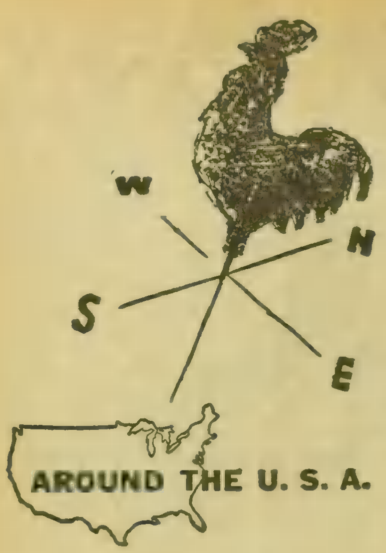
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AROUND THE U. S. A.

The Cold War and Long Island Suburbia

Albertson, Long Island

IF the old-time aviation greats were to fly over Nassau county's Roosevelt Field, they would never recognize the place. During the past two years the 360 acres of sandy flatlands from which Lindbergh took off on his flight to Paris have been transformed into a defense area. Today only three whitewashed hangers and a few wooden storage buildings still stand as reminders of the field's past glory. Among the features adorning the made-over terrain are the two-story, tan-brick structure of the Arma Division of the American Bosch Arma Corporation, an organization which designs computers for the armed forces, the Reeves Instrument Corporation, similarly engaged, and the Fairchild Engine Corporation's new jet-engine plant. Soon to come is a new Macy's ("the biggest branch of the biggest store in the world").

Roosevelt Field is symptomatic of what has been happening to Nassau. Despite some layoffs of production workers, the county is booming with defense prosperity, with an annual payroll running into the millions and Levitt-type houses springing up all over. Population, estimated by the Long Island Lighting Company at 1,032,460 as of January 1, 1955, has skyrocketed 43.7 percent since 1950. To accommodate these people, some 95,000 new houses have been built in five years. There is much to support the local claim that Nassau is the "fastest-growing county in the United States."

Although it would be too much to say that Nassau has gone proletarian in the past five years, the area has lost much of its snooty exclusiveness. A new society, in fact, is coming into power in Nassau—a society of physicists, engineers, and technicians, sprung from technology and nurtured by the demands of the cold war. These are the people who design, develop, and test the wondrous thinking machines. What brings them to Nassau is the same inducement that brings them to related defense areas: the appeal of high salaries and good working conditions. In the Arma plant, for instance, engineers can go as high as two hundred a week under merit increases virtually guaranteed by the union contract and senior engineers can go even higher. Instruction-book writers can reach a top of $4.28 an hour. All this is exclusive of company-paid fringe benefits.

Most of the plants have unions and they are reasonably effective. No one except suspected Communists has been fired from Arma since the union's inception in 1951, and they had to be taken back when an arbitrator ruled in the union's favor. Except for a ten-week strike at Arma in the summer of 1953, labor relations in Nassau's defense plants have tended to be stable, if not exactly amiable and harmonious.

WHAT are they like, these people who dream up new guided missiles and the fire-control systems for intercontinental bombers? Not at all like the science-fiction magazines picture them. They own modest homes and they drive to work in Fords, Chevvies, and occasionally in Oldsmobiles. They read the daily paper but apparently not much else except the scientific journals. They are quick on the trigger, and young for the most part, but they have little time or inclination for philosophy and the arts. Some play golf or tennis; others may belong to a sports-car club. They have TV sets but they don't watch as much as they used to. Their politics is slightly on the Democratic side.

In spite of the good money and pleasant work, however, these scientists and engineers working in defense tend to be ridden by anxieties and frustrations. Although the security hysteria has lessened, there are still periodic "clearances." Unlike bricklayers, bartenders, baseball players, or tycoons, these professionals cannot discuss their work with friends and neighbors because it is "classified"—that is, confidential or secret. If they hold views, they feel they must be cautious about expressing them. I know of one engineer who reads liberal publications regularly but would not dream of having them delivered by mail.

The idealists among them are even worse off. They suffer continuously from a nagging ambivalence with regard to the prospects for world peace. Since the defense business thrives on crisis, their jobs depend on the world's being kept in a constant uproar. Yet engineers know as well as anyone else that crisis may be followed by catastrophe. With one side of their being they passionately long for peace. Subconsciously, they fear that peace means depression.

Yes, booming Nassau has come a long way from Old Walt's Paumanok. In place of the pines and the thrushes we have split levels and supermarkets. Jets crackle overhead all day long. On Saturdays the giant discount house, Korvette, is so jammed you can't find a parking space within a mile of it.

Sales Management magazine estimates Nassau buying power at a figure greater than $8,000 per family.

Nassau is tidy and well kept. Politically, the residents may be classified as enlightened conservatives. They're not New Dealers but then they're not McCarthyites, either. What effect the influx of urban workers will have remains to be seen. Despite what you hear about the Sprague machine, the Republicans rule with a light hand. It's not a bad place to live. For those who are culturally inclined, there are plays and concerts. Not bad, either. Well-known commentators journey from the city to talk about world affairs. Those who would be bored by such proceedings can find a stimulant at the world-famous Belmont race track or at Roosevelt Raceway.

HERBERT M. ORRELL

[Herbert M. Orrell is an engineer and a long-time resident of Long Island.]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JULY 30, 1955
VOLUME 181, NUMBER 5

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Forward from Geneva

"Well, we didn't give much away!" Secretary Dulles is reported to have remarked cheerfully at the Washington airport upon his return from Geneva. Foreign Minister Molotov could—and presumably did—say as much when he returned to Moscow. From this point of view the conference can certainly be marked as a howling success; nobody was generous enough to give, and everyone proved too smart to be robbed. Yet both sides did yield something at Geneva which may gain in value with the passage of time. When President Eisenhower said publicly that he believed in the sincerity of Russia's desire for peace, he abandoned a powerful American strongpoint on the cold-war front. Similarly, when the Soviet Premier said he believed in the sincerity of the President's forswearing of aggressive war the Russians retreated from a significant propaganda strongpoint of their own. It is in the field of these vital intangibles that—as Mr. del Vayo phrases it in his article in this issue—Geneva may have dealt the cold war a "mortal blow."

With regard to the tangible issues, a conciliatory spirit showed itself in the quickness with which agreement was reached on procedural matters if not those of substance. This was progress of no mean order. Previous international conferences have spent days and even weeks attempting to fix the order of agenda items; the Big Four, preparing their final directive, resolved their foreign ministers' deadlock on this issue within twenty-four hours.

There still lie ahead long and difficult negotiations before progress can be made on the substances of the issues which divide East and West. It is to be hoped that they will be entered into in a more generous spirit than that displayed at the foreign ministers' level in Geneva. One may also hope that Washington will have learned from the six days at Geneva that its policy of negotiating from strength has gotten precisely nowhere. Russia's "weaknesses" seem to be more apparent in State Department hands-outs than in Russia. No country is weak which has the H-bomb; and when there is no weakness in the opposition, a policy of negotiating from strength becomes a mischievous mechanism for prolonging instead of solving crises.

The world now looks forward to two meetings—that of Adenauer and the Russians in the Kremlin in September, and that of the foreign ministers in Geneva the following month. The outcome of the first will influence powerfully the results of the second. Mr. del Vayo's reference to the "re-emergence" of Rapallo brings up an interesting field for speculation.

In 1922 the defeated Germans and the isolated Russians, dissatisfied with the treatment accorded them at the Genoa International Economic Conference of that year, secretly retired to Rapallo and signed a treaty of mutual friendship which included some interesting economic clauses. Adenauer was already a mature man when that treaty was signed; surely he will be remembering it when he meets with the Russians who again, after another world war, rightly or wrongly feel themselves isolated from countries which were once their allies. But there is this big difference: the Germans who put their names to paper at Rapallo were the representatives of a defeated nation; Adenauer represents a country which, by grace of the West, lost a war but seems well on its way to winning the peace.

The West Unites the East

In the light of a recent article by Michel Gordey in the Parisian daily *France-Soir*, the President's intervention at Geneva in behalf of freedom for the peoples of Eastern Europe must have sounded very curious to many of the peoples involved. For if Gordey is right, Western support of German rearmament has created greater unity among the Soviet-bloc states than at any time since the end of the war. Even the Czechs and the Poles, long at odds, have resolved many of their differences in the face of the new common danger from a rearmed Germany. Polish patriotism, never at low ebb, is presently at full flood in view of the irredentist pressures at work in Bonn for the restoration to Germany of the territory it lost to Poland in 1945. Eight million Poles now live in this area and they have no intention of leaving. Paradoxically, it is Moscow which profits from this resurgent Polish nationalism, for Warsaw is fully aware that Russia alone is capable of protecting the territory from the German "bandits."

"West German rearmament," a non-Communist informant told Gordey, "has dissolved much of the discord which existed within Poland itself and removed many of the points of friction between the various Eastern European states. Above all, it has dealt a severe blow to the anti-Communist opposition in these states, thus reinforcing the position of the Communist regimes. At the same time the popularity of the United States and of the West generally, which supported German rearmament, has fallen to a new low."

What is especially interesting is that, according to Gordey's informant, the Eastern Europeans have no

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more love for the "good" Communist Germans of East Germany than they have for the pro-Western "capitalist" Germans of the Federal Republic. To them the *Wehrmacht* is the *Wehrmacht,* whether it stems from Potsdam or from Bonn.

Not With a Sword

The Commission to Investigate Communism in Massachusetts *(The Nation,* January 8) has included in its most recent report a list of eighty-five persons "concerning whom, the commission . . . has creditable evidence that such individual was or is a member of the Communist Party, a Communist, or a subversive." In each instance elaborate biographical data have been included—personal and educational history, name of spouse if married, maiden name, address, employment history, changes of name, and so on. A suit brought by five distinguished members of the bar, including a former president of the Massachusetts Bar Association and a former Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives failed to produce a test of the constitutionality of the listing since the court declined jurisdiction on the ground that none of the plaintiffs had been listed or expected to be. Now Florence H. Luscomb, long prominent in civic and political affairs in Boston, who is listed, has brought an action in which she contends that the listing is void as a bill of attainder, an unwarranted legislative encroachment on judicial power, and a denial of due process. Miss Luscomb had appeared before the commission but refused to answer questions concerning matters of conscience and opinion, speech, writings, associations, and political views. She did not, however, invoke the protection of the Fifth Amendment.

To the best of our knowledge, no investigating committee has previously attempted to promulgate a list of this kind which is tantamount to a mediaeval judgment of outlawry. Members of the Massachusetts legislature need to be reminded of what two distinguished legal scholars once had to say about the constitution of the commonwealth:

> It is not a device for bullying little children.
>
> It is not a device for suppressing people who disagree with you. It is not a device for securing the dominance or leadership of any class in the community without effort on its part. It is a device to call the best energies of every citizen to the common service, to secure to each the fair reward of his labors, and to provide the commonwealth with [illegible] competent and unselfish command.
>
> The commonwealth seeks not loyalty with a sword, but peace and liberty. It knows that loyalty will follow wherever peace and liberty are secured.

The Prevalence of WOCS

Secretary Humphrey is on sound ground in pointing out that the government's fast tax write-off program has been "an artificial stimulus of a dangerous type." Since the start of the Korean war, the government has granted accelerated tax amortization for 19,961 new or expanded facilities estimated to cost $30,500,000,000.

of which nearly $24,400,000,000 in new facilities are now actually in place. Mr. Humphrey, in recent testimony, estimated that the program has resulted in a loss of fiscal revenue to the government of $880,000,000 for the current year. Apologists for the program contend that the expansion of facilities has produced tax revenue which might not otherwise have been obtained. But as Mr. Humphrey replies, these offsets are hypothetical; the fact is that the government has lost enormous revenues by granting "certificates of necessity" for facilities that industry might very well have constructed without the special incentive of accelerated tax amortization. In many cases, moreover, it is highly debatable whether the new facilities were actually needed in terms of defense requirements. The railroads, for example, have been granted enormous tax write-offs to purchase new freight cars yet there has been a net decrease of over 31,000 in freight cars since the Korean war. In many cases, too, WOCS—business men serving in Washington "without compensation," the kind that used to be called dollar-a-year men—have passed on tax write-off applications affecting industries and concerns with which they have been identified. Congress, it will be recalled, has allowed all unpaid officials connected with defense activities to be exempted from the federal statute which prohibits government employees from taking a private salary while working for the government. There are lots of WOCS in Washington: Defense Mobilizer Arthur S. Flemming has about 132 on his staff. The Democrats, with an assist from Senator John J. Williams (R., Delaware), have been taking a look at the prevalence of WOCS in Washington and their relation to the lush tax write-off program; there is material here, no doubt, for a productive investigation.

The activities of Secretary of the Air Force Talbott in hustling new business for the New York industrial engineering firm in which he is a special partner, including notes of introduction written on Air Force stationery, would indicate that the scope of the inquiry should be broadened to include not only the unpaid WOCS but the extent to which the "conflict of interest" statute has been circumvented.

Japan's Trade Barriers

It seems a long time since we looked upon international trade as a source of amity among nations. In recent months this concept has become so remote that the President, at several press conferences, characterized international trade as a *weapon* of foreign policy rather than an avenue of exchange for the benefit of all.

Now Senator George advises: "Japan ought to be allowed and should not be discouraged from reopening her markets in the great trading area of China." He proposes that only military goods should be withheld, a highly academic limitation for Japan today. The occasion for his proposal, the Senator explains, is the United States-Japanese trade agreement lowering our tariffs on Japanese textiles.

Japan, like Britain, is dependent on exports to buy food for its people and raw materials for its industry. It has, not unexpectedly, found difficulties in recovering its prewar markets and level of trade for cotton-textile products. Silk, another important prewar export, has been almost totally displaced by synthetic fabrics. Yet Japan needs more foreign exchange than before because of the loss of its Manchurian and Korean colonies. Its hopes, therefore, rest on expansion of exports of machinery and equipment.

China is Japan's natural and potentially largest market, all the more so now that it is expanding industry so rapidly. But China is even more important to Japan as a source of coal and iron. Today Japan must fall back on coal imports from the United States, at heavy cost.

In the face of these hard economic realities, Washington has dangled the promise of more trade through bringing Japan into the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs, a promise involving concessions in the markets of our allies, particularly the British Commonwealth, as well as our own. Establishment by Japan of good trade relations with China is, however, patently necessary if its exports are to be expanded on a sound economic basis. If the Administration in Washington adopts Senator George's advice, we may well be on our way to substituting a realistic for a belligerent foreign policy, which in itself would be no slight contribution to the easing of international tensions.

Mr. Brownell and the U. A. W.

The indictment of the United Automobile Workers for an alleged violation of the federal election law is another example of political reprisal and attempted intimidation on the part of Mr. Brownell's Department of Justice. The department's contention that it is merely engaged in routine law enforcement is not convincing. The action against the U. A. W. is the first shot in a political offensive launched at the instigation of Michigan's G. O. P. Chairman John Fiekins and Postmaster General Arthur E. Summerfield with an eye, not on the 1954 campaign but on the 1956 election. The U. A. W. is to be punished not for what it did but in anticipation of what it might do again. The indictment does not stand alone. Recently Congressman Alvin M. Bentley, one of Michigan's Republican leaders, singled out for attack a number of individuals who had signed petitions asking Congress to hold hearings on proposed revisions of the McCarran-Walters Act. Among the thirty or so signers was Harold Cranefield, chief counsel for the U. A. W. Like the hard-boiled political operator he is, Mr. Brownell has fired the first salvo of the 1956 campaign in Michigan which will be aimed at restoring the Republicans to power by neutralizing the U. A. W.'s political influence in the state. The indictment will make possible a test of the 1947 law which prohibits contributions from corporations or labor organizations in connection with the election of federal officials. Two earlier actions failed to produce a clear-cut test; now the Supreme Court will have a chance to pass on the constitutionality of the law. A Supreme Court decision before the November, 1956, elections might provide a neat upset for Mr. Brownell's political gambit.

GENEVA CONFERENCE

"A Blow to the Cold War" . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

Geneva, July 24

THE GENEVA conference benefited from its participants' keen realization that the world is fed up with the cold war and is demanding an end to it. Every one of the Big Four spokesman realized that he could not go home to face his people carrying on his shoulders the responsibility for the failure of this latest attempt at international reconciliation. Here is the real story behind the smiling photographs, the affable tete-a-tetes, the gay dinners which accompanied this momentous occasion and served to create around it an atmosphere of extraordinary cordiality.

The climate for Geneva was prepared effectively by recent authoritative statements on the horrors of atomic war. Einstein's appeal for the outlawing of war, divulged with superb timing by Lord Russell, and the testimony of dozens of other scientists on the H-bomb's limitless potential for destruction and the impossibility of safeguarding against it, could not but have its effect on the men foregathering "at the summit." It needed only the additional reminder that the cold war could not go on forever without degenerating into a shooting one to put the representatives of the Big Four into the mood in which we have seen them here. This was the mood which drew from President Eisenhower during the course of the conference the memorable six words which made headlines all over Europe: "I have had enough of war."

The constructive approach which stamped the conference as different from all others since 1946 was quickly reflected in the tone and method of debate. Instead of emphasizing the points of difference between East and West, there was a deliberate attempt to seek out the points of agreement. Perhaps the one exception was President Eisenhower's raising of the issue of international communism and the sovereignty of the smaller European states—clearly a concession on his part to the right wing of his Congress. The incident created a mild *malaise* even among the President's Western confreres, but it was soon dissipated by the moderation of Bulganin's reply. The Soviet Premier said only that the conference had been convened to discuss interstate relations, not the activities of political parties. The Russian answer may or may not be considered fully responsive; the main thing was that it was deliberately calculated not to prolong the discussion. In earlier conferences there would have been rebuttal and counter-rebuttal *ad nauseum.*

OF course, the prevailing conciliatory spirit could not be expected to accomplish the impossible. Those who are convinced that the change in Russian attitudes is due to internal weaknesses and Moscow's strained relations with its Communist allies must have been surprised by the polite firmness with which Bulganin said "no" to Western insinuations that if Russia would be "reasonable" on Germany all other problems could be satisfactorily handled. But realistic observers recognize that no Russian government —whether Communist, liberal, or Czarist—with a sense of national responsibility could cooperate in the creation of a rearmed militarist Germany backed by the immense economic and financial power of the United States. The fact that the Kremlin agreed to a discussion of Germany, that it seems to be sincerely desirous of coming to some agreement with the West—a desire acknowledged repeatedly here by President Eisenhower, publicly as well as privately—does not mean and never meant that it has resigned itself to German rearmament. The Russians remain determined to use every diplomatic maneuver, not excluding an eventual direct deal with Adenauer, to avoid this eventuality. So the shadow of Rapallo re-emerges.

Not even the guarantee offered by the Eden plan could induce the Russians to accept the Paris agreements. The British scheme takes German unification, rather than the Paris accords, as its point of departure. But Bulganin takes the position that to subscribe to German unity now is to accept that Germany will be rearmed and that a reunited armed Germany will strengthen the military power of the West. In the presence of that fact, no guarantees—not even the personal word of President Eisenhower—could make them change their minds. In Russian eyes to expect them to welcome a new German army is asking too much of their policy of peaceful coexistence.

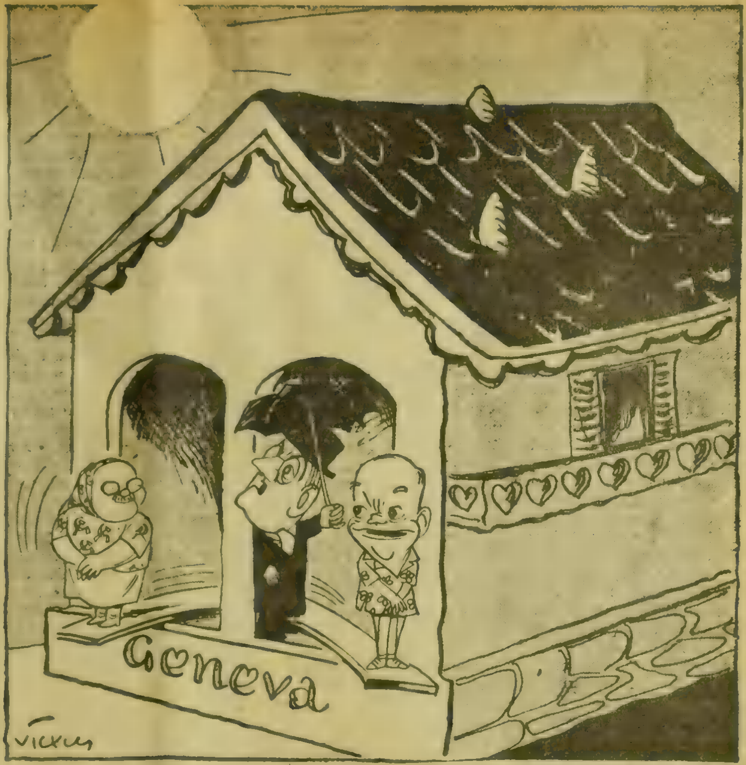
Eden refused to be discouraged by the impasse on Germany. Immediately he cast about in other directions for avenues to agreement. As in the Geneva conference on Indo-China, he performed skilfully the difficult role of mediator, a role rendered the more difficult by his determination to do nothing that might offend the Americans.

Most observers agreed that the communique which closed the sessions—a communique in the form of a directive for an October meeting of the Big Four foreign ministers—owed much to the British Prime Minister's remarkable talent for conciliation. Thus the question of European security, to which the Russians wanted to give priority, and the issue of German unification which took first place in the West's demands, are given equal weight in the directive under the general title "European Security and Germany." As if to underscore the compromise, the preamble takes account "of the close link between the unification of Germany and the problem of European security." The directive lists two other items for the foreign ministers to discuss: disarmament and "the development of contacts between East and West."

Prime Minister Eden's role as peacemaker was supported with extraordinary unanimity by his people at home. The morning after the impasse on Germany was revealed, the London *Daily Telegraph* wrote:

> Because no progress on German unification is likely, it is important that the conference should quickly face the facts of the situation. Our best hope seems to lie in working out at Geneva an all-European security agreement involving some sort of all-European community within which the two Germanies would be imbedded. Perhaps by some compromise between the Eden and the Bulganin security plans such a solution might be found.

If the cautious *Daily Telegraph* can speak in such a vein, it seems fairly obvious that the British people will be in no mood to be re-sold on the cold war between now and next October. The British delegates here did not hide the fact that behind their patient pursuit of comromise is the specter of a new economic crisis which could be precipitated by the prolongation of the international armaments race. One got the feeling, talking to British journalists and representatives here, that their compatriots at home will not countenance renewed rationing, nor any rise in an already nearly unbearable tax rate, for the sake of a "crusade against communism."



New Statesman and Nation (London)

So it was Eden who, finding the door locked to agreement on Germany for the moment, led the debate into a dispassionate examination of the Bulganin security plan and into the last phase of the conference—the question of disarmament. According to Western experts, the outlook for progress on disarmament is enhanced by the fact that the Russians themselves seemed optimistic. The interesting suggestions of French Premier Faure of using money saved by curtailing armaments for a Point 4 plan in behalf of underdeveloped countries, combined with French schemes for the expansion of East-West trade, were scheduled for thorough exploration, at the foreign ministers' meeting. So was President Eisenhower's dramatic if somewhat meaningless offer of an exchange of photographic units with the Soviet Union for the purpose of laying bare to each other the military installations of each. In this connection many persons were quick to point out (A) that the Russians had little to gain from such an exchange since they know much more about the American military setup than Washington does of theirs and (B) that variations of the offer had already been made several times by the Americans at the United Nations during the past several years and were consistently turned down by the Russians.

There are those who seek to exploit the impasse on Germany as proof that Geneva has proved a failure. But the overwhelming feeling here is that progress has been made in bringing Eastern and Western ideas together, that the cold war has received what may yet prove a mortal blow, and that it is now clear to everyone concerned that the Western "policy of strength" is useless unless it is backed by a readiness to use the H-bomb in all-out war. But Eisenhower has said again and again that this is precisely what he does not want to see happen under his Presidency.

In the weeks ahead much more will be said and written about the significance of what has happened here. For the moment most observers are inclined to accept Eden's evaluation, given in the course of his brief closing statement:

> At this conference we did not set out to make a detailed plan in the last few days. For all that, it will be found that in our directive to Foreign Secretaries we have included the essentials of a comprehensive settlement.
>
> The world will have observed the tone and temper in which our work has been conducted. . . . The new spirit of conciliation [which] has been present at our meetings.
>
> But in addition we have had many opportunities for personal contacts which I know we have all found invaluable. . . . If we can continue our work together in the spirit of this meeting, what is hopeful promise today should become solid performance as events unfold.

REUNION IN BELGRADE

The Yugoslavs Expected It . . *by Marvine Howe*

TO ANYONE visiting Yugoslavia during the past year, it was quite evident that the Soviet Union had not permanently lost favor with the Yugoslav people after 1948, and that a public apology from the Soviet leaders would be graciously accepted. But it was also true that the temporary estrangement between the two Socialist states had permitted the West to consolidate ties of friendship with Yugoslavia. The country today—especially the youth—has dual sympathies. They cannot forget their common Slav bonds with Russia or the fact that the Soviet Union has always stood for the workers' haven. But they also like the products of American civilization and are impressed by the comforts American workers enjoy in a capitalist society.

"There is no question of Yugoslavia withdrawing from the West, nor is there any idea of rapprochement with the Soviet Union. We are only trying to establish a basis for safeguarding peace. We think that the United States will respect our position." A Yugoslav friend—I shall call her Ana—wrote me this after the much publicized Soviet-Yugoslav talks at Belgrade early this summer. "Nothing much has changed at the university here since you were in Zagreb. Of course everyone talks about the declaration, but, as you know, the Soviet move was no surprise to us. We all feel simply that truth has won."

I had met Ana in Yugoslavia in December, 1954. In her early thirties, Ana was a student at Zagreb University. Her education had been interrupted in 1941 when she joined the Partisan resistance. After the war she and other Yugoslav youth had had the job of rebuilding the country. In the period 1946-1953, the voluntary youth brigades built eleven railway lines, six roads, fourteen major industrial projects and five hydraulic power plants. Of late the work battalions have been decreased because of a general stabilization and strengthening of the country's economy. The letup has permitted Ana and other students to go back to school after more than a decade's leave of absence.

Ana wanted to be an interpreter. She knew French, German, and Russian and she was studying English. She admitted to me that in spite of her languages, her chances for a job as interpreter were very slim because she was no longer a member of the Communist Party. She had been expelled as a "deviationist" after the war. Ana's continued loyalty to Tito and Yugoslavia's Communist regime, even after she had been sent away from the party in disgrace, could be compared to the Yugoslav people's continued sympathy for the Soviet Union even after Soviet leaders had covered Yugoslavia with shame in 1948.

LAST winter, the young Yugoslavs were extremely kind to me and my American friends. They readily offered us the hospitality of their homes as well as small gifts to make us remember our visit. Everywhere they told us of their deep interest in the United States and their admiration for the American people. But in the same breath, they would affirm that if ever the United States asked Yugoslavia to go to war against the Soviet Union, their country would refuse. "We cannot hate the Russian people, who are also Slav, because their government made mistakes in 1948," they would declare. "One day they will understand." When I passed through Zagreb in December, there was already talk about a new Soviet attitude towards Yugoslavia in student circles. "It is natural that the youth should react quicker and with more enthusiasm to actual problems," university students declared. "Our fathers are sometimes slow, but we are all going in the same direction."

Soviet youth staged in the summer of 1954 what might have been a dress rehearsal for the Soviet leaders' mission to Belgrade almost a year later. The International Union of Students Organization (I. U. S.), whose policy greatly resembles that of the Soviet government, invited the Yugoslav Union of Students to send its representatives to the I. U. S. Council meeting in Moscow, in August. This had been a surprise.

Before Stalin's death, Yugoslav students had not even been permitted to go to Moscow to take part in the world chess championship tournament. The I. U. S. had been responsible for the decision to exclude Yugoslavia from this organization, and for several years the I. U. S. had sponsored a slanderous campaign against the Yugoslav Student Union.

When I talked with Yugoslav university students at the end of 1954, they showed considerable interest in the "normalization" of relations between their country and the Soviet Union as well as other Eastern countries. As the boys and girls strolled from one brick building to the next (Zagreb University's nine schools are spread out across the city), they would discuss their plans for New Year's celebrations, the operas they had seen that season, the features in the latest editions of *Life* magazine and *Elle*. But conversations usually turned to the news that a Yugoslav economic delegation had just gone to the Soviet Union to talk over a commercial accord with Soviet representatives, and the reports that Yugoslavia would begin trade talks early in 1955 with Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria.

After the liberation, the study of the Russian language was extremely popular in Yugoslav schools, but subsequently, English rapidly gained ground, as it did in many

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MARVINE HOWE, who is on the staff of Radio Maroc, radio station of the French protectorate of Morocco, visited Yugoslavia recently.

European countries. This year at the University of Zagreb, there are forty Russian majors, 300 English majors, and 250 French. At Zagreb, the School of Literature has a department devoted to Slav languages and literature. This includes courses in Russian philology, ancient and modern literature. It should be mentioned that there are no Russian professors (or students for that matter); language courses are taught with the use of tape recorders. The philosophy department includes courses in Russian philosophy and the most popular theorist is Lenin. Yugoslav students said that there had been no changes in their Russian courses after the 1948 dispute with the Soviet Union, but that studies of Soviet literature and theory were approached with a "more critical attitude."

WHEN I left Yugoslavia, Ana and I continued to correspond. In her letters, she willingly answered all my questions about Yugoslav student life and opinions, on the condition that I should not reveal her name. When Marshal Tito said last March that the active coexistence of states with different social regimes is the only way to avoid a new world war, "the youth of Yugoslavia is in favor of the government's policy of active coexistence," Ana wrote.

After the Belgrade parley, I wrote her, asking what the university circles believed would be the far-reaching results of the Yugoslav meeting with Moscow officials. Her answer was brief. "We will no longer have gunfire at our borders. That is a great deal." I also asked my "deviationist" friend if her government's policy of active coexistence would be applied on the domestic scene. Would her own position and that of other ex- or non- party members be made any easier? "I am afraid we must still wait for our 'pardon,' " she replied. "You know people always forgive foreigners more easily than members of their own family."

GALLOPING CONSUMPTION

"Fortune's" Way of Life . . *by Martin Sydell*

AMERICAN business has made a cult of optimism. Its mystique is the superstition of the gambler. Its theology must, of necessity, be oracular and primitive, for its task is to prove that the angels of prosperity can dance forever on the pinhead of a planless, competitive, self-seeking economy.

A book called "The Changing American Market," by the editors of *Fortune* magazine, may well become the contemporary bible of this cult. It is the offspring of the fanciest house organ in the world. If sales managers and public-relations men are the itinerant preachers of the revelation, the editors of *Fortune* are its high priests. When the individual chapters of the book were appearing as articles in *Fortune,* one could take them as typical morale-boosting hoopla for the business man who had, perhaps, been shaken by the recurrent threats of recession. But now, in book form, it reveals the editors garbed as prophets, unveiling the future "at least to the end of this decade in every chapter, and well beyond, into the 1960's and 1970's, in many chapters."

What makes these predictions important is that they are precisely those of the Eisenhower Administration. What makes their assumptions significant is that *Fortune's* "analysis" of the consumer market in the United States today is also that of American business in general and of the Republican Party in particular.

"THIS book," *Fortune's* editors announce, "is the product of a unique venture in business journalism. It represents the most ambitious attempt by any American publication to combine in one inquiry the best standards of journalism and the most rigorous standards of original economic analysis."

What passes for journalism is a breathless, ecstatic *Time-Life* style, in which percentages and assorted figures cavort in a "hail 1959" victory celebration. With enormous assurance the editors project for the years ahead still more cars, houses, appliances, vacations, and clothing—and even more for the decade 1960-1970. To give this orgy of consumption its fitting carnival spirit, they have illustrated the book with rocket-colored bar charts and graphs, as a sort of fireworks in print. Not since 1929 have there been uncorked such fountains of optimism as they spray over their projections for 1955-1959.

Their "original economic analysis" turns out to be a ping-pong game of razzle-dazzle statistics which purport to prove that practically all Americans are now in the luxury-buying, middle-income brackets. As time goes on, all but a few stragglers will make the grade. Well, not all. Of the four million families at the bottom of the economic ladder, the editors say "they are just plain poor, period."

When it suits their purposes, they use the $4,000 to $7,500 income bracket, or the "$7,500 and up," or even the "less than $100,000 a year after taxes." And then again, "the heart and soul of the luxury market, the source of both its growth since

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MARTIN SYDELL is a free-lance writer.

1929 and its strength today, are the groups with $4,000 to $25,000 after taxes." Two points should be made concerning this particular quotation. First, you are dealing with somewhat different income groups when you take *gross* income brackets at one point and then the same dollar-income figures *after taxes*. Second, throughout the book there is an interesting and revealing blind spot which simply ignores the unpleasant rigors of the thirties.

It is quite true that more people in the United States are living better than at any time in our history, with the exception of the lush years of World War II. We have a larger population, more people employed, lots of babies, more couples marrying younger, more families buying cars, homes, and more of everything than in 1929, and certainly more than in 1935.

But when *Fortune* proclaims the "great redistribution of income" a little arithmetic with their own figures reveals that over 55 per cent of the family units in the United States are living on an income of under $4,000 a year. And that's the lowest figure at which "discretionary spending" can start even for a *Fortune* editor with shocking-pink spectacles.

"THE question is not whether the economy will expand, but how much it will expand," they proclaim, although in three or four places in the book they hedge a little. "And that's the consumer market five years from now, as nearly as it can be sized up today—always assuming, of course, that employment will stay high and that productivity will rise as it has been rising."

Now here is an economy which shudders and quakes at the threat of peace. Here is a prosperity married to the wastrel of defense spending. Here is a land in which the consumer pays 59 cents out of every dollar for the costs of distribution, for the privilege of being sold. Right now, as this book appears, the boom is tied to a nine-million automobile production rate, when there is grave question whether the American consumer can absorb more than five million new cars. In December, 1954, the total consumer debt reached the highest point in the nation's history, over $30 billion, of which over $10 billion was owed on automobiles—another "high." On top of that is a mortgage debt of over $75 billion, a peak figure.

Surely, if the editors of *Fortune* are applying the "most rigorous standards of original economic analysis," we should expect them to consider some of the economic forces which affect the size, stability, and rate of growth of the market. If consumer confidence in the future plays so decisive a role in spending, how will it behave when the bubble of inflated stock values bursts? What happens to steel, rubber, glass, fabrics, and a hundred other items when automobile production slows down, as it must, this summer? Will the projections hold? Is productivity a factor when production declines?

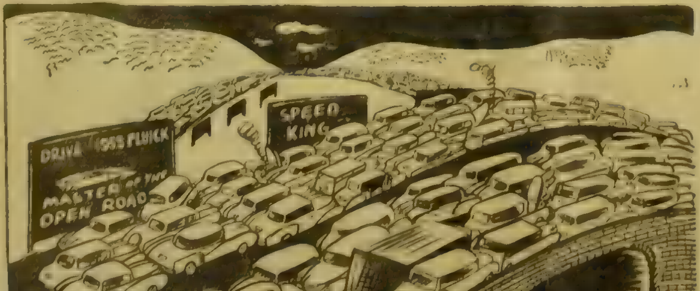
Learned professors and professional business optimists are reviewing this book and taking all its assumptions and its dishonest figures as gospel. Several reviews mention *Fortune's* claim that it spent $100,000 on this study, a thoroughly meretricious and meaningless figure, concocted on the same principle as a salesman's "swindle sheet."

But the plain fact is that the book is all pretense. It is simply a glorification of the market as Eisenhower and his paladins with their sales-manager mentality hope it will be. Perhaps the most significant statement is one sentence in the blurb on the book jacket. "There is no economic and social phenomenon in the world more portentous than today's American market." Implicit here is the concept that our economy can continue to be a consumers' paradise no matter what effects poverty, wars, and revolutions may produce in other lands.

This is a profoundly immoral book. It is a prize example of the corruption which permeates every sector of American life. Because Americans look upon figures as facts, and upon economics as a responsible discipline, this is a perversion of science to make a case for perpetual prosperity. It ignores the threat of wars, the enormous armaments spending which supports our rate of consumption, the planlessness of our production, the Damocles sword of depression overhanging our society, the role of world markets in our economy. It perpetuates, therefore, isolationism and chauvinism. It sponsors the self-seeking, sybaritic ideal of American consumption as the chief purpose of life.

IN World War II Americans lived better than they had ever lived before, while millions elsewhere suffered and died, and organized bestiality came close to victory. We fought that war by proxy, vicariously and pleasantly except for the small proportion of our population who actually saw battle. Abroad we promised the Atlantic Charter. But for our own people we held out the glories to come of nylon stockings, streamlined automobiles, more homes, more gadgets. This is the morality of the *Fortune* editors today.

Here is a book in which no provision is made for loafing and inviting the soul. The leisure market is a $30 billion affair, say the authors. That constitutes an admonition, a directive. Leisure has evidently been granted to Americans in order that they may work harder at buying, using, wasting, destroying mountains of goods and billions of man-hours in services. Political action and independent inquiry steal time from consumption. If our highest duty is to consume, and mass production requires uniformity of goods and services, obviously to conform becomes a patriotic virtue. Do you wonder why democracy in the United States is so very sick? The disease from which it is suffering is galloping consumption.



PROBING THE ADMEN

Is There a Monopoly? . . *by Joseph J. Seldin*

AN anti-trust suit against five newspaper and magazine publishers' associations and the American Association of Advertising Agencies was recently filed by the Justice Department. The suit charged that all six trade associations, which include most of the large daily newspapers, magazines, and advertising agencies in the country, maintained a "veritable private government known as the recognition system." This system fixed 15 per cent of the advertising gross as the standard commission rate for advertising agencies. Agencies seeking recognition by the associations were obliged to state in writing that they were not controlled by or affiliated with advertisers, that the entire 15 per cent commission was retained by the agencies, that no part of it was discounted to advertisers. Agencies were also forbidden to compete with each other for new business by submitting speculative advertising plans.

This system injured two classes of business men, according to the Justice Department. First, it stifled competition among advertising agencies by threatening loss of recognition to any agency cutting commission rates or making speculative presentations to advertisers. Such loss meant that an agency would not qualify for the 15 per cent commission, had no credit, and carried an aura of "financial instability and business incompetence" among national advertisers and publications. Second, it prevented advertisers from cutting sales costs by placing ads directly with newspapers and magazines. The prices charged by publications for ads were the same, whether placed by an agency or direct by the advertiser. Because no price advantage was gained by placing the ads directly the advertiser felt compelled to use agency services since he paid for them anyway.

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In short, by setting the competitive terms among the agencies and by blocking financial advantage for the advertiser in direct dealing with publications, the recognition system tended to aid the mammoth agencies billing millions of dollars yearly to increase their billings. In the past ten years, during which total advertising volume spiraled upward from $2,725,000,000 to $8,145,000,000, the number of agencies billing over $10,000,000 yearly more than doubled, and their total yearly billing more than tripled. By 1954 sixty agencies had a gross of more than $10,000,000. These titans represented less than 2 per cent of the 3,500 agencies in the country, but 27 per cent of the total advertising volume. Figured at 15 per cent, their commissions in 1954 exceeded $325,000,000; the commissions for all agencies were about $1,220,000,000.

IN DEFENSE of their recognition system, association spokesmen referred to their organizations as guinea pigs in the Justice Department's effort to "amend the Sherman Act through judicial decision rather than through legislative enactment." They recalled the 1923 Federal Trade Commission investigation of the advertising business. At that time the F. T. C. charged the trade associations with unfair competition and conspiracy in restraint of trade. But after seven years and 3,000 pages of testimony the F. T. C. dismissed its own case on the ground that it lacked jurisdiction. The dismissal turned on the definition of interstate commerce. Apparently F. T. C. viewed marketing of advertising as a service rather than a commodity sale, and as such was not to be considered interstate commerce in the light of court decisions then current.

But though Congress has not legislatively broadened this concept of interstate commerce since 1930, numerous Supreme Court decisions have. In 1944 the Supreme Court reversed its seventy-five-year stand that the service involved in issuing an insurance policy was not subject to federal control. The court brought the insurance business under interstate commerce, declaring "no commercial enterprise which conducts its activities across state lines has been held to be wholly beyond the regulatory power of Congress. We cannot make an exception of the insurance business."

AGAIN, in 1950 the Supreme court ruled that a commission-fixing agreement by the Washington Real Estate Board violated the Sherman act. In his opinion for the court Justice Douglas noted the "misconception" that bracketed together the services of real-estate brokers and those of labor unions. Congress intended only the latter to be exempt from the anti-trust laws.

In the 1951 Lorain (Ohio) *Journal* case the Supreme Court held specifically that national advertising was interstate commerce. One result was that the Lorain *Journal* was enjoined from denying its pages to advertisers who bought time from a competing radio station. Another result was to dispel any remaining doubt that the services of advertising were under federal control.

If the Justice Department is successful in breaking up the recognition system, who stands to gain? Probably not the smaller advertisers. For they do not spend enough on advertising to make it economically worth their while to prepare and place their own ads. Even saving the 15 per cent commission would not cover the costs involved. But the 100 largest advertisers, setting up their own advertising departments to handle their advertising and to deal directly with media, may achieve savings in the millions. Not only would they pocket the 15 per cent commission, but because they wield multi-million-dollar advertising budgets they would be able to pressure media for a larger commission percentage. Since media depend for their lives on advertising dollars, the largest advertisers would be in position to strike some hard bargains.

Twenty years ago the large advertisers tried to break up the recognition system and the 15 per cent commission. They complained through the Association of National Advertisers of "dissatisfaction" with a system that prevented advertisers from dealing directly with media and that took 15 cents from every advertising dollar for agency commission. The A. N. A. condemned this as arbitrary and wasteful, and was backed by Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., then president of General Motors, who labeled the system "unsound, uneconomic, and unfair." Prophetically, the A. N. A. warned agencies that "under a method of compensation that does not allow the advertiser to use it efficiently or satisfactorily, then little by little it is inevitable that advertisers assume the functions that the agency is prepared to perform, and the agencies will gradually lose more and more ground." Aided by the Justice Department, national advertisers may finally win the battle of the 15 per cent that they lost twenty years ago.

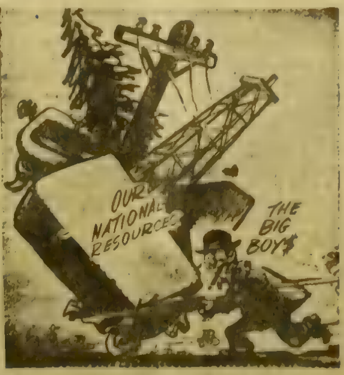
HELL'S CANYON

Where Are the Democrats? . . *by Edgar Kemler*

Washington

ALTHOUGH their own Roosevelt Administration pioneered it, the latter-day Democrats have no comprehension of the power potential of the Columbia River Basin. Otherwise, they would not have let their Hell's Canyon project gather dust for five years. This is a project that would develop the finest but most remote dam site in the United States (it's in a mile-deep gorge of the Snake River which marks the Idaho-Oregon border). It would add 1,120,000 kilowatts of cheap power to the already power-short Columbia River system. Meanwhile, the Republicans have been sponsoring the absentee-owned Idaho Power Company, whose application for a more modest (212,000 to 505,000 kilowatt) power dam in the same area is now pending before the Federal Power Commission. Already, the commission examiner, William J. Costello, has given the nod to the private dam, not because he thought it was better its power would be almost thrice as costly—but because the likelihood of Democratic action on the public dam was "too remote." Democrats may resent the examiner's prognosis but unless they prove it false by passing the current Hell's Canyon bill either in the Senate or in the House, the Republican-dominated F. P. C. may never give them another chance.

For power-rich Easterners, the importance of Hell's Canyon in the Pacific Northwest is very difficult to grasp. Thanks to Bonneville, Grand Coulee, and other installations, which tap only one-sixth of the region's potential, the downstream states of Washington and Oregon have prospered as never before, with a combined population increase of 1,000,000 and the advent of a $400,000,000 aluminum industry within the last decade. But the more these states prosper, the more power they need, and at the present rate their power needs will double in the next decade. By contrast, in upstream Idaho, where the Idaho Power Company rules virtually without federal competition, population and industry are both stagnant. Potentially one of the richest of the eleven Western states, possessing 60 per cent of our fertilizer-producing phosphates, Idaho is now one of the poorest. Only barren New Mexico ranks lower. However, to convert its phosphate rock into fertilizer, 400,000 kilowatts of cheap (3-mill) power is required as compared with the expensive (6 1/2-mill) power provided by the company. Also cheap power is needed to irrigate the state's sagebrush desert, which now constitutes about half its acreage.



Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

They never had it so good!

WHILE both downstream and upstream needs are built into the Hell's Canyon public-dam proposal, the Idaho Power Company's dam would merely "skim the cream." It would not merely be inadequate, but wasteful as well. Furthermore, by its record of hostility to the Rural Electrification Administration—in 1950 it wiped out the Malheur, Oregon, electric cooperative, after a ten-year battle—it should not be admitted to the federal power system. However, through a friendly press and friendly governors, the potent company has so far more or less concealed its shortcomings. Idaho farmers have been persuaded that the public dam would cut off their irrigation water for the benefit of Oregon, while Oregon farmers have been told that it would divert their power water to California. As to the first point, which is the only one even remotely plausible, the F. P. C. has now established that there is enough water for everybody, while further safeguards have been written into the Hell's Canyon bill. At any rate, the persistence of these myths helped

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EDGAR KEMLER writes frequently for The Nation *on the Washington scene.*

reelect the Idaho Power Company's chief spokesman, Republican Senator Dworshak, last fall, as it helped to reduce the margin for Democratic Senator Richard Neuberger in Oregon.

After Neuberger's election, Wayne Morse, his one-time mentor, began his present campaign to pry the public-dam project out of its F. P. C. deathbed. When the bill, S. 1333, was introduced by Morse and his twenty-nine Democratic cosponsors, the Interior Department refused to comment on it, because, they said, the Hell's Canyon problem was already being considered by the quasi-judicial commission. By implication, Morse himself was accused of a gross impropriety, nor has he altogether refuted it. However, when Morse's colleagues—including Murray of Montana, Anderson of New Mexico, Jackson of Washington—held subcommittee hearings at the grass roots, so much heat was generated both pro and con that Secretary of Interior McKay was forced to abandon his phony neutrality for all-out hostility. Foreshadowing the latest Hoover Commission report, which urges the immediate stoppage of all further public power, McKay said that the government had already become committed to $1,500,000,000 worth of new dams in the Columbia River basin, and that the additional $500,000,000 required for Hell's Canyon would be excessive. Also, he went on, the Idaho Power Company could do a "reasonably comparable" job using private rather than public capital.

IF THE battle moves onto the Senate floor, the final attack on the shaky Republican position will depend more on Acting Majority Leader Clements than on the rebel Morse, who set it up for him. Morse's friends now claim forty-four votes for the public dam, including those of three Republicans—Langer and Young of North Dakota and Thye of Minnesota. The decisive five votes, if they come at all, must come from tidelands-oil Democrats, like Long of Louisiana, who is currently blocking the bill in committee. To break the deadlock, Senator Clements must make Hell's Canyon a party issue, which he has so far failed to do. Yet it is hard to imagine an issue more worthy of such a tactic. The Eisenhower Administration has borrowed or stolen so many issues from the Democrat's New Deal heritage that this seems to be the only one left.

THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL

A Significant Victory . . *by Leonard B. Boudin*

THE State Department's Passport Office was well described in 1949 by the Hoover Commission as "a law unto itself." Since 1947 its director, Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley, recently retired, consistently denied American citizens the right to travel because of political views and associations imputed to them. This was without hearing, evidence, specific reasons, or appeal. Now, in the single month of June, 1955, the subversion of a decade has been undone, and the operation of the department has become subject to the rule of law. This is the meaning of the recent court decisions in the Nathan, Foreman, and Schachtman cases, which declared that travel is a constitutional right and that American citizens are entitled to a quasi-judicial hearing before a passport can be denied them.

In order to appreciate the battle that has been won, we must turn back the pages of history. During most of our life as a nation, Americans could travel without hindrance. As the State Department said in 1925: "In time of peace a law-abiding American citizen has always been free to leave the country without the permission of the government." The purpose of the passport was not to license travel or to guarantee protection but to identify the traveler as an American entitled to his rights as a citizen.

However, the large number of federal, state, and municipal authorities who engaged in the issuance of passports led to gross abuses. The result was an 1856 law "that the Secretary of State shall be authorized to grant and issue passports . . . and no other person shall grant, issue or verify any such passport."

Congress originally imposed only one condition upon the right to a passport, that it be issued to a citizen or one otherwise subject to U. S. jurisdiction. Hence, passports were invariably given to citizens as a matter of right. Today, however, an American citizen cannot leave the hemisphere without a passport for two reasons: (1) it is a criminal offense to do so while the Presidential proclamation of emergency is in effect; (2) many countries will not permit a foreigner to enter without a passport.

From 1789 to 1947, there were no departmental restrictions upon the right to peacetime travel. However, beginning with the cold war, the Passport Office began to deny passports for political reasons. While the department has refused to disclose the number of persons involved, it was certainly in the hundreds. In each of these cases, Mrs. Shipley merely announced that the issuance of a passport would not be in the best interests of the United States. A denial on that basis was without any authority in law, since there existed no statute, executive order, or even regulation authorizing the department to control travel upon political or other grounds.

During this period two lawsuits were instituted against the department. The first, *Robeson* v. *Acheson*, was dismissed by the District Court

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which held that the department's actions were not judicially reviewable. The Court of Appeals dismissed the appeal as moot because the plaintiff's passport had expired by the time of oral argument.

The second case, *Bauer* v. *Acheson*, involved the passport revocation of an American journalist residing in Paris. A three-judge statutory court in a case sponsored by the American Civil Liberties Union agreed with the plaintiff's contention that her passport had been denied without a hearing. It stated, too, in a dictum that there was a constitutional right to travel, that the Secretary of State had certain discretion, but that it could not be exercised arbitrarily. Despite this decision, Miss Bauer received neither hearing nor passport because of the department's delaying tactics and in the end she married a French national and gave up her American citizenship and the lawsuit as well.

The court's remarks on the right to travel and the area of discretion gave the department only two logical alternatives: (1) to establish reasonable standards and fair procedures; (2) to appeal to the Supreme Court. Choosing neither course, it gave the appearance of compliance while continuing its old practices of seizing and denying passports without hearing or valid reason. And in August, 1952, it issued new regulations denying passports to persons in three categories:

> (a) Persons who are members of the Communist Party or who have recently terminated such membership under such circumstance as to warrant the conclusion—not otherwise rebutted by the evidence—that they continue to act in furtherance of the interests and under the discipline of the Communist Party;
>
> (b) Persons, regardless of the formal state of their affiliation with the Communist Party, who engage in activities which support the Communist movement under such circumstances as to warrant the conclusion—not otherwise rebutted by the evidence—that they have engaged in such activities as a result of direction, domination, or control exercised over them by the Communist movement.
>
> (c) Persons, regardless of the formal state of their affiliation with the Communist Party, as to whom there is reason to believe, on the balance of all the evidence, that they are going abroad to engage in activities which will advance the Communist movement for the purpose, knowingly and willfully, of advancing that movement.

The only laws affecting the issuance of passports are the Act of 1856, as amended, which restricts passports to American citizens, and the Internal Security Act of 1950, which provides that persons who are members of organizations required by a final order of the Subversive Activities Control Board to register may not use passports. As yet, no such final order is in effect since the constitutionality of the statute is now before the Supreme Court, which granted certiorari on April 6.

The Secretary's regulations of August, 1952, clearly go far beyond these statutes. Indeed, the department has admitted that its regulations were intended "to enforce the *spirit* of the [Internal Security] Act."

THE department seems to consider informing upon others the only sure proof of termination of Communist Party membership. It interprets the term "recently" in most unusual fashion; even persons who swear that they had not been members of the Communist Party for a decade are denied passports. It has denied passports because "allegations" of membership have been rebutted only by an affidavit under oath.

The standard "to engage in activities which support the Communist movement" was called too "vague" in the Lattimore decision. The department relies here upon membership in organizations on the Attorney General's list. This, despite the fact that the list was promulgated without notice, hearing, or charges, was criticized by the Supreme Court in the joint anti-Fascist case, and has been judicially ruled inadmissible.

The procedures are equally improper. There are no hearings or witnesses, nor is other evidence taken in the Passport Office. This is true equally of the Board of Passport Appeals which purports to review the decisions of the Passport Office. An appeal is not permitted one who refuses to execute a non-Communist affidavit upon the request of the Passport Office; this condition is without precedent in American law. The affidavit must cover past membership, although the Internal Security Act of 1950 refers only to the present. Finally, the execution of the affidavit hardly ever does any good; rarely does an affiant get a passport.

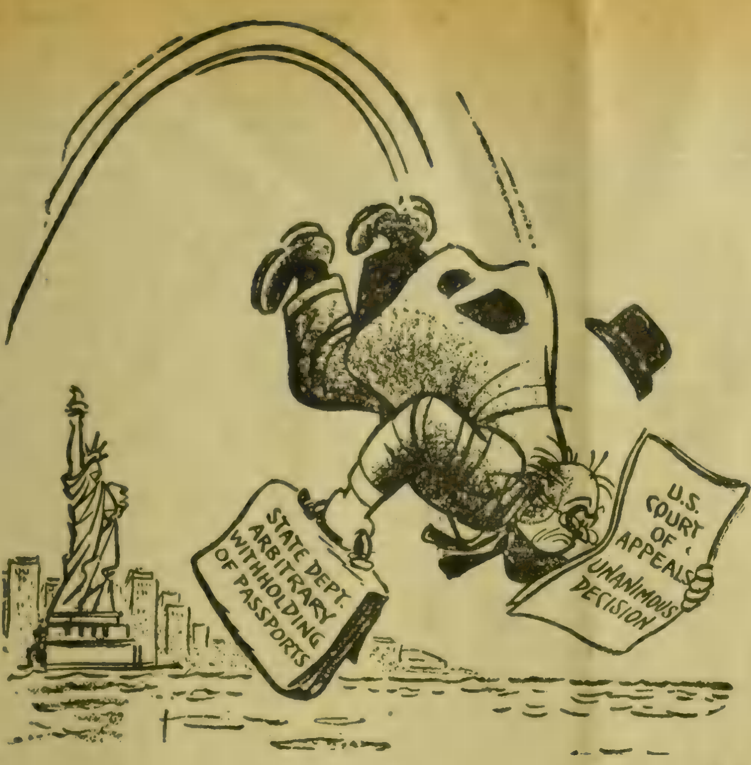
There are many other things peculiar about the Board of Passport Appeals. The proceedings are transcribed but the applicant for a passport can read only his own testimony, which is hardly of help. The Board of Passport Appeals makes a report to the Secretary of State, but the applicant is never permitted to see it. The Secretary of State makes a decision without hearing the applicant and the decision is silent as to its factual basis.

In view of the department's studied policy of delay, it is small wonder that in June, 1953, ten months after the regulations were issued, Mr. Shipley wrote me that "there has been no urgency for the promulgation of the [board's] rules, since in no case has an applicant for a passport who has completed the administrative procedures which must be carried out in the Passport Office informed the department of his desire to appeal his case."

These regulations were made the subject of attack in the principal cases sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee: *Nathan* vs. *Dulles* and *Foreman* vs. *Dulles*.

Dr. Otto Nathan, the well-known economist and sole executor of Professor Einstein's estate, had been seeking a passport since December, 1952. His complaint was predicated upon one fundamental principle—the absolute right to travel. After trial, United States District Judge Henry Schweinhaut overruled the government's contention that the courts were without jurisdiction to interfere with departmental decisions and directed the department to grant Dr. Nathan a hearing. The court rejected the department's claim that Dr. Nathan had had a hearing, and that he should have appealed to the Board of Passport Appeals. The court said the "plaintiff did not have a hearing which the law contemplates and guarantees." And with respect to Dr. Nathan's alleged administrative remedies, "as a matter of practical fact, he had none."

Instead of giving Dr. Nathan a hearing, the department asked him which of the two hearings, held inadequate by Judge Schweinhaut, he


STATE DEPT. ARBITRARY WITHHOLDING OF PASSPORTS
U.S. COURT OF APPEALS UNANIMOUS DECISION

Washington Post

Traveling Papers

preferred. He replied with contempt proceedings; and Judge Schweinhaut, describing the department's conduct as evasive and "dilly-dallying," directed the issuance of a passport.

The Court of Appeals stayed the judgment, but upon condition that the department give Dr. Nathan a quasi-judicial hearing, confronting him with the witnesses against him. The court put the department upon a strict time schedule. But instead of conducting the hearings in the manner prescribed, the State Department announced that it had held a hearing (in the absence of Dr. Nathan), acquitted him of the charges, and given him a passport. This, four days after the department had argued "national security" as a reason for not giving him one!

The Nathan case gave the courts their first insight into the department's passport behavior. It was the subject of international discussion because Dr. Nathan, in his capacity as Einstein's executor, had to leave for Berne, Switzerland, and because it was the first decision directing the issuance of a passport.

The Nathan case was followed on June 23, 1955, by the same court's decision in *Schachtman* v. *Dulles*. Max Schachtman, head of the Independent Socialist League, took the position of the American Civil Liberties Union, and argued that the Secretary of State did have discretion to deny passports, but said that the Secretary had abused it by accepting as conclusive the Attorney General's listing of the league as "subversive." In this case the Court of Appeals gave the plaintiff more than he had sought. It not only held that the Attorney General's list was not conclusive; it held that the right to travel "is a natural right" and Chief Judge Edgerton, concurring, said that "freedom to leave a country or a hemisphere is as much a part of liberty as freedom to leave a state."

The third blow came within a few days. On June 28, District Judge Burnita S. Matthews directed that the department give a quasi-judicial hearing to Dr. Clark Foreman, executive director of the E. C. L. C. Dr. Foreman also had been denied a passport on the ground that it was alleged that he had been a Communist, his affidavit to the contrary notwithstanding, and that he had followed the "shifts and changes" of the Communist Party line. The department now had its second opportunity to sustain charges which it had made against an American citizen. Instead, it telegraphed Dr. Foreman's attorney that "the department has just completed review of case and has concluded that passport application of Foreman should be approved."

The department's policy began to look more peculiar. Was the department going to give a passport each time a court ordered a hearing? Apparently, it was prepared to retreat even further. For eight years Dr. Martin Kamen had been prevented from traveling abroad to take posts in various universities and participate in international conferences. Now, with a motion for summary judgment pending in court, even before a hearing was directed, Dr. Kamen and another passport litigant, Willard Park, were given their passports. The department, in clear violation of its own regulations, also gave a short-term passport to Joseph Clark, a *Daily Worker* correspondent. Clark had not even gone to court. His employer had appealed to the publishers' association on the right of a journalist to attend the Geneva conference.

The department has not yet released the scores of citizens enmeshed in its administrative machinery. Although its standards and procedures as embodied in the regulations have been struck down by the courts, no substitute regulations have been announced. The department still demands non-Communist affidavits. On the other hand, it has given former Judge William Clark a hearing directed by the federal court, and it gave Joseph Clark a passport without a hearing.

The outcome for the rest of the American people depends upon their will to resist petty tyranny. There are hundreds of citizens here or stranded throughout the world whose passports have been seized, revoked, or withheld. If they resist the department's illegal interference with their right to travel for pleasure, education, or a livelihood, they may take hope from these recent decisions. We may then return to the only satisfactory situation where travel is a right and the issuance of a passport a routine administrative act cheerfully performed for the benefit of every citizen by his employees in the Passport Office.

BOOKS

U.N.: The First Decade

THE UNITED NATIONS AND HOW IT WORKS. By David Cushman Coyle. The New American Library. 35 cents.

UN: THE FIRST TEN YEARS. By Clark M. Eichelberger. Harper and Brothers. $1.75.

THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY. By Leland M. Goodrich and Anne P. Simons. The Brookings Institution. $6.

By Frederick L. Schuman

"THE WORLD," wrote Machiavelli, "is a stupendous machine, composed of innumerable parts, each of which, being a free agent, has a volition and action of its own; and on this ground arises the difficulty of assuring success in any enterprise depending on the volition of numerous agents. We may set the machine in motion, and dispose every wheel to one certain end; but when it depends on the volition of any one wheel, and the correspondent action of every wheel, the result is uncertain."

If the San Francisco Charter of 1945 had established anything remotely resembling "the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World"—representative of peoples and not of governments, capable of decision-making by majority vote of legislators, and having power to enact law enforceable on individuals—no such characterization of its activities would be warranted. But since the U. N. is no more and no less than an association of sovereignties, the 400-year-old comment of the Florentine is appropriate.

As an agency to keep the peace the U. N., like the League of Nations, is merely a vehicle of cooperation among states, with one significant difference. The Charter, unlike the Covenant, recognizes realistically that the classical theory of "collective security," i. e., the coercion of states by states, is a formula not for peace but for world war unless the Great Powers are unanimously in concert and disposed to cooperate for common purposes. For most of a decade Moscow has sought to convert the U. N. into an arena of anti-American propaganda while Washington has sought to transform it into an anti-Communist coalition. Both efforts, happily, failed. The U. N. has not only survived the cold war but has played an indispensable role in steering the struggle toward detente instead of disaster, thanks to the statesmanship of Trygve Lie and Dag Hammarskjold, the mediation of neutrals, and the belated conversion to wisdom of Soviet and American policy-makers.

ASIDE from festivities and oratory at the Golden Gate, the tenth anniversary has given rise to a spate of books and monographs by way of record and evaluation. Of these the most valuable is the detailed study (the first of seven volumes on the U. N. projected by the Brookings Institution and initiated by the late Leo Pasvolsky) by Professor Goodrich of Columbia and Anne Simons, formerly of the U. N. Secretariat. While less formidable in its legalism than the monumental work of Hans Kelsen, this is nonetheless the most erudite and fully documented analysis thus far published of U. N. procedures for pacific settlement.

The orientation is orthodox and "official," and therefore "safe," noncontroversial, and dull. Yet it is heartening that Dr. Goodrich, who only a few years ago regarded any criticism of American foreign policy and of collective security as "subversive," has now taken cognizance of some, at least, of the facts of life. While still innocent of any understanding of the relationship between the U. N. and power politics, he now perceives that private diplomacy has its uses, that the Assembly's role is "limited" in mobilizing armed forces, that disarmament presupposes "improved relations among the major powers," and, by implication, that the U. N. can be politically effective only if a Concert of Powers is restored. For all of this, and for the rich factual data here supplied, thanks are due. And if the Lord loves a repentant sinner more than a virtuous man, scholars and laymen should be no less appreciative of learned specialists who, long lost in a fog, begin to see the light.

Genial Clark Eichelberger—successively a leader of the League of Nations Association, the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, a drafter of the Charter, and Executive Director of the American Association for the United Nations—has set himself a more modest task, executed in 100 pages rather than 700, with a foreword by James T. Shotwell. He surveys succinctly the sundry functions of the U. N., sometimes fuzzily and frequently in cliches but always earnestly, ever hopefully, and often helpfully. His book makes up in good will what it lacks in analytical acumen and literary brilliance. This quality is so rare and so essential in our time that all readers will profit from exposure to it and will feel grateful to Clark Eichelberger for having kept his faith.

THE LEAST and cheapest of these books is, in many ways, the wisest and best. David Cushman Coyle (introduction by Ahmed S. Bokhari, Undersecretary of the U. N. Department of Public Information) has packed into fewer pages more interesting and relevant factual data on the U. N. than anyone else has achieved to date. Yet this is no prosaic handbook. Coyle is concerned on almost every page with the ways in which U. N. activities, however ignored or ill-supported, contribute to the alleviation of disease, poverty, anxiety, and other forms of misery among human beings. He presents the record in human terms. The result is inspiring. A world not yet ready for "federalism" is still capable of endorsing "functionalism" in the service of welfare. The accomplishments and the potentialities of the U. N. in these obscure vineyards are, alone, a full vindication of the work of the founders. And they offer hope that the brotherhood of man need not remain forever an empty dream.

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Juvenile Delinquency

1,000,000 *DELINQUENTS.* By Benjamin Fine. World Publishing Company. $4.

DELINQUENT BOYS: The Culture of the Gang. By Albert K. Cohen. The Free Press. $3.50.

TRUANTS FROM LIFE. By Bruno Bettelheim. The Free Press. $6.

By Milton L. Barron

AMIDST the hysteria and confusion that mount daily in reaction to delinquency offenses, it is gratifying to find three new publications which help us understand the problem and point hopefully to its reduction and ultimate solution. The authors have backgrounds in journalism, sociology, and psychoanalysis and educational psychology respectively. Their approaches, accordingly, vary considerably.

Mr. Fine, education editor of the New York *Times,* is the most eclectic of all. Pointing to the increasing volume of juvenile delinquency in terms of a serious national epidemic that may involve 2,250,000 children annually by 1960, he poses and then attempts to answer several questions. Why do they do it? Where shall we place the "blame"? How shall we find the solutions? And, finally, how shall we put them into effect? To Mr. Fine a juvenile delinquent is not merely a thief, a murderer, or a vandal. He is "a troubled human being who steals or destroys as a result of pressures both within and without."

For much of his information the author relies heavily on the research findings of the Gluecks of Harvard, generally reputed to be the most eminent authorities on the problem. But Mr. Fine himself also collected much data in preparation for his book. He personally interviewed 1,500 delinquents in such institutions as the New Jersey State Home for Boys in Jamesburg and the New York State Training School for Girls in Hudson. Many of the delinquents wrote out their stories, verbatim excerpts of which dramatically illustrate the points the author makes. Like other students of delinquency, Mr. Fine is convinced that in the final analysis the problem is a symptom of the more general sickness of societal and world tensions. The solution depends upon intelligent, coordinated social action directed toward meaningful moral standards. In this endeavor the elementary schools will play a crucial, preventive role together with the home, church, community, police department, psychiatric clinic, juvenile court, foster home and detention place, and the training school.

Dr. Cohen, professor of sociology at Indiana University, makes a contribution of a quite different order. He proposes a theory of delinquency that appears to fill a serious gap in systematic thought devoted to the problem. There is a delinquent subculture in American society, Dr. Cohen maintains, and it is most evident in the boys' gangs flourishing in working-class neighborhoods of our metropolitan communities. This subculture is non-utilitarian, malicious, and negativistic in nature. It is a way of coping with the problems of adjustment and growing-up faced by children in the lower social strata. These are essentially status problems, for lower-class children are denied status in "respectable," middle-class society. The delinquent subculture provides criteria of status which these children can meet.

THE MOST stimulating and rewarding reading on the problem of delinquency is available in Bettelheim's book. Dr. Bettelheim is head of the Sonia Shankman Orthogenic School at the University of Chicago and professor of educational psychology in the university's departments of education and psychology. Selecting four representative cases of disturbed children who have been treated by the school he directs, he shows how their rehabilitation slowly but surely proceeded and how the children adjusted after they left the institution. In view of the surprising lack of clinical case material on delinquents and other children who suffer from acute emotional disturbances, Dr. Bettelheim's

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at last—

the whole story is told

The Empire of Oil

by

Harvey O'Connor

The New York Herald Tribune wrote the truth when it said on January 9, 1948, "Thanks to the mixture of unsupported argument, official reticence, and sheer hypocrisy which befog the subject, there can be few peoples so poorly informed of the global implications of oil production and distribution as the Americans."

Now, at long last, Americans can learn all they need to know about oil—the biggest industry in the United States. In "The Empire of Oil," Harvey O'Connor has, **for the first time,** packed between two covers a comprehensive, thoroughly documented, absorbingly readable account of every aspect of the oil industry, both domestic and foreign.

Mr. O'Connor devoted five years of full-time research and writing to this book. "The Empire of Oil" will be published in November; it is a long book—almost 400 pages—and it will sell for $5 per copy.

Until publication date—**but not after**—we are offering the book at the special pre-publication price of $3.50. Combined with a one-year subscription to the independent socialist magazine **Monthly Review**, the saving is even greater —$6 for both the book and the sub (a saving of $2).

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account is especially notable. Although the four cases he describes differ markedly, they all show schizophrenic traits.

The philosophy and goal of his staff in working with disturbed children are admirably summarized by the author as follows: "Our aim must be to strengthen the child to such a degree that he is able, by himself, to master adverse circumstances with relative success. Technically speaking, we must realize that the 'substructure' of the child's personality will always remain weak. The foundation for his personality development was laid in infancy and early childhood. We may be able to strengthen it here and there, to buttress it, so to speak, but we cannot give the child a new substructure. On this basically weak and only partly 'remodeled' foundation, we must try to help the child develop sufficient ego strength and personality integration to enable his limited inner resources to carry him along, even if external conditions fail him." Clear in style and fascinating in detail and development, this book truly reads as fluently as a good novel.

Practitioners and administrators as well as laymen would be wise to pause in their hysterical wringing of hands and explosive epithets against "hoodlums" and "young punks" to examine carefully all three books.

Over the Edge of Bathos

SELECTED POEMS. By Randall Jarrell. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

By John Ciardi

THIS first round-up of Jarrell's poetry leaves me thinking that the reader is pretty much left free to take Jarrell anyway he likes. The reader who wants to argue that this is bad poetry can certainly call upon the poems to provide him with evidence. The reader who wants to argue that this is what poetry in our times should be can certainly make his case from the poems. To be sure a man's work should be judged by its best. Judged by his worst, no poet would survive criticism. In Jarrell's case, however, the best is so closely involved in the worst that I find it difficult to separate the two.

Clearly there is no questioning of the poetic apparatus in Jarrell's poetry: he has long since passed the point of technical competence, and the forms of poetry are clearly ready to perform whatever Jarrell requires of them humanly and imaginatively. But given the fact that a poet has mastered his forms, and given the presence of a seeing imagination, there still remains inseparable from all reception of poetry one's response to what Robert Frost called "the way the poet takes himself, and the way the poet takes his subject." "Art without mind," said Kant, "is horrid." For "mind" read perhaps "personality," perhaps "character." Whatever it may indicate of my limitations as a reader, I find myself rather regularly at odds with the character of the "speaking voice" of Jarrell's poems. I say "speaking voice" because the imagined voice in which the poem is spoken is not the same thing as the poet, but is, rather, something the poet-as-man must invent into the poem. Jarrell is a man of successes and undoubtedly a citizen-human to be admired. I am concerned here with that projection—Yeats would have said "the mask"—through which the poems are spoken.

The central quality of that speaking, or at least the most persistent point of objection, surprising though it may seem, is a kind of sentimentality that seems to tremble forever on the edge of bathos and to fall over the edge much too often for my taste. I cannot get around the impression that Jarrell-in-trance speaks in a voice so tear-choked that his own best self-perception is dulled. I find several sorts of self-indulgence in these poems, and I am tempted to relate all of them to this core of sentimentality. The basic self-indulgences as I would list them are: Jarrel's tendency to let poems, especially the later poems, run on and on and on, a fondness for the bathetic image, and an insistence on using the same tricks over and over.

There is not room to document Jarrell's discursiveness. It can lead him to as sad a mishmash as the poem called Money, certainly as over-boiled a ladling of bad Brownian stew as any competent poet of the last years has allowed himself to publish. Or it can lead to as good a poem as The Marchen, which somehow stays alive through all its longwindedness. And therefore, no matter: the failure that leads to merit is a good failure.

Jarrell's weakness for the bathetic image, however, is something else. Here is a child's sense of time gone, what I take to be Jarrell's version of "We'll to the woods no more":

> I shall never again sing
> Good morning, Dear Teacher, to my own dear teacher.
> Never again
> Will Augusta be the capital of Maine.
> The dew has rusted the catch of the strap on my satchel.

I find myself appalled by that last line, and only incidentally because I cannot believe any child would think it this way; more to the point, I read it as a sentimental effort to load large human significance into a commonplace which explodes the sentiment to a burlesque of itself. Ah, the lost years in which the catch of my satchel strap rusted! So, later in the same poem:

> The broody hen
> Squawks upside down—her eggs are boiled.

Why not:

> The chick-hopes of my broody hen
> Were all hard (or soft) boiled by then.
>   Alas, for time in transit. (oh).

So for the opening lines of the first poem, in which Professor Jarrell looks at A Girl in a Library:

> An object among dreams, you sit with your shoes off
> And curl your legs up under you; your eyes
> Close for a moment, your face moves toward sleep. . . .
> You are very human.

I confess I have always disliked the tone of the address in which the writer carefully tells his subject who she is and what she is doing—and that she has her shoes off. But I must certainly record something more than an accustomed distaste for that dot dot dot followed by "You are

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very human." Perhaps I am wrong, but I cannot help reading this as simple bathos.

Jarrell's willingness to repeat a device is inescapable. Let a good word into a poem once and it will be let into the same poem again (*cf* the repetition of "steady" in the fine poem, The Sleeping Beauty, and the repetition of "entirely" in A Rhapsody on Irish Themes). And certainly no poet has ever depended so heavily on a single transitional device as Jarrell depends on the repetition of "And yet . . . and yet. . . ." Shapiro, I note, finds this device a point of high merit. I find it sticking in my eye as a kind of once-rich invention become simply a mannerism by overuse.

And yet . . . and yet . . . take the poem Nollekens, or the strange and quite exciting Seele im Raum, and certainly one is confronted by a poetry for admiration. Seele im Raum is a good specimen piece. To my reading the poem would fall into silliness without the lines:

> This is senseless?
> Shall I make sense or shall I tell
> the truth?
> Choose either—I cannot do both.

I am persuaded by these lines that Jarrell has not only explored a kind of perception he has staked out as his own, but that he has found its true center. In too many of the poems, however, the speaking voice quavers around the center without finding it.

Selected New Books

Economics

A GENERAL THEORY OF ECONOMIC PROCESS. By Neil W. Chamberlain. Harper. $5. An admirable attempt by a Columbia economist, formerly a specialist in labor and industrial relations, to synthesize and unify some disparate elements in economic theory, which requires him to go beyond economics and into history, sociology, and politics. The result is what might be called a first crack at a mid-twentieth-century political economy. This will be a provocative, perhaps a path-breaking book for the professionals, but it is probably too technical for all but the most determined laymen.

THE REVOLUTION IN WORLD TRADE. By Samuel Lubell. Harper. $2.50. The "revolution" of the title is apparent neither in the author's analysis nor in his policy recommendations, since the latter are basically conventional or in the nature of gimmicks—e. g., one of his "main measures" is "a two-to-three-year trade truce to insure a breathing spell for competitive relations to shake themselves down." I still don't know what that means; or, if I do, it sounds like nonsense. Like many men of stated good will in these times, Lubell accepts the apparatus and the attitudes of the cold war in such a fashion as to guarantee that it will never end; except by getting hotter.

APPROACHES TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. By Norman S. Buchanan and Howard S. Ellis. Twentieth Century Fund. $5. A readable and broadly informative study of an outstanding current problem. The book is divided into a theoretical, a historical, and a policy section, all clearly written. Although not confined to it alone, the last section is particularly subject to question, taking as it does a rather too conventional (at times, almost nineteenth century), rather too American view of a problem requiring an unconventional and genuinely international approach. With it all, a timely and useful book, capable of being understood by all interested.

ECONOMICS AND LIBERALISM. By O. H. Taylor. Harvard. $5. The collected essays of a Harvard philosopher-economist who finds himself "stranded between the positions of the A. D. A. on (his) left and the central bulk of the Republican Party on (his) right." The essays deal with subjects as diverse as natural law, a comparison of Marx and Schumpeter, and the relations between a liberal education and liberal principles. The attitudes of the author, as expressed over a period of twenty years, range from whole-hearted rejection of the New Deal (in the thirties) to complete acceptance of it (in the late forties), to something in between (in the early fifties). An interesting, if not always highly enlightening, intellectual journey, written in crabbed style.

THE GREAT CRASH, 1929. By John Kenneth Galbraith. Houghton Mifflin. $3. The author writes easily and wittily—perhaps too easily—of a period whose major event he does not see as beyond repetition today. As an explanation of the crash, this book adds little or nothing and it may, in the importance it places on

Plain words about Soviet Literature

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the crash, say too much. Good reading for those who know little or nothing of the period, and for those who have grown complacent about the present. This book, like Galbraith's preceding two, exhibits an unfortunate tendency of the author to sacrifice depth for literary style. The one need not be sacrificed for the other, and, since Galbraith is a talented and a humane economist, it is too bad that it has been.

DOUGLAS F. DOWD.

Belles-Lettres

THE SELECTED LETTERS OF ANTON CHEKHOV. Edited by Lillian Hellman. Translated by Sidonie Lederer. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. $4. Chekhov was too serious about life to take anything in it seriously. He signed a letter describing the failure of his first play "Schiller Shakespearovich Goethe." His letters about his travels in Russia and Siberia, his talent and his neglect of it, the Dreyfus case, and even the terrible cholera epidemic in which he gave unselfish service are touched with the bitter irony of a mind that distrusts everything because it distrusts itself.

THE ART OF FICTION. By W. Somerset Maugham. Doubleday. $4.50.

THE REPUBLIC OF LETTERS. By Louis Kronenberger. Knopf. $3.75. These collections of essays represent two different approaches to the task of presenting familiar ideas about familiar books. Mr. Maugham conducts himself as the canny old broker of literature, giving all the facts clearly and interestingly. His critical evaluations are conservative, and they are offered grudgingly, as though they were tips based on secret information. Mr. Kronenberger, on the other hand, courts, and often achieves brilliance in discussing writers and their works from La Rochefoucauld to Thomas Wolfe. He interprets, compares, and analyzes vigorously in a pleasingly epigrammatic style, often going to the essence of a matter in a phrase, as when he calls "The Cherry Orchard" "acid dissolved in the most ravishing perfume."

EZRA POUND'S "MAUBERLEY." By John J. Espey. California. $2.75. An important modern poem is subjected to a drastic experiment in source-hunting, which shows it to be composed of an incredible diversity of quotations and allusions. Pound's poem emerges from Mr. Espey's meat-grinder as a masterpiece of Alexandrinism which, like the Cantos, calls upon the culture of the past to witness the sterility of its age.

DR. JOHNSON'S DICTIONARY. Essays in the Biography of a Book. By James H. Sledd and Gwin J. Kolb. Chicago. $5. The reader who likes Mencken's "American Language" will be fascinated by the whole story of the quaint old linguistic theories, pedantic controversies, and quirks of personality surrounding the publication of one of the great books of English literature.

SWIFT. An Introduction. By Ricardo Quintana. Oxford. $4.25. An authority on Swift gives a modern evaluation of his man's work by relating it to the intellectual climate of his time. Swift, believing that man was rational but easily corrupted, recommended realism, common sense, and the middle way, and gave perspective to the human situation in comedy. In these attitudes he was representative rather than original, but the passion and energy that controlled the complexity of his work were his own.

ADVENTURES IN THE SKIN TRADE AND OTHER STORIES. By Dylan Thomas. New Directions. $3.50. Thomas's uncompleted novel about a naive young provincial's arrival in London is energetic fantasy with a rough realistic grain. Sinister Londoners make the hero's first experience of the city into a bad dream by landing him in the most absurd scrapes, but the perpetual victim's innocence remains uncorrupted by his grotesque adventures.

JACOB KORG.

Japan

AN INTRODUCTION TO JAPAN. By Herschel Webb, under the direction of Hugh Borton and Douglas W. Overton. Columbia. $2.75. Published under the auspices of the Japan Society, this useful little handbook is politically restrained. It avoids dealing with Japan's pregnant, current foreign relations, and recent fast-moving events have already outrun its brief treatment of domestic politics. But its concise descriptions of Japan's history, art and culture, and hard-pressed economy provide, in handy form, valuable background material for an understanding of contemporary Japan

PERSPECTIVE OF JAPAN. An Atlantic Monthly Supplement. Intercultural Publications. 35 cents. This is a product of a Ford Foundation project aiming at extending international understanding. The reader views Japan through the eyes of Japanese writers and artists: poetry and short stories are combined with essays on Japanese art, theater, architecture, and religions in a well-rounded portrayal of Japan's mind and spirit. The piece designed to locate "Japan's Place in Asia" was written by pro-American Shigeru Yoshida (who lost his premiership in December) and is thus dated, but the whole offers, in delightful literary form, an eminently admirable characterization of the Japanese nation.

DAUGHTERS OF CHANGING JAPAN. By Earl Herbert Cressey. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. $4. In Japan, "women are changing faster than men." The author of "Daughters of Confucius" has taken ten life histories and re-woven them into an account depicting the lives of five modern young Japanese women in an environment in transformation. The text comprises a series of vignettes, with two of the characters playing the lead roles. Two—or ten—young women, however complex and versatile, cannot adequately represent Japanese femininity, however.

WITHOUT THE CHRYSANTHEMUM AND THE SWORD. By Jean Stoetzel. UNESCO, Columbia. $4. An excellent scientific study of the attitudes of post-war Japanese youth, buttressed by tables and appendices. It is especially noteworthy that Japanese youth have a large percentage of economic anxiety in their makeup; their anxiety regarding rearmament and the threat of war is hardly less. If the nation is pacific at present, that pacificism has its limits: Japanese attitudes reflect a situation in laborious flux. At the end, the author establishes a basic position: "The precise direction in which the young will develop . . . is far from certain . . . for the young, many of the new ideals are still . . . floating in the air, carried by strange winds which already blow less strongly than they did, and liable to be scattered by other winds blowing from a different quarter."

NATIONALISM IN JAPAN. By Delmer M. Brown. California. $5. Professor Brown's study begins with the rise of Japanese national consciousness in its original Oriental setting, brings out the significance of shifts in sentiment in the face of foreign threats in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and traces the development of modern Japanese nationalism through five major wars into the post-World War II present. Lucid, stimulating, and edifying, this work is invaluable to all who seek the key to Japan's current reappraisal of its position in East Asia.

O. EDMUND CLUBB.

Records

B. H. Haggin

ON A NUMBER of occasions during the years 1901 to 1903 Lionel Mapleson, librarian of the Metropolitan Opera Company, set up Edison recording equipment with which he recorded a couple of minutes of actual performances with such legendary greats as Nordica, Sembrich, Calve, Melba, and the de Reszkes. The cylinders—worn, damaged, noisy—came into the possession of William H. Seltsam of the International Record Collectors' Club, who has transferred a number of passages to an LP record, "Echoes of the Golden Age of Opera" (IRCC L-7006), with as much of the music and as little of the noise as human patience operating with present-day equipment could achieve; and I have further reduced the noise, without loss to the music, by turning the treble knob down to absolute minimum. From this you will understand how limited in range and volume the musical sound is, and how difficult to hear through the noise at times; nevertheless enough is heard to make the record, for me, enormously exciting. I have, that is, found it exciting to hear voices I had considered lost to my ears forever; to hear the remarkable performances of voices already known to me; and to hear moments of historic happenings of fifty years ago miraculously recapitulate themselves.

The voices I had expected never to hear were Nordica's and the de Reszkes'. Her voice is clear and sustained in bits of the love-duet of "Tristan" (with tempos from Hertz that would be denounced today), and superbly so in the final duet of "Siegfried." Edouard de Reszke is unimpressive except for a phrase or two in "Les Huguenots," in which it is Gadski who is exciting in several florid passages, the last of which rises to a high C that elicits a storm of applause; and in a few moments of "Lohengrin" one can hear—even through the noise of a boiler factory—how beautiful her voice is in sustained melody. Jean de Reszke, however, can be heard—through that boiler-factory noise—singing with freedom and power in the Forging Song of "Siegfried," and with superb fullness all the way to B flat and B natural in the sustained phrases of a duet in "L'Africaine," in which Breval's sustained singing, likewise to B flat and B, also is superb.

The voices I already knew from records were Sembrich's, Calve's, and Melba's. The few moments of "The Daughter of the Regiment" and the *Sempre libera* of "La Traviata" give only a pale image of Sembrich's voice, but a surprisingly vivid impression—even through the chugging of a locomotive—of the impressive freedom, authority, and style of her singing. From no Calve record do I recall anything like the superb singing in the Jewel Song of "Faust" that comes clearly through the noise of this one and is justly rewarded by tremendous applause. Of Melba I had heard not only the brilliant florid singing on her record of the Mad Scene from "Lucia," but the lovely small voice that soared out over everything else in the final trio of "Faust" in a Chicago Opera Company performance at the Lexington Opera House in 1917 or 1918; but nothing heard previously is as breathtaking as the 1901 singing on this record—the verve of the *Un di felice* in "La Traviata," the sustained singing with its succession of high B's in the "Faust" trio, and the florid singing in "Les Huguenots," sensational in its accuracy, its tossed-off ornamental high D's.

Sensational too in their own way are the performances of a legendary great of the Vienna Opera in its imperial days, Selma Kurz, whom I have heard for the first time on Scala 817. In sustained melody she has a lyric soprano with a lovely and touching timbre astonishingly like Hempel's, and a feeling for articulation and shaping of phrase also like Hempel's, but with enormous liberties with tempo that Hempel doesn't take. It is Kurz's florid singing that is sensational; and here she permits herself interpolations of cadenzas, or minute-long exhibitions of her spectacular trill, or an astronomically high concluding squeak (which Hempel does indulge in). But even with these regrettable practices it is wonderful singing. The record produces blasting that didn't prevent me from enjoying it.

Much the same kind of sensational florid singing—i.e., with the same liberties in tempo and spectacular interpolations and occasional concluding astronomical squeak—is done by Ivoguen on Scala 815 with a voice that changes from one acoustic recording to the next, but is exquisite in each. In addition a duet from "Don Pasquale" provides a hearing of the beautiful tenor voice of Karl Erb in his youth.

A singer whom I have heard for the first time on Scala 813 is Boninsegna, who is very fine, except in an early *O patria mia* from "Aida" with piano accompaniment. Raisa, whom I have heard for the first time on Scala 808, is so impressive in *L'altra notte* from "Mefistofele" that I am sure her other unimpressive performances on the record don't represent the singing with which she won her position and reputation. On the reverse side, for no reasons I can hear, are some performances by Giannina Russ.

The de Luca performances on Scala 812, with piano accompaniments, must have been recorded before he came to the Metropolitan, for they haven't the dark color and sumptuous texture of the matured voice I heard there and are musically crude—the one exception being a fine performance with Corradetti of a duet from "Don Pasquale." On the reverse side is some bawling by Ruffo. And on Scala 818 are performances by Zenatello that I find in every way undistinguished.

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Letters

Intelligence or Morality?

Dear Sirs: The Nation is to be congratulated on its splendid 90th anniversary issue. However, I think one article needs further consideration. I question the wisdom of Kathleen Lonsdale's dictum that "morality must rule," and I doubt that the moralistic approach will result uniformly in a program as intelligent as she presents. In my opinion, finite human intelligence, rather than morality, must rule if mankind is to avoid atomic war and possible extinction. Our ancient moralistic social controls, which failed to check significantly the lethal potential of such relatively feeble killers as gunpowder and TNT, can hardly be depended upon to curb the ultimate destructiveness of the megaton bomb.

There are many causes for the tensions which might precipitate an atomic war; economic maladjustments, barriers to international travel and communication, censorship and suppression of information, illiteracy, and so on. The problem demands hard, clear thinking and intelligent planning rather than moral platitudes.

HALLEN M. BELL
Birmingham, Mich.

Arid Zones

Dear Sirs: In Salvaging the Desert (The Nation, June 25), Peveril Meigs gives an over-optimistic picture of the arid zone. It matters not in the least how much rain may fall on abused land; this merely produces flash floods and wreckage. Rain must fall on land where it will sink in, not run off. The devastation of our own ranges here in the Southwest since the 1870's, with consequent washing away of soil from all mountainous or sloping areas, has started a cycle of disaster. Now the San Pedro Valley no longer gushes its former string of artesian wells; long-permanent rivers and springs have dried up; rows of ancient cottonwoods are dead; and locally, here and there, we see the menace of new sand dunes forming to march across the once-grassy plains, with the attendant sand- and dust-storms.

ALLAN R. PHILLIPS
Tucson, Ariz.

The Lamb Case

Dears Sirs: I have read Edgar Kemler's excellent article, Politics in the F. C. C. —The Lamb Case: Act II, in your July 2 issue. As a regular reader of The Nation I knew that the tangled details of the case would eventually be straightened out in its pages. As Mrs. Natvig's daughter I was pleased to see it done so well and so promptly.

Unfortunately, there is one point in the article which I feel needs correction. This is the statement that she has been " . . . disowned by her . . . three respectable children." My relations with my mother have always been close and loving. In recent years my husband's work has separated us by long distances but we corresponded regularly. She has been a frequent visitor at my brother's house, and has lived with my sister and her husband on and off for several months while the hearings and trial were in progress.

It would be difficult to find a person whom I respect more or to find a person who, despite almost impossible difficulties, could have been a better mother.

JACQUELINE H. STRAUS
Pullman, Washington

Spreading the Word

Dear Sirs: Summarizing the vital message of your anniversary forum on Atoms for Peace in your July 9 issue you said: "We hope that forums of this kind can be repeated many times by what Harold Taylor called 'dedicated groups' in every part of the world."

It may interest your readers to know that for the past five years the Committee for World Development and World Disarmament of the Women's International League has, in cooperation with several national organizations, put on conferences on this subject throughout the country.

The groups who have cooperated in sponsoring these forums are the American Association for the United Nations, the United Church Women, the American Friends Service Committee, the National Council of Jewish Women, the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, the Board of World Peace of the Methodist Church, the Y. W. C. A., and others.

The committee will be glad to assist any Nation reader who wishes to initiate an educational project on this theme in his community. The address: United Nations Plaza at 46th Street, N. Y. 17, N. Y.

AGNES M. MORLEY
Committee for World Development.
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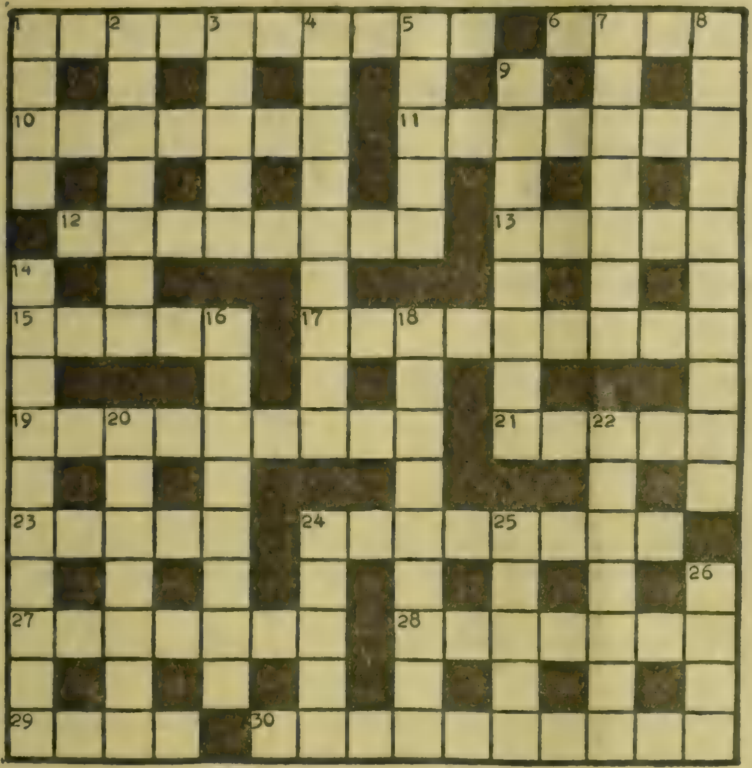
BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 19, 8 down, 14 down Fruit peal, evidently. (7,3,6,3,3,5,2,2,8)

6 13 and 3 down Play with the core, playwright! (4,5,5)

10 Not a legal office. (Some like their drawings here.) (7)

11 Do, or do away with. (7)

12 Fats are found around any short ropes. (8)

13 See 6 across

15 See 24 down

17 Admission of the prejudiced, yet unbiased. (9)

19 See 1 across

21 This lizard is a little sticker. (5)

23 Owl and cat food, in part. (5)

24 Return to help with the local division in denunciation. (8)

27 A narrow strip of land to rent! (7)

28 The way you rent a meeting place for sports. (7)

29 With the end of 28, after 8, theirs was a question of time. (4)

30 After 8 down, answered "When I grow rich!" (10)

DOWN

1 The little brothers are confused by them! (4)

2 Holdings of the cage are frequently turned over and over. (7)

3 See 6 across

4 With 8 down, implied a debt of a little over a penny. (2,7)

5. A bad prime minister's requirements. (5)

7 If you do one, you disappear. (7)

8 See 1 across

9 Another game for the golfer Pa used to be! (4,4)

14 See 1 across

16 This is the way Hood said "Take her up!" (8)

18 Shell out to the boss! (9)

20 A creature with notoriously poor vision about to look up a seeing aid. (7)

22 One secretary or several secretaries. (7)

24 and 15 across A 25 of Hollands gin? (5,5)

25 One for all in 10. (5)

26 My thought has no obligation. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 629

ACROSS: 1 DERISION; 5 ACACIA; 9 DISTAFF; 10 TABORET; 11 CAUSTIC; 12 AURICLE; 13 DRESSING TABLE; 15 HALLOWEEN MASK; 21 SHIKARI; 22 TETRADS; 23 ELUDING; 24 BERBERA; 25 SEETHE; 26 DEPLOYED. DOWN: 1 DEDUCT; 2 RESOUND; 3 SEATTLE; 4 OFFICE SEEKING; 6 CARABET; 7 CORNCOB; 8 ANTLERED; 10 TRAINING TABLE; 14 CHASTENS; 16 LEISURE; 17 OBADIAH; 18 APTERAL; 19 KNAVERY; 20 ISLAND.

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Hiroshima: Ten Years Later

DEATH IN THE RAIN

by Yasuhi Nishiwaki

LESSON OF HIROSHIMA

by Tomie Mochizuki

The Film You Won't See	*Keith Irvine*
Restive Malaya	*Sam A. Jaffe*
Geneva Balance Sheet	*J. A. del Vayo*

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OFF THE EDITORS' SPIKE

● THE SPIKE this week is heavy with an accumulation of civil-liberties items.

Can a state penalize indirectly, as by the establishment of an informal blacklist, citizens whose only offense has been the invocation of a right guaranteed to them by the United States Constitution? In an extremely important advisory opinion, the justices of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts have ruled that such legislation would be invalid. This spring the Massachusetts legislature asked the court's opinion on a proposed act which would make it mandatory for any university, college, or school—private or public—to discharge any professor, instructor, or teacher who had refused "at a duly constituted trial, or at certain hearings or inquiries, to answer certain questions pertinent to his membership in the Communist Party." The proposed act, in the opinion of the court, would be unconstitutional. The court's comments are worth recording:

". . . It must be clear that if the General Court should pass a purported statute to the effect that no teacher should avail himself of his right not to testify or furnish evidence against himself, such purported statute would be in direct contradiction of the constitutional provisions and would be void. So also would be a purported statute that should seek to penalize as by fine or imprisonment a person who should exercise his constitutional right. It is true that the proposed statute does not quite do either of the things just suggested. But it does something of comparable effect. It makes an indirect but hardly less serious attack upon the constitutional right. It attempts to say to any teacher in a college or school, whether public or private, that if he exercises his right he shall be deprived of his employment and means of livelihood. It would also bar him from any future employment as a school teacher, since if he should obtain such employment, the statute would again operate to compel his discharge. This would be true even though otherwise he might find some school or college that had faith in him and would be willing to employ him. These consequences would be visited upon a person who had committed no crime, but had merely availed himself of his constitutional right; for it cannot be too often emphasized that the exercise of the privilege not to incriminate oneself does not prove guilt. . .

"The proposed statute would penalize the exercise of the constitutional right, and would introduce a form of compulsion in violation of the constitutional provisions. . . . It would seem that the proposed statute would practically destroy the constitutional right of certain persons to engage in the occupation of teaching for no other reason than that they had exercised another constitutional right—the right not to incriminate themselves. . . . If it is constitutional to prohibit a teacher from private employment on the ground that he has availed himself of his right not to incriminate himself, it would seem that it would be equally constitutional to prohibit on the same ground a lawyer from practicing his profession, or a reporter or editor from being employed by a newspaper or magazine, or perhaps even a clergyman from entering into an engagement with a church. Perhaps these and many other occupations have almost, if not quite, as great opportunity to influence public opinion as have teachers. The Supreme Court of the United States in a somewhat different connection said, 'If the state may compel the surrender of one constitutional right as a condition of its favor, it may, in like manner, compel a surrender of all. It is inconceivable that guarantees embedded in the Constitution of the United States may thus be manipulated out of existence.'"

Clearly this opinion goes to the heart of the most urgent aspect of civil liberties in the United States today. To say that a citizen has a constitutional right but that he may exercise it only under penalty of forfeiting his right to earn a living, is to subvert, in the most literal sense, the Constitution of the United States.

● Once sanctioned by government, informal blacklists have a tendency to spread. The witch hunt began with the blacklisting of "reds," "Communists," and "Fifth Amendment Communists." Now Georgia's Attorney General has announced that he will seek the discharge of any public-school teacher who is a member of or contributor to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. T. L. Carlton, a member of the staff of the American Federation of Labor on assignment in Atlanta, has pointed out, quite correctly, that if such an order is valid, the state could "bar from employment any person for no other reason than that the individual belonged to a certain church, club, fraternal order, or labor organization operating under democratic principles. The whole concept of democracy and freedom as we understand it is at stake." In another case, in which the A. F. of L. is also vitally interested, a similar use has been made of the blacklist in an effort to undermine the tenure and constitutional rights of teachers. In California, the State Federation of Teachers is up in arms over the discharge of Mae Galarza, wife of Ernesto Galarza, vice-president and research and educational director of the Agricultural Workers Union—A. F. of L.—from the public schools of San Jose. The principal "charge" against Mrs. Galarza seems to be that since she is the wife of a well-known labor leader she might be inclined to reflect labor attitudes in the classroom. In both these cases, as in the case of the sorely harassed American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, a large number of whose members have been subpoenaed by the House Committee on Un-American Activities for the offense of having incurred the ill will of that self-designated inquisitorial organization, AWARE, the American Federation of Labor now finds itself in the position of having to resist witch-hunting pressures which threaten the existence of the unions under attack.

● Through a slow but inexorable process, ever-larger sections of the American public are being taught from harsh experience that the rights guaranteed by the first ten amendments are cognate, interrelated, interdependent rights, no one of which can be destroyed without weakening the entire constitutional structure of which they are the main girders. Once government is permitted to blacklist citizens, as in the listing of "subversive" organizations, the practice spreads. States, counties, and cities are copying the federal practice and private organizations, from business corporations to semi-public institutions, begin to adopt the same methods and practices. Tenants in federal-housing projects, citizens called for jury duty, veterans applying for tax-exemption, and applicants for employment in many industries, are required to affirm under oath that they have never belonged to any organization on "the list," and the list, in turn, grows like the green bay tree. The courts are

(Continued on Page 121)

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The Shape of Things

How to Stop Demagogues

Judge Edward Weinfeld's decision dismissing the contempt-of-Congress indictments against Corliss Lamont, Abraham Unger, and Albert Shadowitz represents a stunning victory for civil liberties. A section of the press seems determined to minimize the scope of the victory by headlining the misinformation that the decision was based on a "technicality." There is nothing technical or formal about the point on which Judge Weinfeld dismissed the indictments. The Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Senate Committee on Government Operations was, he found, never authorized to conduct hearings of the kind that resulted in these contempt proceedings. Challenged repeatedly by Philip Wittenberg, Mr. Lamont's counsel, to produce evidence to show such authorization, government counsel could not produce it. What this means is that Senator McCarthy's free-swinging assault on civil liberties was not only ruthless and brutal but lawless as well. Specifically it means that the other contempt cases arising out of McCarthy's hearings must also be dismissed. Great credit goes to the three individuals who brought about this test by directly and courageously challenging the subcommittee's authority on grounds other than the Fifth Amendment. *The Nation* takes special satisfaction in Judge Weinfeld's decision by reason of the fact that it was Philip Wittenberg's article in this publication (How To Stop the Demagogues, May 9, 1953; see, also, Challenge to McCarthy by Corliss Lamont, December 12, 1953), which initiated discussion and interest in the possibility of testing the committee's powers under the separation-of-authority doctrine and under the First Amendment.

"No Specific Therapy"

Reports reaching us from Tokyo of the international conference of scientists held there in early June on the effects of atomic radiation underscore the importance of Dr. Nishiwaki's article on page 111 of this issue as well as our review of "Hiroshima Diary" (page 117). The Tokyo conference was sponsored by a group of private Japanese physicians headed by Dr. Hideo Kumabe, director of the Japan Tuberculosis Prevention Association, and Dr. Masao Tsuzuki, director of the Japan Red Cross Hospital. In attendance were scientists from Belgium, West Germany, Chile, Italy, Britain, France, China, and the Soviet Union. The American scientists scheduled to participate did not attend. The fact that press coverage was restricted to the eight largest Japanese papers, Japan's Kyodo News Service, and the government radio station would indicate that the conference was primarily scientific and that attempts to turn it to propaganda purposes were discouraged. The agenda included visits to *Fukuryu-Maru,* the vessel showered with radioactive dust from Bikini, the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission, and tours of Nara, Kyoto, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki. At the conclusion of the sessions, a preliminary report was adopted which treats the experience of the twenty-three members of the crew of the fishing boat as merely an incident in the widespread contamination, described by Dr. Nishiwaki, that came in the wake of the Bikini blast. The radioactivity of the rain resulted in measurable contamination of many kinds of crops in different parts of Japan, including tea, maize, and garden vegetables. On the basis of the Japanese experience, the report states, there is simply no way by which adequate medical and auxiliary personnel can be provided to care for the victims of a major atomic blast: "Even for the adequate treatment of the 34,000 surviving cases of burns caused by the old-fashioned bomb used at Hiroshima, thousands of doctors and nurses would have been required." On the major problem of radiation, the report is grimly simple: "There is no specific therapy for radiation sickness. Treatment is only supportive and symptomatic."

Washington's Indispensable Man

Before accepting Malcolm Purcell's article on the political catastrophe that impends in Georgia (page 115), we checked his analysis and conclusions with several experienced Southern journalists and politicians. We regret to report their agreement that if an election were to be held in Georgia this year, Herman Talmadge would defeat Senator George for the Democratic nomination. In view of the respect that Senator George universally enjoys, and his long tenure of office, this seems hard to believe. But we are assured that the danger is real.

At the moment, Senator George is the indispensable man in Washington. It has been his influence and initiative, rather than the President's or Mr. Dulles's, which has given a new affirmative emphasis to American policy. He is indispensable not merely because of his great influence in the Senate; he has a shrewd insight into foreign affairs, a canny sense of timing, and the

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ability to identify the basic issues in any situation. An honest man, he has never given the slightest indication of believing that guile and deception were essential to the success of any statesmanlike endeavor. He is, moreover, profoundly devoted to the cause of peace and conveys to others a sense of this conviction.

In a word, Senator George would make an excellent Secretary of State. Mr. Dulles's outlook, perspective, and style are not attuned to the post-Geneva world; his methods are as obsolete as his values. The difference between the two men is not in the degree of their conservatism—both are profoundly conservative—but in their markedly different attitudes toward American policy and how foreign affairs should be conducted. It would be unfortunate if Talmadge were to replace Senator George in the Senate but Georgia's and the nation's loss could be offset if Georgia's elder statesman were to stay on in Washington as Secretary of State. To be sure, the election is a year removed but time will not remedy the limitations and inadequacies of Mr. Dulles. Senator George has the qualities of a conservative statesman of the old school; Mr. Dulles has the qualities of a shrewd corporation lawyer.

The Balloting in Malaya

The Alliance Party has won the first national elections ever held in the Federation of Malaya (see Sam A. Jaffe's article on page 114 of this issue). In a quiet and orderly balloting, the Alliance seems to have walked off with most of the fifty-two seats that have been set aside for elected members in the ninety-eight-member Federal Legislative Council. On December 25, last year, *The Nation* carried an article by T. H. Tan, the distinguished Malayan journalist and secretary of the Malayan Chinese Association, which dealt with the background and composition of the Alliance party. The Alliance is a coalition of Malays, Chinese, and Indians, and came into being as a result of the merger of the Malayan Chinese Association (M. C. A.) and the United Malay National Organization (U. M. N. O.). Efforts to disrupt the coalition have been numerous but, as the results of the election demonstrate, the party has survived the first test of the unity of Chinese and Malayan elements upon which it is based. Its success augurs well for the growth of political stability in Malaya.

Office Note

One day last month Gladys Whiteside retired as copy editor of *The Nation*, a position she had held since January 1, 1930. Her long tenure is a measure, but a most inadequate one, of Mrs. Whiteside's remarkable service to this publication. On a weekly with a small staff, the copy editor's position is pivotal: editing copy, reading proof, making up the paper, seeing each issue through the press. Mrs. Whiteside served as editorial midwife for 1,300 issues of *The Nation*. She is hereby exonerated, formally and forever, from responsibility for any typos, boners, or howlers in the issues making up the volumes of *The Nation* for the quarter century of her faithful and efficient service. The desk and chair of Gladys Whiteside remain untenanted in this office; we can find no one around here audacious enough to use either.

For the Tourist

THE UNITED STATES is well on its way to being the most hep on Reds of any country in the world. Last December a patriotic and philanthropic citizen of Ithaca, New York, founded the Ithaca Reading Room Against Communism for the convenience of anyone who wanted to find the works of Senators McCarthy and Jenner, Messrs. Merwin K. Hart, John T. Flynn, David Schine, Roy Cohn, William F. Buckley, Jr., *et al* all in one convenient place. In May, two retired F. B. I. officials announced plans for a similar library on a grander scale to be opened soon in Washington, D. C. This one will include the works of real live Communists, like the *Daily Worker.* In June the New York *Times* announced that the large Ringling mansion in Oak Ridge, New Jersey, once the winter headquarters of the Ringling circus, will be taken over by a Roman Catholic organization as a kind of watch tower from which to observe events behind the iron curtain.

It is to be hoped that this trend will break through its present confines in the East and that ultimately no summer tourist will ever be more than a few hours' drive from a clean, well-kept anti-Communist reading room approved by the U. A. C. (Un-American Activities Committee.) There might even be developed anti-Red drive-in libraries manned by Hollywood starlets chosen by AWARE, that self-appointed guardian of radio and TV political morals. Imagine the joy of having ready to hand, after a hard day's drive, a copy of "Witness" or a whole three months' supply of Westbrook Pegler with which to relax! The idea so fascinated us that we asked Douglas F. Dowd, an occasional contributor to *The Nation,* who teaches at Cornell University at Ithaca, to drop into the Reading Room Against Communism to see how this prototype is making out.

"THE library," Mr. Dowd reports to us, "is staffed by volunteers. On the day of my visit the staff consisted of two pleasant elderly people who gave gracious assistance when I asked for it. The tables and shelves are packed with a really impressive array of right-wing literature through which runs an insistent negative note: against taxes, against T. V. A., against F. D. R., against (even more) Eleanor, against Eisenhower, against public spending, against most schools. There is even material against communism.

"When I asked the attendants how the library was doing I was told, in a genuinely wistful tone, 'People haven't shown as much interest as we had hoped. Guess these things take time to catch on.' As I left I was asked to sign their register. In the preceding three weeks there had been only ten entries, including my own. One of the attendants apparently sensed that I was counting the entries, and she said—as much to herself as to me, I thought—'Some people forget to sign their names.' "

Ah well, it is summer and the cold war is thawing just a little. Maybe the whole idea ought to be postponed for a little while.

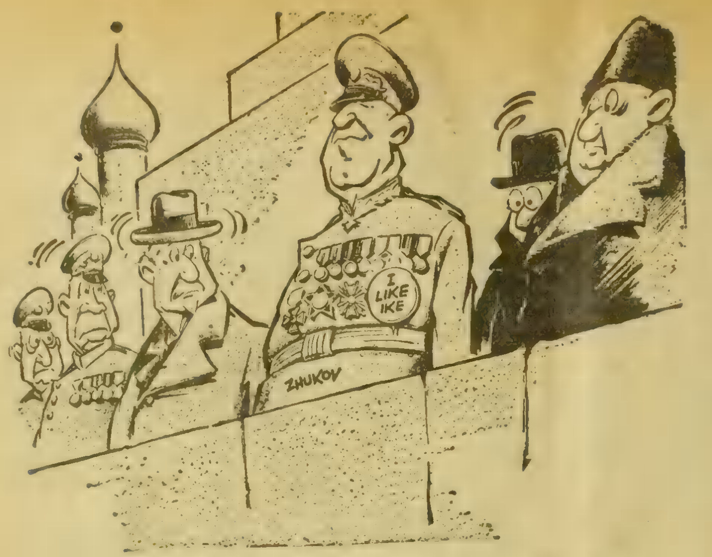
GENEVA BALANCE SHEET

Weighing The Results . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

Geneva

THE BIG FOUR conference has brought increased prestige to this city, home of the European headquarters of the United Nations and the perennial site of important diplomatic developments. Geneva can boast that it brought peace to Indo-China, and a turning point in the cold war, all within a year; and in October it will again play host to the Big Four—this time at the foreign ministers' level—at which further dramatic developments are within the realm of the possible. This city was chosen, too, as the site for the meeting of Ambassadors from the United States and Communist China, an event which many experts here believe may be the beginning of an Eastern rapprochement for which, if it comes to pass, Geneva must be given a very large share of credit.

There is no doubt that the Swiss atmosphere has a calming effect on diplomats, which is why they like to come here when they are of a mind for constructive work. When, during the night hours of July 22 and for a good part of the following day, the four foreign ministers appeared deadlocked on all important issues, there was a minimum of excitement. I watched carefully during that period of relative uncertainty; I say "relative" because it seemed to me preposterous that after the good will and cordiality shown around the "summit" table the conference would be permitted to go to smash in the hands of subordinates. The joy of the enemies of the conference —the representatives of the Adenauer and the Franco press, for example—



Conrad in the Denver Post

Something new has been added!

lasted exactly fourteen hours. Then there came word to the press room: "Agreement has been reached on all points; in a few minutes the Geneva conference will be history."

So the continuation of negotiations to reduce world tensions was assured. Perhaps the most unrestrained comment came from Leonid Ilyichev, Soviet press chief, who preceeded his final briefing with the remark, "The conference has come to a victorious end." Certainly the directives given to the foreign ministers for their October meeting were clear and precise, yet elastic enough to permit of hope that the discussions on European security, Germany, disarmament, and the development of contacts between East and West will come to an equally "victorious end" sooner or later.

MANY diplomats permanently stationed here are of a mind to put the scheduled talks between China and the United States as one of the most outstanding achievements of Geneva. "Surely," they argue, "had the Geneva meeting been conducted in a less cordial atmosphere, the chances for a rapprochement between Peking and Washington might have disappeared altogether." Of course, the Far East was not on the Geneva agenda, but then some of the most important results of the conference lay in the field of intangibles which had little to do with the actual agenda. For instance, in the conference aftermath diplomats are discussing the restrained manner in which the Big Four conducted their debates—for the first time in years of East-West meetings disagreement was not accompanied by charge and counter-charge of malice, bad faith, or intrigue. It was perhaps this fact which led George Bidault, former French premier and foreign minister, to write in *Le Journal de Geneve:* "The cold war is buried." The comment is the more remarkable because it comes from one who, during his tenure in office, never did much to hasten its burial.

It must not be forgotten, moreover, that it was at Geneva that Eden proffered to Kruschchev and Bulganin an invitation to visit Great Britain next spring. The Russians' acceptance electrified not only the House of Commons but all of Europe. For the first time since before World War II the heads of the Russian state are prepared to meet with the West on the West's home ground.

Another of the conference's constructive aspects was the emphasis put on disarmament. In this respect the delegates were encouraged by the turn for the better which had taken place in the recent debates of the U. N. disarmament subcommittee in London. President Eisenhower's dramatic offer to exchange the freedom of the skies with the Soviet Union caught the world's imagination, but other suggestions were also advanced which in the end may prove more fruitful. All plans, including President Eisenhower's, will be on the agenda as the subcommittee reconvenes in New York on August 29—in plenty of time to have a report ready for the foreign ministers' meeting in October.

THERE WERE those here who regretted that the President's suggestion did not provoke a prompt acceptance by the Russians and received only perfunctory treatment in the Soviet press. But experienced diplomats doubt the practicality of the proposal even though they are inclined to evaluate it highly in psychological terms as a moving and sincere gesture of good will. Even so pro-American a newspaper as the London *Daily Telegraph* expressed strong misgivings. "[The President's] plan has nothing to do with disarmament," the newspaper wrote editorially. "Even if it were accepted by the Russians—which seems unlikely—it would be of limited practical importance. The disadvantage of reaching for the skies is that you are satisfied with nothing else." Some British delegates emphasized that the President's was "an American, not a Western, offer," and they remarked somewhat ruefully that it seemed to have overshadowed the more modest but more realistic proposals advanced by Sir Anthony Eden aimed at inspecting armaments and creating a demilitarized zone in the heart of Europe.

Heading the negative aspects of the conference, of course, was the impasse on German unification and the problem of European security. While the final directive achieved a compromise by giving both subjects equal priority on the foreign ministers' agenda, Marshal Bulganin made it quite plain, before he left Geneva, that the Kremlin remained as firm as ever in its determination to reject any plan that would permit the entry of a unified Germany into the Western military coalition. Perhaps the Soviet Premier was strengthened in his stand by reports which spread through Geneva of an off-the-record interview here which Felix von Eckardt, West Germany's observer at the United Nations, gave to a restricted group of pro-Adenauer newspapermen. In three years, Mr. Eckardt is reported to have said, the Federal Republic will be so strong militarily that it will be able itself to take care of the Russians if they persist in sabotaging unification.

IT MAY be useful at this point to summarize the three basic positions on the German problem which in one form or another will be advocated at the October meeting of the foreign ministers:

The Western thesis. Washington, supported in varying degrees by London and Paris, is demanding unification of Germany immediately on the basis of free elections. This unified Germany would be free to choose membership in NATO—i.e., military alliance with the West. Few doubt that a Unified Germany would so choose, at least so long as Chancellor Adenauer remains at the helm of government.

The Soviet thesis. The division of Germany should be maintained until a collective system of European security can be established with the participation of all the states of Europe as well as of the United States. Pending the setting up of such a system, which it is admitted would take considerable time, there should be a transition stage during which peace would be secured through the signing of a non-aggression pact between NATO and the signatories of the Pact of Warsaw.

The Neutralist thesis. Germany should be unified under conditions precluding its membership in any bloc, East or West. This was the condition established for East-West agreement on the independence of Austria, and at one time reflected the Kremlin's own attitude on Germany. There will be no real spokesman for the neutralist program at the foreign ministers' conference but there is widespread popular support for it in Western Europe, especially in France, and it will unquestionably exert some influence on the course of the debate.

While these represent the basic divergencies on the solution of the German problem, other suggestions have been advanced which offer hope of ultimate compromise. The British for instance are less wedded than the Americans to the advisability of pressing for "broad" resolutions of the vexing issue. They advocated at Geneva and no doubt will continue to advocate a step-by-step approach. They argued, as an example, for the possibility of a narrow demilitarization zone in a unified Germany which could serve as a buffer between the two blocs. They have also argued in favor of a collective-security pact to which the signatories would be the major states of Europe rather than all the European states.

In the balance, Geneva comes out very well. It has put new heart in those who believe that peace can be achieved through negotiation and it will encourage them to renew their pressures when the foreign ministers meet here in October in an attempt to translate promise into fulfillment.

THE FILM YOU WON'T SEE

Unofficial Censors at Work . . *by Keith Irvine*

THE lights go out. The projector hums, and the screen comes alive. Strange images appear, jumbled together. Curses are hurled as a jeep rushes down a tropical street, veering round a corner in a shower of mud. The dangling legs of a hanging man are seen. A naked little boy, with finger in mouth, stares innocently. There has been an accident of some kind. People run. A mestizo woman harangues an angry crowd. Somebody has been killed. An old man is struck on the mouth with a rock. There is talk of trade unions, homosexuality, oil fires, life and death. What are we viewing? A surrealist film? Shots taken with a concealed camera? Reflections of the ferment in South America? No, this is a special presentation of scenes cut from the film "Wages of Fear" before it was distributed in the United States.

"Wages of Fear," based on a novel by Georges Arnaud, was made by the French director Henri Georges Clouzot. It was released in Europe in 1953 and carried off the Grand Prix at the Cannes film festival. In 1954 the British critics chose it as the film of the year. It tells of a nightmare drive by four drivers in two trucks, each carrying a load of nitroglycerine, over three hundred miles of rough Venezuelan roads. Because the danger is so great, each driver is to be paid $2,000 at the end of the journey—if he reaches the end. The film is remarkable for the high tension which Clouzot generates and inducts into his audiences. It deals with the metamorphosis of human personality under the stress of prolonged and mortal fear. In developing this situation Clouzot has gone as far as any artist can go in revealing the totality of man's condition.

"Wages of Fear" was shown in this country early in the year, but it was not the film that Clouzot made. It was a mutilated version of that film—no less than twenty-two minutes of essential action had been cut. What is left is still a gripping thriller, but the qualities which evoked the admiration of audiences abroad have been excised.

The most significant fact about the censoring of "Wages of Fear" is that the censor was not responsible. He did snip out two shots—one of a nude woman in a shower who moves a towel to find a scorpion; one, following a moment of indescribable tension, of the drivers urinating in a crater after they had blown a rock from their path. But the distributors made the main cuts. Having heard that the film was "anti-American," that it dealt with homosexuality, that it expressed "dangerous

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KEITH IRVINE is editor of a bi-monthly newsletter, Africa Today.

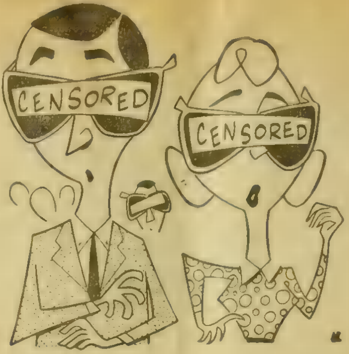
thoughts," they decided it must be "tightened up a little." Unfortunately, in the "tightening" process, the essence of the film was strangled. This type of censorship is obviously worse than one imposed by officialdom. It is censorship inspired by fear itself.

The cuts are revelatory because they were of scenes representing aspects of life which are approached directly abroad but from which our society tends to avert its eyes. What aspects are these? What are we hiding from ourselves?

The most obvious—and in a sense the most innocuous—object of the cutter's attentions was what we are wont to refer to as "sex." In the version shown here the figures on the screen never transcend the bounds of conventional filmic amorality. Yet it was precisely because Clouzot went beyond these bounds to include fresh areas of reality that his work gained its reputation for unusual sincerity.

More symptomatic is the removal of the social dimension. Shots establishing the poverty of the indigenous population have been cut; we do not see the naked child, and our attention is diverted from the unpaved streets and the squalor. Poverty appears only in glamorized form—as in the cafe which, deprived of the full background, generates merely an atmosphere of romantic exoticism in which any would-be Steinbeck or Hemingway could safely go slumming without modifying his outlook on the world. Similarly, in the mutilated version the truckdrivers are just unemployed drifters, for the sequences that showed they were not responsible for their fate have been deleted. They are simply bums out of work in a Latin American town. In the original, however, they are men out of work because the oil company has taken over the port—in return for a large sum of money which the local government has misappropriated.

Most typical of all is the elimination of references to trade unions. That "the company" and "the union" are groups with conflicting interests is evidently a controversial concept and therefore an invitation to the scissors. It seems, moreover, that "the company" should never be placed in a position where its actions may be unfavorably interpreted. Thus the comment made at a board meeting that "those bums don't have any union. . . . Besides, they'll work for peanuts" was presumably too indigestible for our delicate constitutions and was removed from the record.



The deletions have also affected the portrayal of our standing abroad. Anything which hints at friction between the local population and "the company" is not for general release. That explains the cutting of the scene in which the woman harangues the crowd and the sequences of incipient rioting after news comes that natives have been killed or hurt in the explosion which starts the oil fire. The cutter's eagerness to perpetuate an autosuggested sense of security is reminiscent of the haste with which the American engineer in Arnaud's original novel works to repair his car radio so that his contact with a safe outside world will blot out the hostile world immediately around him. The moment that the radio stopped, reality came bursting in.

Aesthetically also the film has been seriously damaged. To cut it down to the level of commercial entertainment, its philosophy and its insights into character have been amputated, leaving no more than sheer physical suspense. Bimba, the homosexual German who fought in the Spanish Civil War, remains a hero but is stricken speechless. One character—a young Italian who hangs himself after being tricked out of the high-paid driving job—vanished from the film entirely. Another, Mario, appears to American audiences as a strong silent man who will push on to the goal come hell or high water. No hint is given of the remorse which in the original film causes him to hesitate and stop, at the worst place on the road, after the front wheels of the truck have passed over his mate's leg. Joe, the mate, apparently dies as a result of the injury. Yet the main philosophical message of Clouzot's film is that Joe gives way to death because, unlike the three others, he has not the strength to impose his own purpose upon a purposeless universe.

"Wages of Fear" has been called anti-American because it shows the friction between an American company on foreign soil and the local population. Of course other than American companies find themselves in that kind of situation, and Clouzot has dealt with the problem without prejudice. Take his attitude toward O'Brien, the head of the American company in the South American town. O'Brien is not a propaganda figure; he is a man who tries to be both loyal to his company and fair to his employees. Seeing the necessity of transporting the nitroglycerine to the oil field, he does not boggle at the thought of sending men to their probable deaths any more than does a commander in battle. On the other hand he makes every effort to warn them of their danger and to insure their safety along the way. Those who condemn the film as "anti-American" are avoiding consideration of the real problem it poses.

The original version of "Wages of Fear" contained truths which for the sake of American security should be cried from the rooftops, not repressed. The cutting of the film was no doubt an instinctive reaction—like that of the mythical ostrich which buries its head in the sand. But how long can we afford to play ostrich? How long before we are forced to come up for air?

DEATH IN THE RAIN

A Report from Japan . . *by Yasuhi Nishiwaki*

[*The date of this issue of* The Nation—*August 6—marks the tenth anniversary of Hiroshima. The following article by a prominent Japanese scientist and the review of "Hiroshima Diary" which will be found on page 117 are therefore particularly timely. Dr. Nishiwaki is on the faculty of the Department of Biophysics of the Osaka University School of Medicine and his article first appeared, in somewhat different form, in the Bulletin of the Medical Association for the Prevention of War, published in London.*

The Nation *intends to bring to its readers as often as possible similar authoritative comment on the dangers inherent in the continued testing of nuclear and thermonuclear bombs.*—THE EDITORS.]

Osaka, Japan

EARLY in March, 1954, we found a small article in a Japanese newspaper stating that on March 1 a thermonuclear test explosion had been conducted at Bikini; but only a few specialists in that field paid any particular attention to it. On the morning of March 16, we saw a big headline in the newspaper *Yomiuri* to the effect that a Japanese fishing boat called the *Fukuryu-Maru,* which had returned to the Japanese port of Yaizu two days previously, was found to have been showered by radioactive dust from an H-bomb test while operating about eighty miles east of Bikini, and that twenty-three of the crewmen were suffering from radiation sickness and some had had to be sent to the hospital. One has since died.

We were asked by the public-health department of the Osaka city government to examine the fish. We brought some samples to the laboratory; some were found to be emitting radiation at a rate of more than 10,000 counts per minute per square centimeter of the wet skin, at about two centimeters from the counter window. Subsequently we learned that some tuna emitting radiation at the rate of 6,000-10,000 counts per minute from the wet skin had already been sold in the market and about 200 people in Osaka prefecture were found to have eaten them.

A small amount of radiation occurs naturally and our counter registers about twenty counts per minute from this naturally occurring radiation: *the intensity of radiation to which I have referred is expressed as so many counts per minute above the natural count.*

We decided to go to Yaizu, which is about 150 miles from Osaka, to examine the radiation from the *Fukuryu-Maru* directly. At about thirty yards from the boat we could clearly detect the gamma rays and a few yards from the boat we found that measurements reached the top of the scale on our instrument. We felt it to be rather dangerous to enter the boat without any protection and so we retreated to put on rubber gloves and gauze masks as an emergency minimum protection.

We could not find any white powder on the deck, although it had been reported by the crew that so much powder had fallen on the boat that the deck had appeared entirely white. The deck had, however, been thoroughly washed and so we climbed on to the upper deck of the steering cabin, where we found some brownish dust mixed with a small amount of grayish-white powder.

Returning from the boat we found that our gauze masks were also emitting radiation. Judging from these findings, there is good reason to believe that the fishermen may have inhaled some radioactive dust, besides receiving external radiation and ingesting radioactive dust with food and water. On examination, we found that the following radioactive elements were included in the dust particles: strontium-89, strontium-90, barium-140, lanthanum-140, yttrium-90, cerium-144, praesodymium-144, iodine-132, iodine-131, and so on. When such radioactive dust touches the skin, severe radiation burns are caused by the dense ionization. When it gets into the body by inhalation or ingestion, radioactive strontium, calcium, and barium are deposited in the bones and will continue to emit radiation from the bones for some considerable time. It takes several months to several years before one-half of the amount deposited in bone is eliminated by the processes of metabolism. Therefore, the bone marrow is particularly likely to be severely injured. Radioactive iodine is deposited in the thyroid and may destroy its function.

The dose of radiation received is usually expressed by the product of the intensity of the radiation and its duration. Such radioactive elements as strontium-90 keep emitting radiation for a long time. The symptoms of radiation sickness may, therefore, sometimes appear after a long interval. In Hiroshima a girl who was three years old at the time of the atomic bombing suffered from radiation sickness when she was eleven and died the following year; that is, nine years after the bomb was dropped.

From measurement of the remaining radiation in the cabin of the boat it was estimated that the total dose of external radiation (mostly due to gamma rays) received by some of the seriously injured fishermen during the thirteen days of the voyage might have been almost as much as 300 to 400 roentgen. This is a dose of radiation which, if given to a group of experimental animals, would kill about half of them.

After the explosion of March 1, the test warning area was expanded to a circle 450 miles in radius, and it was subsequently announced that on March 26 and April 6 further bombs were exploded. The area in which radioactive fish were caught expanded gradually, and in the middle of May it was found that some of the fish which were caught 1,875 miles northwest of Bikini were strongly contaminated. Many of the boats that had been working in the South Pacific during the period of the H-bomb tests were also found to be contaminated. Some of the crew of these boats were found to have subnormal leukocyte counts.

On May 15 a Japanese radiation-survey boat, the *Shunkotsu-Maru,* was sent by the government to the South Pacific in order to find safe fishing grounds. The closer the boat approached the Bikini area the greater was the radioactive contamination. In this area many fish were found to be still highly radioactive even in the middle of June. From the liver of a Bonito which was caught on June 19 a radioactivity of 48,000 counts per minute per gram was detected. Minute forms of sea life on which larger fish feed were also found to be contaminated.

It has been found that for man the lethal dose of "whole body irradiation" is of the order of 400-500 roentgen.—Bulletin, Medical Association for the Prevention of War.

In the middle of May unusually radioactive rain fell all over Japan. In Kyoto a radioactivity of 86,000 counts per minute per liter was measured from the initial rainfall on May 16 and an average of about 4,000 counts per minute per liter was obtained from rain which fell on May 17; it was later confirmed that this radioactivity was again due to artificial elements (zirconium-94, niobium-95, strontium-89, barium-140).

After discussing our findings with meteorologists we concluded that the radioactive rainfall all over Japan was primarily due to atomic- or hydrogen-bomb explosions in the area of the South Pacific.

Following the unusually radioactive rainfall it was found, in various parts of Japan, that plants, vegetables, and milk were also contaminated. A small increase in radioactivity was observed in filtered tap water a few days after the fall of radioactive rain. On the mountains, on small isolated islands, and at some of the isolated meteorological stations in Japan the only source of drinking water is rain water. Some of the persons who had been drinking unfiltered rain water at the Muroto promontory meteorological station were found to have unusually low leucocyte counts and people were advised not to drink it directly. *(Yomiuri,* June 1.)

Highly radioactive rain fell on Japan in September and October, 1954; the radioactivity is believed to have been derived from Soviet Union test explosions in the Arctic.—The London Times.

Even in June and early July, considerable radioactivity could still be detected in the rain, and as late as July some fish caught in the South Pacific were also found to be radioactive. A report from Mr. Hessel Tiltman, Tokyo correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian,* said that the highest count to have been reported from a fish which reached the Tokyo market—6,010 from the skin and 18,542 from the fin—was registered at the end of July. *(Manchester Guardian,* August 3.) Even though the proportion of fish which had to be discarded was 1 per cent or less of all the fish examined, the fact that some continued to be contaminated created a serious public-health problem.

From the point of view of genetics it is important to keep the level of radiation to which a human population is exposed as close as is possible to the natural level. In this respect I would like to refer to an article on Mammalian Radiation Genetics by W. L. Russell, Biology Division, Oak Ridge National Laboratory. According to Dr. Russell, the genetic effects of exposure to radiation are of particular importance because they have several unique features:

1. Under certain conditions the breaking of a chromosome may occasionally heal and there is the remote possibility of a "reverse mutation" occurring, but, in general, there is no healing of the damage.

2. The damage is transmitted to descendants.

3. The damage is hidden for a long time before it becomes manifest—in the case of recessive mutations, for many generations.

4. There is no threshold dose. In other words, genetic changes may be expected at any dose, no matter how small.

This last point is particularly relevant to the drawing up of safety measures against the effects of radiation in human populations. If there is no threshold dose, then a so-called "tolerance" dose is not one which produces no genetic effect, but only one which does not add a "serious" increase to the effects that already occur as a result of natural radiation and other causes.

It is said that the American Atomic Energy Commission has set the permissible level for radioactive substances following the dropping of atomic or hydrogen bombs at a few thousand times larger than the level given in the handbook of the National Bureau of Standards of the United States. If we take the military point of view, from which some injuries to some persons may be considered unavoidable, we may obviously allow a much higher level for the "permissible" radioactivity. From the standpoint of medical science, however, every effort should be made to save even a single life.

Because of past bombings we have to assume that quite an appreciable proportion of the Japanese people have already received a considerable amount of radiation in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Consequently, since at least some of the effects of radiation may be cumulative, the problem of repeated H-bomb tests may be more serious for the people of Japan than for the people of other countries. We therefore feel it our right and our duty and responsibility to appeal strongly to all the people of the world, so that those who have not as yet experienced the tragedies produced should not suffer even greater damage in the future.

> *What is not a "serious" dose for an individual may be extremely serious when applied to a whole population. . . . The marriage of affected persons may produce . . . recessive mutations.—Bulletin, Medical Association for the Prevention of War.*

We feel that it is very important, however, not to confuse the campaign against nuclear weapons with anti-American feeling. The hatred of one group of people for another provides in itself an excuse for the production of weapons of mass destruction and for experimentation with them. It is certainly not the intention of the author that any part of this paper should be used for the purpose of intensifying hatred against any group of people.

SOME observers say that atomic and hydrogen bombs are nothing but the logical extension of the past "conventional" type of weapon and that to scare people unduly over the new weapons is not right. This idea is usually put forward by people who are trying to justify the use of these weapons. The author does not desire to scare people unduly, but it seems to be the correct attitude in treating any matter concerning human life to try to assess all the dangers which present knowledge suggests are possible.

The author wishes to point out the following possibilities concerning the use of atomic weapons:

1. Even the people of non-belligerent countries may be endangered by receiving a considerable amount of radioactive fall-out from heavy atomic or hydrogen bombing of neighboring countries.

2. The probability of having abnormal children may increase with the increase of exposure to radiation.

3. There is a danger of effects induced by radiation being transmitted to descendants. Thus even

E:mc^2

I

Alone with an equation in a plain room, the moon pouring
protons
Pursuing truth in a lonely room, nuclei nibble his fingertips.
The moon washes the white page.

No roots suck life from the dead craters of the moon, no
tendrils tease that lifeless air.
In the moon's valleys no rills, pocked and parched her hills,
pitted like eyeless sockets.
And no brain thinks.

Einstein! Newton!
Einstein! Newton!

In a lonely room a pencil pours protons on a white page.

II

The answer is: dispersion.
Factories, hospitals, powerhouses, people, convents, banks,
garages, stock exchanges dispersed
To reduce vulnerability, thus making attack by fusion
uneconomical, therefore unattractive.
As buildings deteriorate, they must not be replaced but abandoned,
the residents evacuated.
The best design for a city threatened by fusion attack is the
following: a b c, x y z, 1 2 3.
We must proceed at once,
delay is fatal.
The necessary laws must be passed at once,
They must be rigidly enforced as soon as passed,
A vast program for education of the people must be undertaken
at once,
delay is fatal.

The President said.
The Commission said.
Bethe, Fermi, Oppenheimer said.
Bush, Conant. Baruch. A secretary and two Senators said.
I said:
I love my child's flesh so well
I would wish it to remain on my child's
arm
Unharmed. Unrent, unripped.
I love my wife well enough
To wish her well, alive.
Since my life is all I have to love my
child and wife with,
I love my life well enough to wish to
keep it.

III

Racine! Vermeer!
Protons pouring;
Reactors;
On quiet pages, detonation.
Night. Bright lie the sleeping barracks, the radar-wrapped
coasts.
Far out where the surf is born, a sub's eye forms its narrow
wake;
Below, the snub-nosed sub proposes destiny.
Bright, bright, bright rains the moon on the streaming decks,
and a lost gull screams
As from the launching platform soars the final trajectory;
In one fused and arching instant, the world's smoking end.

Milton! Newton! Leeuwenhoek!

MILTON SPEISER

after the end of a war, the tragedies accruing from the reckless wartime use of nuclear weapons may not cease.

4. We have no guarantee that some type of nuclear bomb, even greater than that exploded on March 1 at Bikini, will not be produced in the future.

In view of these points, we see no reason why the prohibition of nuclear weapons should not be considered a logical extension of the past restrictions on bacterial warfare and poison gas.

During the last war some of our scientists, who were informed about the possibility of the successful construction of the atom bomb in the United States, had the impression that even if the bomb were made it would not be used. The war, however, ended with atomic bombing and it now seems likely that a future war would begin with the dropping of much more destructive hydrogen bombs unless action is immediately taken to prevent it. In the present situation, the abolition of nuclear weapons and the establishment of effective international control of atomic energy seems an almost impossible task for scientists, but these problems cannot be left unsolved indefinitely. They concern the future fate of human life, and their solution must be attained on the basis of international cooperation at the highest level.

RESTIVE MALAYA

Driving for Independence . . *by Sam A. Jaffe*

Singapore

THE recent violent death of United Press correspondent Gene Symonds made headlines in America, but here in Malaya the riot in which he was slain received scant notice. Death and insurrection have become commonplace in this British colony, both in the trackless green wastes that comprise four-fifths of Malaya and in the asphalt jungles of this steaming city.

Almost every month British patrols scour the nine states making up the Federation, tracking Communist terrorists. Seven years of such searches have resulted in the capture or killing of an estimated 10,700 terrorists and in the loss of 4,000 British soldiers. But the authorities admit that the numerical strength of the outlaws remains about the same as it was in June, 1948—between four and five thousand.

These marauders, 90 per cent of them Chinese, are scattered throughout Malaya's 53,240 square miles. They are cut off from any central command and each band operates on its own, making periodical raids on rubber plantations, rice fields, and tin mines, slaughtering the European owners and their families. Native villagers have been intimidated into supplying food and clothing and into refusing to cooperate with security forces. Recently, however, the aborigines of mountainous central Malaya have been provisioned and armed by the British. They form a valuable intelligence network and man ten jungle forts.

BHUTAN
PAKISTAN
CHINA
BURMA
Laos
INDO-CHINA
THAILAND
Cambodia
Viet-Nam
FEDERATION OF MALAYA

UNDER the emergency regulations, some 600,000 squatters, 85 per cent of whom are Chinese, were moved from all parts of Malaya to centrally located villages. The mass resettlement program was undertaken in March, 1950, and completed almost three years later. There is little doubt that the Government's action has helped its program against the Reds, but it has denied the squatters their civil rights. A representative of the Peoples' Action Party, a left-wing Malayan political organization, said at Bandung, where he came to champion Malayan independence, that the new villages were on the order of "concentration camps with barbed wire and strong arc lights which illuminate the site." He said that a curfew is imposed from 7 p. m. to 6 a. m., and that all persons leaving the camp are thoroughly searched by security forces. There are 486 of these camps in Malaya today.

The ceaseless patrols, the recruitment of natives, and the rupture of Communist lines of supply and command have reduced the number of mass killings considerably. In 1951, at the peak of terrorist activity, 500 such incidents occurred monthly. Today there are about fifty or sixty a month. Lieutenant General Geoffrey Bourne, who directs British security operations, expects a further weakening of the Red forces to result from the flight of their reputed leader, General Chin Peng. Chin, formerly secretary of the Malayan Communist Party, is believed to be hiding across the border in Thailand. His desertion from the field is being broadcast to terrorists by leaflets dropped in the jungles.

THE Communists declare that their tactics have been directed toward gaining independence for Malaya, but the result has been to provide the British with an excellent excuse for remaining. "How can we leave these people to be swallowed up by communism?" asked one colonial official. "We owe the Malays protec-

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tion. They'll get their self-government, but not before all the terrorists are removed."

But many Malays feel that only world opinion will force England to quit the peninsula. As one put it, "They got out of India, but Indian nationalism was strong and there was unity among the people. And, frankly speaking, England lost nothing materially when it gave India to the Indians. I wonder what the situation would have been if India had been a country rich in rubber and tin—I wonder if England would have given up so easily?"

Reinforcing Malayan cynicism is the fact that an estimated 80 per cent of the Federation's wealth is in British hands; despite the billions spent in recent years on jungle warfare, it remains a profitable possession. After more than a century of British rule, British efforts to prepare the natives for independence started late and have a great distance to go. There is no Malay institution of university standard, and only three high schools. The great majority of the six million people are illiterate fishermen and rice growers. The rising cost of living fans discontent and desire for home rule.

THE admixture of nationalities in Malaya further complicates the problem. The Chinese, who began migrating to the country in 1870, now hold substantial wealth and power. Their numbers have increased, and their sympathies in many cases lie with Red China. There is also a sizeable Indian minority, which adds to the difficulty of achieving unified expression of public sentiment.

However, when the British granted free elections in Singapore recently, the Chinese Malayan Association and the United Malay National Organization formed an alliance to gain dominance. They, as well as other political parties which drew support in a remarkably large turnout of voters, are committed to gaining independence.

The British say, however, that a majority of these parties have told them that, even when independence is achieved, Malaya would like to remain part of the Commonwealth, with the added guarantee that British forces remain in the country as protection. David Marshall, chief minister of Singapore, said, "There is no question in the mind of any reasonable person that we are undoubtedly on the road to independence at an early date and to self-government within four years." He asserted that delaying tactics on the issue would seriously prejudice the position of Singapore and its faith in the integrity of Britain, "but we must concentrate our energies on how best we can efficiently govern this territory when we get self-government."

GEORGE OF GEORGIA

The Talmadge Threat . . *by Malcolm Purcell*

Thomson, Georgia

IN GEORGIA the name of Talmadge is synonymous with politics; the name of George is synonymous with the United States Senate. It became definite that these two names will be merged in another of the tempestuous political campaigns for which this state is famous when Senator Walter F. George recently announced that he plans to stand for reelection in 1956. Former Governor Herman Talmadge, though unannounced, is considered a certain candidate for this post.

Editorial writers have speculated that George's early announcement—the primary is over a year away—is an attempt to halt rumors, circulated chiefly by Talmadge adherents, that his age and health were such that he would be forced to retire, thus allowing Governor Marvin Griffin, whom Talmadge supported last summer, to appoint the latter to George's seat in the Senate. Griffin has stated that he would hold hands off in case of a George-Talmadge race, but it will be remembered that Talmadge made a similar public statement regarding the gubernatorial campaign last summer.

Assuming the race to be only between George and Talmadge, it is a paradox that whichever is the winner in this solidly Democratic state, the Republicans in the Senate will profit. George, a strong conservative, has often voted with them in the past. Talmadge in a recent speech praised the proposed Bricker Amendment and criticized "dollar diplomacy," which apparently places him with the right-wing Bricker-Jenner section of the Republican Party.

Should Talmadge defeat George, he will accomplish something his father, the late Eugene Talmadge was unable to do in two tries. Gene was defeated by Senator Richard B. Russell in 1934 and by George in 1938. It would be easy to compare a Herman Talmadge-Walter George primary fight with the 1938 campaign, but the parallel would go no farther than the names. Then George was the target of the ill-timed "purge" of President Roosevelt, losing votes to the Roosevelt-sponsored entry, Lawrence Camp.

THIS time George, due to the recent legislative aid he has given President Eisenhower, should be able to count on the latter's influence with the so-called "Eisenhower Democrats" of Georgia. This group includes most of the banking interests and many of the biggest business corporations such as Coca-Cola and Georgia Power. It is significant that less than a week after his announcement, Senator George spoke before the annual meeting of the Georgia Bankers' Association. Most of the daily newspapers can also be

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expected to back George all the way.

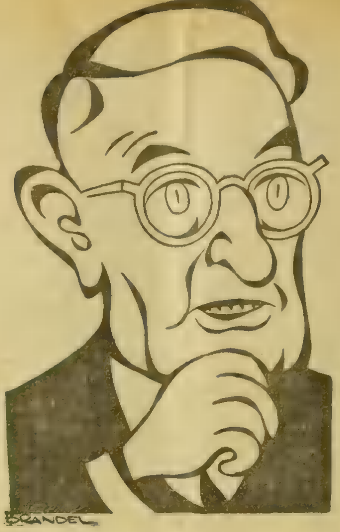
The friendship of business corporations can have its drawbacks for George. The support of this group has in the past caused the term of "corporation man" to be applied to him. Yet this group has also supported the Talmadges in many state races of the past. Some of them might decide that it is better to have a young man favorable to them in the Senate rather than one who is now seventy-seven years old. Strong support from Georgia Power could easily alienate the REA cooperatives, which are now fighting the utilities firm over power rights to Clark Hill Dam.

Senator George's long term of office—he has been in the Senate continuously since 1922—will be an asset on election day; his name has too long held respect in Georgia to be easily marked out. His position as president pro-tem of the Senate and chairman of the important Foreign Relations Committee will draw many voters.

Herman Talmadge has been described as the most powerful political influence in the state. This would seem to be verified by his quiet, behind-the-scenes role in last summer's Democratic primary for governor. His support of Governor Marvin Griffin was the determining factor in the race. Since one political favor calls for another in return, Griffin is expected to support Talmadge. As governor, that support can be considerable. This has a debit side; none of the four losing candidates in the same race are likely to forget their resentment of Talmadge's interference.

BIGGEST factor in Talmadge's bid for the Senate will be his close acquaintance with the road commissioners, ordinaries, and sheriffs of the state's 159 counties. Among these men the thought could easily arise that Talmadge, if defeated by George, might run for governor in 1958. If so he would be a strong favorite. Since being on the winning side in a governor's race is often a matter of life or death to local politicians, this could tend to throw many against George in the senatorial race.

The county-unit system, Georgia's method of holding Democratic primaries, will work to Talmadge's advantage. Both he and his father have profited by their popularity among the more sparsely populated counties, three of whose unit votes can cancel those of Atlanta's Fulton county with a population close to half a million.



Senator George

It is inevitable that the question of segregation, regardless of the Supreme Court's final verdict, will receive more wordage during the campaign than any other matter. This has been true in every race either Gene or Herman has run in the past twenty-five years. At intervals as regular as Democratic primaries, Georgians have been "saved" from the "nigger" by Talmadges. Of course, Senator George will be for segregation too—in Georgia all politicians are—so it will not be a matter of pro and con; it will be a matter of who can shout the loudest.

Here it might be well to compare the younger Herman—he is 41—with his father. Gene was a politician unmatched at the art of swaying a crowd. When he loosened his collar, flipped that black forelock over his forehead, shucked his coat, and popped those red suspenders, the crowd was ready to yell itself hoarse even if he had simply recited Little Red Riding Hood and the Wolf. Despite the possession of a law degree and a keenly intelligent mind, Gene used such terms as "plow a straight furrow" and "steppin' in high cotton" in order to identify himself with the average dirt farmer. It worked so well that he rarely lost a major agricultural county.

Herman's suspenders, you might say, are better tailored but only a shade less red than Gene's. He is a milder and not quite so flamboyant edition of his father. He does not have as much crowd appeal, yet is a smooth and powerful speaker. Where Gene might say from a platform, "I want you boys to elect my friend Charley Redwine governor," Herman says nothing publicly, but gets on the telephone and contacts local politicians.

While governor, Herman added to his prestige by his poised and competent manner on several national TV programs. He "showed them Yankees." This has tended to increase his support from among the swing group, those who in past elections often wavered. This gain offsets an odd and never completely explained fact—Herman has lost strength among the "wool-hat boys," the core of his father's political support.

ONE ACT of Talmadge as governor should, by all political standards, have worked strongly against him: the passage of a three per cent sales tax, despite his campaign promise to defeat it and despite the adverse vote of a state-wide referendum on this matter. The tax bill could hardly have passed the legislature without his support, however indirect. Oddly enough, there was little reaction. Perhaps this was because new revenues were obviously necessary and, for the average voter, the collection of the tax was relatively painless.

Considering that Talmadge became governor for his first short term with little more reason than that he bore his father's name, that he named his successor—something Gene failed to do—and that he placed a tax on Georgians which he campaigned against, it would seem that he is either extremely lucky or a consummate politician. Few Georgians subscribe to the first theory.

Politicians who aren't quite so fast to jump on the Talmadge bandwagon say Herman has never run against a strong opponent. His opposition both times was M. E. Thompson, whose losing race against Marvin Griffin last summer stamped him as somewhat weak. But right now, flipping a coin would be as wise as any other way of guessing whether or not, in 1957, there will be red suspenders in Washington.

BOOKS

The Lesson of Hiroshima

HIROSHIMA DIARY. By Michihiko Hachiya. Translated and edited by Warner Wells. The University of North Carolina Press. $3.50.

By Tomie Mochizuki

"HIROSHIMA DIARY," written by the director of the Communications Hospital in Hiroshima, is a day-to-day account of hospital life during the seven-week period immediately following the dropping of the atom bomb on August 6, 1945—exactly ten years ago. Originally published serially in a small Japanese medical journal of the Japanese Ministry of Communications, the diary came to the attention of Dr. Warner Wells, an American surgical consultant to the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission in Hiroshima, who came to know and admire the Japanese physicians and to form an attachment to their patients—not just as medical cases, but as people.

In writing of this short but eventful period, Dr. Hachiya describes not only the physical devastation and the suffering of Hiroshima, but also his own gropings for its cause. For it was not until almost a week after the bomb fell that Dr. Hachiya learned the nature of the new weapon. The bombing had left Hiroshima without a transportation or communication system—in fact, it was not until September 1 that mail delivery was resumed, and not until ten days after that that the hospital lights were turned on again.

It is a moving tale of "the trust that helpless human beings put in the doctors and nurses who, could they know the truth, were as helpless as themselves." It is the inspiring story of a hospital director, himself a casualty, and his loyal, closely-knit staff who, with only a roof over their heads and almost no equipment and supplies, through sheer devotion to their profession plus a sorely needed sense of humor, guide their patients through the most terrifying period man has been called upon to face. The people of Hiroshima had lost the will and strength to live and had become "so broken and confused that they moved and behaved like automatons." Thus, an eyewitness of the bombing said: "When I asked [the refugees from the city] where they had come from, they would point toward Hiroshima and say, 'This way.' And when I asked where they were going, they would point toward Miyajima and say, 'That way.' Everybody said the same thing." And passages like the following weigh heavily upon the reader: ". . . The entire population had been reduced to a common level of physical and mental weakness. Long files of people holding stolidly to a narrow rough path when close by was a smooth, easy road going in the same direction. Outsiders, seeing, could not grasp the fact that they were witnessing the exodus of a people who walked in the realm of dreams."

Those who found their way to Dr. Hachiya's hospital found peace of mind if not alleviation from their physical suffering. Dr. Hachiya, despite his own serious injuries, proved to be not only a competent physician but, more important at the time, an amazingly capable healer of the spirit of man. As he puts it, "My rounds were hardly professional in the strict sense of the word because there was little I could do other than cheer this patient, encourage another, or make a little joke with a third." With a keen sense of observation, with deep feeling and a broad understanding of human nature, and in a delightfully unpretentious style Dr. Hachiya gives us a factual account of the destruction and suffering which followed the dropping of the bomb. His daily accounts of the progress of his patients make fascinating reading; on the other hand, there is nothing in the book so grisly as to repel the fainthearted—though no one can expect to read about Hiroshima without being shocked at man's inhumanity to man.

When the bomb fell, the Commu-

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The Moral Limits of War

By A. J. Muste

What shall we say as in memory we relive that August day ten years ago? It would be well if Americans would reflect on what they would have said had it been the Nazis, Fascists, Japanese militarists, or Communists who had dropped the bomb first. We didn't "have" to use the bomb. Nobody was in a position to bomb American soil. We didn't even have to use it to win the war. But we did.

This suggests the question as to whether there are moral limits beyond which war may not be carried—the question raised recently in a letter to the New York Times by the Indian philosopher Radhakrishnan. A very remarkable statement on this point was made by Edmond Taylor in his book, "Richer by Asia," published in 1947. Taylor had earlier attracted notice by his book about Nazism, "The Strategy of Terror." During World War II he served for a considerable time as head of the Planning Board of the Office of Strategic Services, and in the war's final year he was in charge of O. S. S. work in Southeast Asia. In "Richer by Asia," he asserted that "in dropping the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki we had committed a crime against all nations comparable to the crimes for which the surviving leaders of Nazi Germany were hanged at Nuremberg." We had made ourselves, he wrote, "the ancestors of the end of the world as Cain, the first murderer, made himself the ancestor of all the murders which will ever be committed."

I am curious to know what Edmond Taylor thinks now. As Dr. Wells observes in the concluding sentence of his foreward to "Hiroshima Diary": "If we cannot enliven our humanity, we are doomed."

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nications Hospital had already been cleared of all patients, for the movements of nearby army units had convinced Dr. Hachiya that Hiroshima would not be defended in case of attack. Although located near the hypocenter, the hospital, by virtue of its strong, reinforced concrete construction, was only partially destroyed. Victims, hearing that the building was still functioning, streamed in from all directions, and before the first month was over more than 5,000 patients had received treatment there.

Until the first autopsy was performed on August 26, twenty days after the explosion, the cause of death in the hospital cases was unknown. "We thought that by giving treatment to those who were burned or injured, recovery would follow. But now it was obvious that this was not true. People who appeared to be recovering developed other symptoms that caused them to die. So many patients died without our understanding the cause of death that we were all in despair." The first autopsy showed changes in every organ of the body. It proved that "hemorrhage was the cause of death in all our cases. The extent and severity of petechiae (surface manifestations of hemorrhage) bore no relationship to the extent of hemorrhage in the internal organs. . . . The pathological picture of radiation sickness began to make sense."

For Japan, the period immediately following the surrender was a period of utter confusion and great change. Dr. Hachiya, with a very keen awareness of what was going on around him, paints an accurate picture of a nation lapsing into anarchy "at a time when unselfishness and good breeding were never so necessary." Thus he writes of his countrymen of that period: "With everything lost and no fear of losing more, they became desperate. . . . The drunken rampaging soldiers I saw . . . typified the present. The old proverbs 'Justice is strength' and 'Better is character than birth' were no longer applicable. . . . Character cannot be improved by education. . . . Education is a veneer, a plating. Educated or not, a man exposes his true character in time of stress, and the strong win."

Toward the end of September many American soldiers began visiting the hospitals. Dr. Hachiya's meetings with American officers are related with gentle humor. He could not speak English and the Americans knew no Japanese. But, he adds, "Though we could not speak the same tongue, we understood each other's feelings—there is no boundary where sympathy and understanding are present."

Dr. Hachiya closes his book by acknowledging the sympathetic understanding and assistance of two Americans among many with whom he had come in contact—Dr. Loge and Colonel Hall: ". . . These two doctors removed fear and hostility from our hearts and left us with a bright new hope. . . . When I think of the kindness of these people I think one can overlook thoughts of revenge; and even at this moment, I feel something warm in my heart when I recall those days and those friends."

"Hiroshima Diary" gives the average reader all the facts he should know about what happened in Hiroshima and in its subtle way acts as a reminder to each of us that it is our duty to see that this tragedy shall not be repeated. Even to one who lived through the war years in Japan this book left an impact which time will never erase.

Masterpieces for Macy's

DESIGNING FOR PEOPLE. By Henry Dreyfuss. Simon and Schuster. $5.

By Felix Augenfeld

HENRY DREYFUSS is one of the four or five fabulous people in America who are constantly surrounded by objects they have seen taking shape on their own drawing boards. From early morning, when he may be awakened by his self-designed alarm clock, until late at night when he goes to bed—normally in a self-designed airplane—he cannot help seeing, touching, and using mass-produced conveniences created by himself and his organization. His work has affected the lives of millions of people. This situation, far from crushing him with the weight of his cultural responsibility, seems to make him happy. He feels that his and his colleagues' work is a successful contribution toward such great aims as making Americans "safer, more comfortable, more eager to purchase, or just plain happier." He is confident, perhaps rightly, that owing to the designer's well-directed efforts, people are bound to reach a higher level of health, tranquility, and serenity, and that their life span will be prolonged.

His book, besides being an eloquent statement of these beliefs, is a report on the rise and activities of his fantastic organization and an analysis of his approach to the many-sided problems the designer must face. It is also a description of his relationship to his clients, from his humble beginnings in 1929, when, having worked for a few years as a stage designer, he opened his first industrial-design office, to the days at the height of his career when million-dollar agreements with the giants of industry were scribbled on the back of an envelope over a luncheon table.

In his design philosophy Mr. Dreyfuss cannot be accused of an ivory-tower attitude. He has both feet firmly on the solid ground of sales figures. He frankly states that the only museums in which he cares to be represented are places like Macy's, Marshall Field, and the May Company. At some place in his book his definition comes dangerously close to the simple formula: what sells the best is good design. He admits to an obligation of being aware of what he terms the "sales moods" of the buying public. He gives himself slightly away by stating: "With the air full of jet planes, the public may be so conditioned to these sleek forms that it will accept or even seek out such forms translated into household appliances. We must make an evaluation of the extent of this conditioning process." Is this not to be understood as a disguised admission that in the face of the hard realities of a competitive business world the designer cannot always afford the luxury of aesthetic integrity?

A theoretical investigation of the

FELIX AUGENFELD, born and trained in Vienna, is now practicing in New York as an architect and interior and industrial designer.

extremely complex interrelationship between the sociological factors affecting the designer's work does not form part of this book. The word "consumer's preference," for instance, loaded as it is with controversial content, is used as if it were an easily defined term with a generally accepted meaning. "Preference" would presuppose "choice." In reality, since in mass-produced objects—at least within a certain price range—there is rarely any real consumer's choice, the term "preference" is an ambiguous one. "Acceptance" would be closer to the truth. But this acceptance is not strictly related to the aesthetic and functional merits of the designer's work. It is mostly enforced by a process of brainwashing, in which the magic of the designer's name, first created and then exploited by magazine publicity and by store-display tricks is one of the most powerful tools.

An example of how consumers' acceptance of even the most objectionable design can be enforced is given by the automobile industry. This embarrassing subject is touched on only briefly in Mr. Dreyfuss's book. He has a few harsh words—not harsh enough, in my opinion—for this saddest of all chapters in American industrial design. He disclaims personal responsibility for the latest developments in this area, and he hints delicately that the 1955 American car might not have turned out to be such a climax of flashy vulgarity if he had been given power to oppose the Detroit taste dictatorship. I am inclined to agree, but I cannot think of any real designer who would not feel the same way.

Mr. Dreyfuss's book breathes a healthy and vigorous optimism as well as a firm belief in the cultural significance of the designer's work. It is written with vitality and gusto, and it exudes confidence that life in America as shaped by the masters of the "science of appearance" like himself will be better and more comfortable than it is even today. One is not quite sure whether the quarter of a million miles of airplane travel which his efficient organization has totaled in one single year have been traveled only in the service of mankind, as Mr. Dreyfuss seems to like us to believe. But they have not been traveled in vain.

Out of Hugo by Baudelaire

MID-CENTURY FRENCH POETS. Edited by Wallace Fowlie. Twayne Publishers. $4.50.

By Serge Sobolevitch

THE SALIENT feature of the last hundred years of French literature has been an extraordinary resurgence of poetry after almost two centuries of mediocrity enlivened only by the grand failure of the Romantics. In this latest addition to the "Mid-Century Poets" series, Wallace Fowlie presents selections from ten twentieth-century Frenchmen, introduced by short biographical and critical essays. A few of these writers, for instance Jean Cocteau, are already well known in this country; others have more talent and fewer press agents.

A specialist may quibble over these particular selections, but this is not a book for the specialist. It is meant for the American reader interested in modern French poetry, who will find here much concentrated information and sound criticism to help him place the poets in their proper perspective. The poems speak for themselves, in French and in English. Professor Fowlie's translations are accurate, without being too literal.

In his very perceptive historical introduction, Professor Fowlie quite rightly divides modern French poetry into two traditions, both transmuted out of Victor Hugo by Baudelaire: that of the "magicians" or "alchemists," the pure artists who learned their lesson from Mallarme, and that of the "visionaries" or "prophets," the explorers who expand the frontiers of reality, and who follow Rimbaud's lead. But one should not forget another of Hugo's legacies: the conception of the poet as a social and political observer. This conception, which once sent Hugo into exile, had long been prudently forgotten; it has now come back to inform the vision of the "prophets." Thus the surrealist Paul Eluard ironically titles two of his poems, What the Laborer Says Is Always Beside the Point (1926) and Victory of Guernica (1938):

> They made you pay for the bread
> The sky earth water sleep
> And the misery
> Of your life
>
> They claimed they wanted good minds
> They rationed the strong and judged the imbeciles
> Gave alms divided a penny in halves
> They bowed before corpses
> They vied in politeness
>
> They persevere they exaggerate they are not of our world.

It should be pointed out that the average age of the poets represented in this volume would be sixty-four if all were alive. While the authors are well established, numerous younger ones are active (many of whom are listed in the introduction); new reputations are being earned. French poetry continues to reflect the multiple facets of a complex culture in a complicated age, and displays a burning vitality that belies the decadence of French politics. "Mid-Century French Poets" constitutes an excellent introduction to the ever-growing treasure-house of modern poetry.

SERGE SOBOLEVITCH is a member of the Department of Romance Languages at Rutgers University.

Temper of Time

An ill wind is stalking
  while evil stars whir
and all the gold apples
  go bad to the core.

Black birds of omen
  now prowl on the bough
and the forest is littered
  with bills that we owe.

Through closets of copses
  tall skeletons walk
while nightshade and nettles
  tangle the track.

In the ramshackle meadow
  where Kilroy would pass
lurks the sickle-shaped shadow
  of snake in the grass.

Approaching his cottage
  by crooked detour
he hears the gruff knocking
  of the wolf at the door.

His wife and his children
  hang riddled with shot,
there's a hex on the cradle
  and death in the pot.

SYLVIA PLATH

Books in Brief

Journey Into Nightmare

THE EMIGRANTS. By George Lamming. McGraw-Hill. $3.75.

THE emigration of West Indians to England has created pressures similar to those resulting from the influx of Puerto Ricans to the United States. In both cases the newcomers tend to concentrate in comparatively limited areas—London or New York. With different racial, social, and economic backgrounds the emigrants come up against barriers of prejudice and opportunism belying the "equal citizenship" they have been granted.

George Lamming, a young West Indian novelist now in the United States on a Guggenheim Fellowship, is rapidly establishing himself as the literary spokesman of his people. Avoiding the ponderous over-simplification of writers absorbed in a "problem," Mr. Lamming has provided a window into a difficult area of human relationships.

"The Emigrants" is the story of a group of West Indians who travel to England in search of a "better break." Restless in the backwaters of their native islands, educated to the point of dissatisfaction and bitterness, burdened by their own prejudices, they do not know what they will find. Their Odyssey takes on the bright non-meaning of a voyage into nightmare.

Mr. Lamming depends on free-swinging metaphor to carry the greatest part of his narrative, piling up image after image, color after color to the point where he appears to lose the direction of his novel. For long passages he uses frank and vivid sense impressions, only to turn suddenly into half-digested philosophy and awkward attempts at sophistication. The cumulative effect, however, is impressive—a novel which, despite lack of discipline, holds the reader's attention by its enormous energy and bursts of memorable insight.

Making of an American

ONE FOOT IN AMERICA. COWBOY ON A WOODEN HORSE. By Yuri Suhl. Macmillan. $3.50 each.

Rereading "One Foot in America" after five years, one is bound to wonder if the initial enthusiasm evoked by this series of close-knit sketches was fully warranted. But Mr. Suhl's loving humor, his inability to patronize, his rejection of sentimentality give an affirmative answer. The story of Sol Kenner's arrival as a greenhorn in the twenties, his career as a butcher boy, his father's resolute refusal to let "goniff America" steal his piety is told so deftly and uncontrivedly that the reader is left with a warmth that lingers long after the book is closed. The proof of Mr. Suhl's accuracy of touch is to be found in the episode where young Sol participates in a kindly conspiracy to find his father a suitable second wife. The slightest unsureness on the author's part would have produced bathos or burlesque; both are dextrously avoided.

If "Cowboy on a Wooden Horse" falls a little below the standard set by "One Foot in America" the cause may be in the nature of sequels, which rarely manage to sustain the mood and compression of the initial work. Nevertheless, anyone reading "One Foot in America" must have unusual self-control not to pick up "Cowboy on a Wooden Horse."

The Swamp of Security

THE ACCIDENT. By Dexter Masters. Knopf. $4.

This first novel by Dexter Masters is the finest work of fiction on super-science and super-secrecy in America. Mr. Masters brings extensive knowledge to his material and hurls a brilliant challenge at those who play power politics with the atom as trump.

"The Accident" makes fascinating but uncomfortable reading. The development of atomic power is dramatized vividly and is combined with the nightmare of atomic experimentation. For Masters, like the British novelist C. P. Snow, raises an issue that must chill the blood: he makes the charge that the atomic bombs dropped on Japan, which wiped out hundreds of thousands of human beings, were used because of military curiosity rather than military necessity.

The book comments bitterly on the swamp of security—useless because the products of science can remain "secret" only for brief periods and because any persistent and total security must inevitably cripple science itself. There is the new planning for new atomic wars, with the military pooh-bahs demanding obedience from the creative minds alone capable of understanding the alternatives involved. And the result is progressive horror—an "accident" which is really no accident at all but the climax of deliberately courted crises.

"The Accident" describes eight days at Los Alamos, the eight days it takes a young scientist to die after a lethal dose of radiation. Mr. Dexter's novel, however, extends beyonds these eight days to the very horizons

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of the destiny man has created for himself. "The Accident" is a much-needed antidote for the half-truths issued on atomic stockpiling, and the atomic muscle-flexing of military brass.

The Doomed Ghetto

THE HOUSE OF DOLLS. By Katzetnik 135633. Simon and Schuster. $3.50.

The mass slaughter perpetrated by the Germans during World War II no longer has the impact of recent sensation. The subject has been examined from a variety of positions, in a number of works of fiction and non-fiction. John Hersey's "The Wall" is perhaps the best known novel dealing with Nazi genocide. Hersey's picture, however. ultimately provides the release of action, of violence answering violence, thus for all its nightmarish detail, creates limited horror.

"The House of Dolls" deals not only with the doomed ghetto but with the "experiments" carried on by respectable German physicians, the three symbols of which are the crematorium, the scientific notebook, and the sexual pervert. The author commands resources of language far beyond the essentially journalistic writing of Hersey. Here is prose at once memorable and merciless, controlled and explosive. This novel, in a fine translation from the Hebrew by Moshe M. Kohn, records a degeneration of humanity the world has too soon forgotten.

Films

Robert Hatch

"MR. ROBERTS" on film proves—what has often been proved before—that it is not so easy to translate from stage to screen. In this case it would have been prudent to go back to the original novel for a script.

Instead, except for the addition of a lot of real salt water, the picture sticks close to the scenes that were possible on a stage. With unsatisfactory results, as follows: a group of long-monastic sailors stares in great agitation at some allurement suddenly discovered on shore. What have the fellows found? In the theater it is enough to be told that they have found some dames taking showers. But on the screen, such second-hand information does not satisfy; we also want to see the dames. Again, the crew is given liberty at an island apparently populated by Hollywood extras in Polynesian brown paint. The ship's company disappears pell-mell down the wharf and immediately returns, disarrayed, drunken, and in the custody of the military police. What happened back there in the palms? The MP's report that the boys invited themselves to a party and wrecked the joint. Why weren't we invited? It is a curse when the screen forgets its origins and the nature of its genius, and substitutes words for action.

The picture is also oddly uncertain of its own quality. From the antics that occupy most of the footage—the ship being flooded by soap suds, potted palms being flung over the side, nurses coming aboard in undersized uniforms to be greeted by hoots and whinnies, an exuberant mariner riding a stolen motorcycle off the end of the wharf—it appears that the purpose is farce. Farce has no villains, only butts for practical jokes, but James Cagney plays the hated captain of the supply ship *Reluctant* in a key of mean and cruel misery that chokes the laughs in your throat. Risen from the decks, he fears the scorn of the gentlemen among his officers; promoted beyond his deserts, he cannot handle the crew or the business of his ship. But he knows that the war is his one best chance and he intends to make the most of it. He means to make a record for himself and the crew is expendable to that end. You might easily decide to mutiny against such a man, but you would scarcely play boyish pranks on him. Did anyone ever pie the bed of Captain Bligh?

Perhaps on the stage the captain was a lay figure, but Cagney is not that sort of actor. He dominates the films he is in, and neither Henry Fonda nor William Powell—charming though they are—is a match for him. So, although I laughed at "Mr. Roberts," I laughed warily, wondering if Lord Jim was waiting for me in the next reel.

The picture is bathed in manly affection—a choked-up Y. M. C. A. affection that looks as though it might explode in a hair-pulling match. The atmosphere aboard the *Reluctant* is a good deal like that in a girls' dormitory, with everyone indulging a violent crush on Mr. Roberts. As he keeps saying, the boys certainly need some time on shore. What happens to a group of men cooped up in isolation is an interesting subject, but it lacks the lightheartedness of true slapstick. The trouble with "Mr. Roberts" is that it wants the best of both "Moby Dick" and "The Katzenjammer Kids." It is great good fun, if you don't mind getting a little sticky.

Winter Juniper

Above these bleak Wyoming plains,
these high plateaus
where water seldom rises through the rock,
this twisting cedar grows.
Splitting through sharp and sandy grains
of buried cliffs, its fragrant seedlings mock
deep humus soils and rains.

Under a February sun
this cedar pricks
with waxed and polished stems the arid air,
pivots angular sticks,
quivers in western winds: they run
through and away. Here with such final care
its tortured life is done,

and done, and done again, until
the grained wood
spirals into a balance, a defense,
a grace. One night I stood
under the moon in a midnight chill,
caught in that alien axis, grown immense
in that green will.

JOSEPH LANGLAND

Records

B. H. Haggin

COLUMBIA ML-4996 offers three works commissioned by the Koussevitzky Music Foundation and recorded under its auspices by an orchestra conducted by Leonard Bernstein. Of these Edward Burlingame Hill's Prelude is a luxuriant exercise in a borrowed style of the past; but in the two fast movements of Lopatnikov's Concertino the continuous flow of toccata-like invention for the various instruments of the orchestra, in which their extraordinary energy embodies itself, gets to be very exciting; and the creative flow also produces the impressive invention of the slow movement in between, an "Elegietta" in memory of Mme. Natalie Koussevitzky. And in his "Tartiniana" for violin and orchestra Dallapiccola does what Stravinsky has done so many times—i.e., lets his mind play with thematic substance from the music of another composer, in this instance Tartini. In a booklet written by Dallapiccola's publisher we are told that "the attention of the composer has been fixed upon" the "thematic nuclei" of four sonata movements of Tartini; and Dallapiccola's application to these themes of his own devices of manipulation, his development of them in his own language, achieve writing that is fascinatingly put together, impressive, and at times moving. The Lopatnikov and Dallapiccola works call for virtuoso performance, which they get from the orchestra and the conductor. And the performances are superbly reproduced.

On the other hand Columbia ML-4992 offers William Schuman's Symphony No. 6, commissioned by the Dallas Symphony Orchestra League; and Piston's Symphony No. 4, commissioned for the Centennial Celebration of the University of Minnesota and recorded under the auspices of the Walter W. Naumburg Foundation. In neither work do I hear anything more than each composer's ability to make endless numbers of black marks on paper, of which the marks made by Piston are translated into sounds that are more coherent and more agreeable to the ear than Schuman's. Superb playing by the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy.

Columbia also has issued a new group of records in its Modern American Music series, of which I can report on two. Samuel Barber's "Hermit Songs," sung by Leontyne Price on ML-4988, are, to my ears, only additional evidence of *his* ability to make endless numbers of black marks on paper; and Haieff's Quartet No. 1, played by the Juilliard Quartet, offers much expert manipulation of rhythm, sonority, and texture that communicates nothing to me, except in the brief and lovely final movement. Ruggles's "Portals" and "Lilacs," played by the Juilliard String Orchestra under Prausnitz, and his "Evocations" for piano, played by John Kirkpatrick, on ML-4986, remain obscure to me; and Cowell's facile "Toccanta," performed by Helen Boatwright, soprano, Carleton Sprague Smith, flute, Aldo Parisot, cello, and Mr. Kirkpatrick, says nothing of consequence.

Nor do I hear anything of greater consequence in Robert Ward's Symphony No. 3, recorded with the American Composers' Alliance by the Cincinnati Symphony under Thor Johnson on Remington R-199-185. And I fail to hear in Leon Stein's Three Hassidic Dances, on the same record, that the original thematic material gains anything from his overblown orchestral treatment of it.

I am unable at the moment to compare the Boyd Neel Orchestra's performances of the twelve Concerti Grossi Op. 6 of Handel on the three 12-inch records of London LLA-21 with the Boyd Neel performances previously issued on 10-inch records; but they seem to me to be the same—which is to say they are excellent performances of these fine works.

London LL-1199 offers Haydn's Symphonies Nos. 88 and 101 ("Clock") paced and shaped well by Muenchinger, with fine playing by the Vienna Philharmonic. But Muenchinger spoils Haydn's little joke in the trio of the minuet movement of No. 101 by correcting the "mistake" in harmony that Haydn wrote in so carefully.

The coarse performances of the Mendelssohn and Tchaikovsky Violin Concertos by Francescatti and the New York Philharmonic under Mitropoulous on Columbia ML-4965 are something you can ignore.

What printer's errors prevented my saying in my July 16 article was that Horenstein, on Vox PL-9180, gave us a good performance of the entire Prokofiev Suite from "Chout," while Golschmann, on Capitol P-8257, omitted a few movements but offered playing by the St. Louis Symphony that had greater refinement of execution and sonority, and greater clarity and refinement of recorded sound.

Theater

Harold Clurman

ANYONE can stage a bad production of a Shakespeare play, and in our theater virtually everyone ambitious enough to try has succeeded in doing so. It should therefore surprise no one that the first production of the recently founded American Shakespeare Festival Theater at Stratford, Connecticut, is a wretched piece of work. I shall not review the production, because what is significant about it is not its badness, but the reason why it was doomed before the first rehearsal was called. The flaws were in thinking and theory—in approach.

Americans have created no style for the playing of Shakespeare, the directors of the new enterprise have said, because we have not trained any group of actors in Shakespearean *speech.* It is a crucial error to assume that the playing of Shakespeare is essentially a matter of speech. Certainly, the actor who undertakes a Shakespearean role should speak well—but this ought to obtain for all actors.

It is unfortunately true that in the past twenty-five years American actors have neglected their studies in voice and diction, have lost an awareness of beauty in spoken language. But this loss affects all of the theater, not merely the playing of Shakespeare. The fact that slovenly speech may be less distressing or noticeable in "Lunatics and Lovers" than it would be in a play by Congreve does not make sloppiness of speech acceptable in any play. Stanislavsky, whose Moscow Art Theater reached its characteristic style in the plays of Chekov, was as severe on the score of fine speech in these plays as in that of the more formal plays of his repertory.

MANY American actors in the 'teens laid so much stress on the "externals" of acting (carriage, diction, deportment, etc.), that they seemed ill prepared for the interpretative demands made by the plays of O'Neill and later on by those of Odets, Williams, Miller, etc. Because of these new plays, greater stress has lately been put on the psychological, emotional, "real-life" aspects of acting. But most of us now understand—if we never did before—that undue emphasis on either aspect of acting—"inner" or "outer"—to the detriment of the other must cause a fatal distortion. The actor needs sensibility, observation, imagination, as well as an expressive body, a good voice, an ear for language. In so far as he is deficient in any of these respects, he is a deficient actor—for all plays.

Shakespeare wrote *plays*—not exercises in speech. Plays have to be acted—not recited. Every play contains an idea, a world view, a specific quality of feeling, a weight and an impulse, in a word, a nature of its own—of which plot, characterization, movements, atmosphere, and language form an organic whole. It is the function of a company of actors (under a director) to find the core and to form the theatrical body of each specific play in a specific way, so as to move the audience with the stirring vision of life which the play is supposed to convey.

In the Stratford, Connecticut, production of "Julius Caesar" the setting—so the program informs us—aims to reproduce the Elizabethan picture of Rome as the historians and artists of that period conceived it. Why was this approach chosen? Is the play intended as an archaeological study? Does the play have some relevance for us now or is it simply an essay in scholarship? Why the Elizabethan costumes? (I leave aside the fact that even as such they are cumbersome and unsightly). Do the sets and costumes help the actors convey a sense of the play's basic structure, drama, or human validity? There is no reason for doing Shakespeare on the stage today unless he is to mean more rather than less than the good "commercial" play.

"Julius Caesar" at Stratford, Connecticut, is a misbegotten effort not because the actors don't speak well (generally, their speech is not bad) but because even if they all were to speak like gods or at least like Gielgud, Redgrave, Olivier, etc.—the

Religious Advertisements Reviewed In Brief

Religious and Economic Problems Related Intimately. — Denial of Connection Blasphemy.—We have seen that the One-God religion arose out of a great struggle between the forces of social justice and the forces of social injustice. On the one side, Jehovah, represented by the Hebrew prophets, endorsed repeatedly by Jesus. And on the other side, Baal, represented by prophets coming mostly from the cities.

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General Public Today Losing Interest In Severe, Individualistic Deity. —The outrage perpetrated upon Social Monotheism in the Roman empire and subsequently is at length reaching its logical result: The reduced, non-social, individualistic form of monotheism is failing to hold the lay element from which the churches always have been recruited. The general subject is dealt with in three circulars, available without charge if stamps are forwarded to cover mailing costs. No. 1, "Bulletin of Bible and Hebrew History." No. 2, "Restoration of Social Justice to Belief in God." No. 3, "An Approach to Our Underlying Economic Problems." Nine cents in stamps, postage on all three circulars. Clip to card in envelope, with name and address, Sealed, first class. Also return address on outside of envelope. No letter necessary.—To prevent misunderstanding, note that no circulars will be forwarded if no stamps are sent.—L. Wallis, Box 73, Forest Hills, Long Island, New York.

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production would still be less than commonplace, because it has no creative idea: the play is not seen freshly as something which possesses an immediately exciting substance. There is little point of discussing Shakespeare apropos of this production because in the last analysis there is no play there at all.

IN LONDON, I recently saw "Henry IV"—Parts I and II, at the Old Vic. The production was not remarkable for its "originality," the acting was not "great," but the play was given with a conviction, a zest, a kinship to the dramatist's overwhelming abundance. It was the "wow" of the season. And years ago, was not Orson Welles's "Julius Caesar," for all its lack of fundamental coherence, a grand show because so many scenes reflected the sparkle of an alert mind and a vivid theater sense. These are some of the things needed for the successful performance of Shakespeare. They are present in some of the productions in Stratford, Canada, where neither the actors nor the director are specifically trained "Shakespeareans." And I have seen wonderfully alive Shakespearean productions in Europe where English was not spoken at all—so that I couldn't judge the speech! One realized, however, that one was confronting the greatest dramatic genius of all time.

Off The Editor's Spike

(Continued From Inside Cover)

striking down some of these vexatious oaths, but it will be years before the final restructions have been removed. Recently the London Economist estimated that one out of every ten American citizens lives today under the shadow of having executed a test oath of some type. Fortunately a direct attack is now being made, in the proceedings instituted by Max Schachtman on behalf of the Independent Socialist League, on the constitutionality of the "listing" procedure.

■ Once again the Department of Justice's unscrupulous use of "confidential informants" has been sharply criticized, this time in a sizzling opinion by Judge James W. Morris of the District Court in Washington. The opinion was handed down in a case in which Judge Morris reversed the Board of Immigration Appeals which had ordered the deportation of a couple, with three American-born children, on the basis of anonymous hearsay accusations. "To say that these plaintiffs," to quote from Judge Morris' opinion, "the parents of three American-born children, should be deported, which also means in effect the deportation of such American children, upon the basis of 'confidential information' which may be no more than anonymous hearsay rumors, or even by unexplained membership in some organization listed by the Attorney General as subversive, is to deny that the government is competent to function in such fashion as to give everyone with whom the government deals the right to know upon what basis such action is taken."

Yet it is precisely this right that has been denied to William Henry Taylor, an employee of the International Monetary Fund. After innumerable hearings and investigations, Taylor has been found to be a loyalty risk by the International Organizations Employees Loyalty Board. Not yet satisfied, the board proceeded to find that Taylor had been guilty of espionage. In other words, the board in effect convicted an American citizen of a major criminal offense without due process. Taylor's counsel has never had a chance to cross-examine his principal accuser, Elizabeth Bentley. Moreover the board accepted the unsworn testimony of unidentified witnesses against Taylor's sworn testimony. None of these unidentified witnesses was presented for cross-examination. Four grand juries heard the same evidence and none of them indicted Taylor. Fortunately the board's decision is not binding on his employers, the International Monetary Fund, but so far as Mr. Taylor is concerned, the damage is almost beyond repair. As his counsel points out, the decision is "unbelievable" but it is nevertheless quite understandable. The Department of Justice, under Mr. Brownell, simply cannot afford to have Elizabeth Bentley's testimony tested in court, even if this means that another person must be indirectly convicted of espionage without due process of law.

C. McW.

COMING SOON

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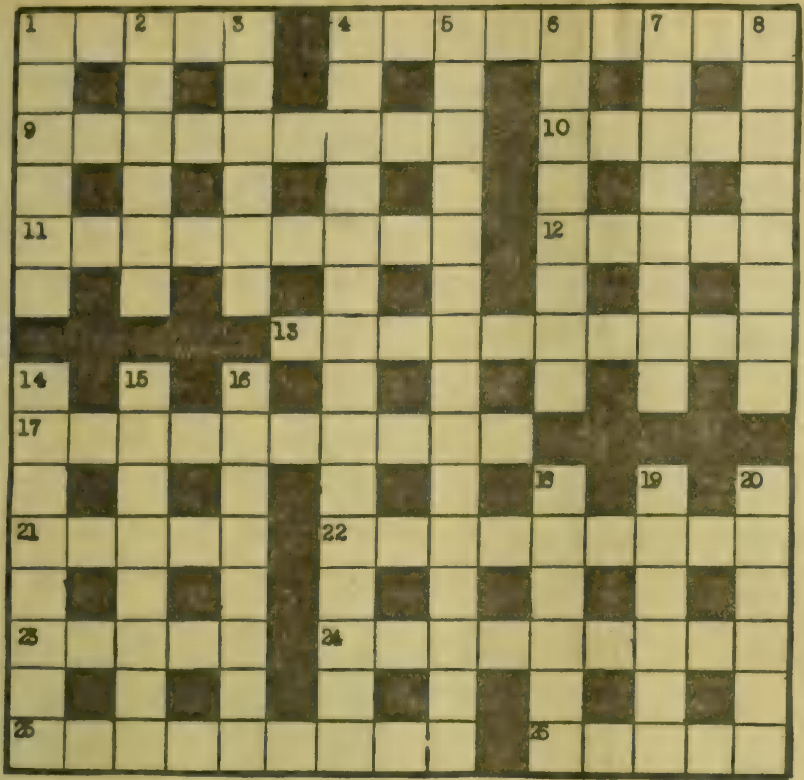
Crossword Puzzle No. 631

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Everything ends with an exclamation. (5)

4 Called? (5,4)

9 The way to contain a spasm, once. (9)

10 This sort of thing is usually dark, but not always. (5)

11 Not to be trusted, because it's in a sort of rein. (9)

12 Trim. (5)

13 One-time art in the Little Theater? (10)

17 Cow I'd get detailed about. (10)

21 In the country of the lower Urals. (5)

22 It's difficult to speak impertinently! (4,5)

23 Thick up in the bean. (5)

24 You might see it in court, but last to first it's early. (4,5)

25 Stirs as it stirs writers. (9)

26 Put up with this sap, and you'll have a broken-down nag. (5)

DOWN

1 Vinegary. (6)

2 Tree insect? (6)

3 Makes a quiet noise about an alternative for us all. (6)

4 The moving of dead spots? (9,6)

5 Do they hold our attention when robed? (6,9)

6 Do they stick on the baseball team? (8)

7 If feathers are it, get a variety. (8)

8 Understandings may be sort of seen about canvas. (8)

14 A sign of desire is changed by it. (8)

15 What even the most famous actor must return to? (8)

16 He could be sure, in a way. (8)

18 Evidently I stop things like this on the weather map. (6)

19 Are they accurate pitchers? (6)

20 Both of us have a range of sight and fade away. (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 630

ACROSS: 1, 19, [illegible] down, 14 down ORANGES AND LEMONS SAY THE BELLS OF ST. CLEMENTS; 6, 13 and 3 down WHAT PRICE GLORY; 10 BARROOM; 11 EXECUTE; 12 LANYARDS; 17 IMPARTIAL; 21 GECKO; 23 MINCE; 24 DIATRIBE; 27 NECKLET; 28 TOURNEY; 29 STEP; 30 SHOREDITCH. DOWN: 1 ORBS; 2 ACREAGE; 4 ST. MARTINS; 5 NEEDS; 7 HOUDINI; [illegible] LEAP FROG; 16 TENDERLY; 18 PAYMASTER; 20 MONOCLE; 22 CABINET; 24 and 15 DUTCH TREAT; 25 ROUND; 26 MYTH.

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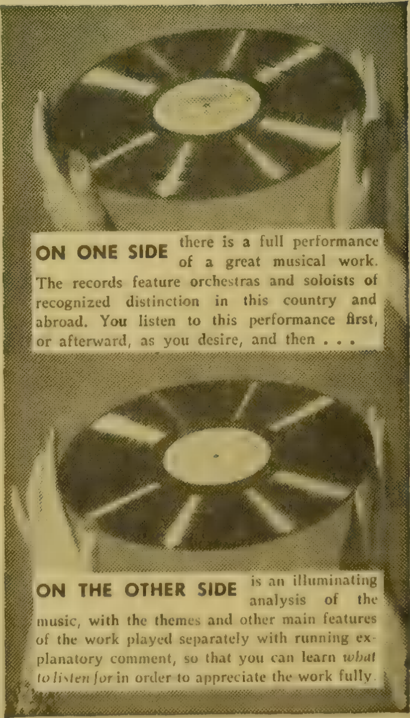

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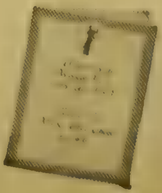

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THE *Nation*

August 13, 1955
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Mission to Iowa

MIDSUMMER SANITY

by Charles F. Ransom

AT THE HORA FARM

by Nick Thimmesch

Morocco in Ferment *Marvine Howe*
With a Comment by Pierre Mendes-France

Atoms and Politics *J. A. del Vayo*
A Dispatch from Geneva

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

W
N
S
E
AROUND THE U. S. A.

The Russians Visit George Hora

Iowa City

THE George Hora farm is near one of the many bends in Washington County road "R" in southeast Iowa, and unless it is Christmas or corn-picking time, there isn't much traffic around the place. But matters were different on the hot morning of July 19, because the twelve-man Russian farm delegation was coming.

The Russians, who had been given a welcome marked by cheering and applause in Des Moines, and who had already made a hit with the press, largely because of the good-natured orneriness of Alexander Tulupnikov, were scheduled to arrive at the Hora place at 11 a. m. But they had been delayed, it was learned later, partly because they had stopped for some roadside ice-cream specialties called "Idiot's Delights" and "Tummy Busters."

The vanguard of the press corps of sixty (they outnumbered the Russians five to one) had already arrived, and photographers, movie and TV cameramen, tape-recorder technicians, and reporters were milling about the Hora lawn, ferreting out members of the family for interviews, and trying to get an "Iowa opinion" from some of Mr. Hora's farmer neighbors.

Inside the large, well-weathered farmhome, Mrs. Hora, a woman in her late thirties, was setting out the pies and cakes she would later serve, along with fried chicken and the rest of a country meal, to her Russian guests. Of Bohemian descent, Mrs. Hora also made a batch of *kolaches.* "They probably know what they are," she said. "I wanted them to have something special. I wonder what they'll think of us?"

Grandmother Hora said, "We're just as much a curiosity as they are."

Then came the cry, "The bus is coming!" Mrs. Hora hurried to the front-room window. On the lawn, newsmen scampered toward the gravel driveway and edged one another for positions of vantage. First man out of the bus was John Strohm, an Illinois farm journalist who was acting as tour leader. He waved his arms, and said: "We'll have a short picture-taking session right here, but then we've got to take them into the house. Okay?"

The press said it was okay, and out of the chartered air-conditioned bus bounced Vladimir Matskevich (already nicknamed "Baldy" by the press), First Deputy Minister of Agriculture in Russia. Matskevich smiled, and bent over to greet warmly the Hora's seven-year-old daughter, Katherine. In turn, each of the Russians greeted the Horas and their two children.

Wearing bright sport shirts and straw hats acquired the night before in Des Moines, the visitors amiably shook hands for nearly twenty minutes so pictures could be taken.

The abstraction that many of the newsmen and certainly all of the 120 residents of the area who were there had known as "Russian" or "Communist" had appeared in flesh and blood, had smiled, showing stainless steel fillings in some cases, and had shaken hands all around. They could almost have been visiting Rotarians.

After their lunch, the Russians walked about a hundred yards to Hora's main hog-pens and showed surprising agility in getting over the fences. There had been speculation as to whether they were "real dirt farmers," and it was learned that they weren't any more, but had been once. The Iowa farmers were getting a kick out of Tulupnikov, an adviser to the Soviet Ministry of Agriculture. He was joking right along, sometimes in English, and even after some quips had gone through the monotone voice of the State Department interpreter, they brought laughter from the crowd. Many, besides the Russians, were busy taking notes on the size of the litters, the number of brood sows kept, the kinds of feed used.

IN AN EARLY ISSUE

"Population, Food Supplies, and Agriculture" By Mordecai Ezekiel. Formerly with the Department of Agriculture, now a staff member of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Dr. Ezekiel sets forth an important and dramatic proposal for the use of American agricultural surpluses.

The Russians mopped their foreheads in the ninety-degree heat, took notes all the while, and were especially interested when, on Mr. Hora's shady front porch, he showed them his bookkeeping. His visitors, through interpreters, expressed genuine surprise that Hora and his seventeen-year-old son could farm the 160 acres with no other help. They were also surprised to learn about the quantities of feed Hora used, his annual expenditure for machinery, and what his annual net profit was.

While the porch conference was being held, a businessman from a nearby town, who was among the spectators, said to another onlooker: "I can't get one of them to look me in the eye. I'm still skeptical about them."

After the conference, the Russians thanked the Horas for a meal which they said they praised "by deeds, not words," and walked onto the lawn. There they were introduced to Dr. Virgil M. Hancher, president of the State University of Iowa, which is about twenty-five miles from the Hora farm. Mr. Tulupnikov, only member of the delegation who could speak English, walked over to Hancher, felt the grey suit he was wearing, and asked him how he could wear a suit on such a hot day.

"It's light weight, you see," Hancher replied. "It's tropical."

Tulupnikov showed more surprise and said something like, "I see, I see."

In a little while, the Russians were in their bus again, heading for Cedar Rapids, followed by their press-corps caravan and a vast cloud of dust. NICK THIMMESCH

[*Nick Thimmesch is an Iowa newspaperman.*]

VOLUME 181, NUMBER 7
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 13, 1955

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Adventure in Understanding

To Lauren Soth of the Des Moines *Register* should go a Nobel Prize for his suggestion, offered in a wayward editorial mood last February, that the Russians should send a delegation of farm experts to Iowa. His casual proposal has blossomed into one of the most important news stories of the post-Geneva period. Besides this, it has been brilliantly vindicated in application. In the first place it proposed a cultural exchange in an area in which Russia and America have a great deal in common, namely, the management of a plains agriculture. Harry Schwartz, the Russian expert of the New York *Times*, and others, have tried to make it appear that the visit would be of small use to the Russians; soil and climatic conditions, they say, are so different that what the Russians see and learn will have little relevance to their problems. Curious about this piece of information, we consulted some American agricultural experts and, on their recommendation, glanced at M. Y. Nuttonson's paper "The Ecological Crop Geography of the Ukraine and the Agro-Climatic Analogues in North America" (1947). While this brochure is not ideal summer reading, we recommend it to Mr. Schwartz.

One learns, for example, that the best corn varieties of the Ukrainian belt have long been American varieties. The average temperature in May around Fargo, North Dakota, and Moorhead, Minnesota, is 55 or 56 degrees; in the best corn-growing part of the Ukraine the average in May is 58 to 59 degrees. In September the temperatures in the two areas are nearly identical. On the American side, a number of experts feel that a great opportunity exists to grow large crops of corn economically in the Red River, even north of Moorhead, and that the visit of American farm experts to Russia will be useful in this connection. Clearly, therefore, the visits of the two farm delegations are not merely good-will missions. But on this score alone it was a stroke of genius to bring the Russians directly to the Midwest. It was here that the experience of discovering that Russians are human beings, "just like Americans" who "leave watermelon seeds all over the floor," most needed to be dramatized. Mr. Soth projected his proposal originally as "an adventure in human understanding" (see: *The Nation*, March 26, 1955, page 249). It has been more than that; it ranks among the most successful adventures in amateur diplomacy of the post-war period. From different points of view, the articles by Mr. Ransom and Mr. Thimmesch in this issue substantiate our high evaluation of the experience.

The Road To Sanity

To the boisterous singing of such barber-shop-quartet favorites as The Old Mill Stream, Let the Rest of the World Go By, and On Moonlight Bay, the first session of the 84th Congress has adjourned. On the score of constructive social legislation, the record of this session is not impressive. The reciprocal-trade legislation was extended, minimum wages were raised to $1 an hour, the salary scale of government workers was adjusted upward, postal employees received an increase in wages, and 45,000 new public-housing units were authorized. But the major issues were deferred to the second session, the better to make political capital of the debate and ensuing record in the 1956 campaign. Under this heading fall such items as: aid to education, appropriations for public power projects, highway construction, regulation of natural gas, taxes, farm legislation, foreign trade. On the other hand, this session did not adopt any notably bad legislation; the restraint shown on internal-security schemes was significant.

The achievements of the session were political rather than legislative. The Democrats, aided by Eisenhower Republicans, gave the Administration a remarkable freedom for negotiation at the Geneva conference. It was Senator George, moreover, who provided the initiative for the summit meeting. The coercive power of the right-wing Republicans was sharply reduced and Senator McCarthy was isolated—both achievements being largely due to astute Democratic leadership. The handling of legislative hearings showed some slight improvement. The Dixon-Yates hearings were important and effective. The Dixon-Yates contract was the first attempt to breech the New Deal public-power policy. Had it succeeded, it would have resulted in a series of similar raids. That this initial raid was halted is largely due to Senator Kefauver and his Democratic colleagues. It is disappointing to note, however, that under Senator Eastland, as chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and Congressman Walter as chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, the inquisitorial hearings have continued under Democratic leadership with no measurable improvement in the treatment of witnesses or restriction on subject matter. But one must be thankful for small political favors these days and, in this humble mood, it can be said

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that the session of Congress just concluded marked a mild improvement, in tone and manner, over the previous two sessions. Congress seems at least to have located the road to sanity.

The King-Sized Giveaway

Withholding announcement of their decision until Congress had adjourned, the five Republican-appointed members of the Federal Power Commission have just presented the Idaho Power Company with the biggest gift of the season: a fifty-year license to construct and operate three low-level hydroelectric dams in the Hell's Canyon area of the Snake River. Hell's Canyon is, of course, one of our last great undeveloped natural power and water storage sites; it would be difficult, therefore, to capitalize the resource presented to a private utility company which has one of the highest rate structures in the region. The Hell's Canyon giveaway is truly of the king-size variety. As such it is crude, impudent, indefensible, and, fortunately, politically suicidal. The decision is certain to infuriate voters in the Pacific Northwest and will be regarded in other areas as an accurate measure of this Administration's subservience to the private power interests. If the sordid Dixon-Yates affair failed to make the point, the Hell's Canyon giveaway has clearly established that the Eisenhower Administration is perhaps more beholden to the utilities than to any of the other big-business interests by which it is owned, managed, and directed.

Another Round for Bridges

Once again the Department of Justice has lost a round in its fifteen-year-old fight to deport Harry Renton Bridges. In December, 1939, James M. Landis, former dean of the Harvard Law School, found against the government after a lengthy hearing. In June, 1945, the Supreme Court declared a warrant of deportation against Bridges to be unlawful, reversing the decision of Presiding Inspector Charles B. Sears. In June, 1953, the Supreme Court set aside the conviction of Bridges, Robertson, and Schmidt for perjury arising out of the endless deportation proceedings. Now Judge Louis Goodman, in a civil proceeding, has refused to revoke Bridges's citizenship. In this latest proceeding, Judge Goodman points out that, like Dean Landis before him, he simply could not believe the testimony of the government's five ex-Communist witnesses, "tinged and colored with discrepancies, animosities, vituperations, hates . . . ," relating to matters which occurred ten and twenty years ago. Judge Goodman found, for example, that the witness Schomaker could recall not merely the precise time and location of meetings which took place twenty years ago but exactly what each person in attendance had said.

By any standard of fairness and good sense, Judge Goodman's decision should end further civil or criminal prosecution of the Bridges case. But if the Department of Justice is finally forced to drop this shameful proceeding, what can it do with the small army of officials, immigration inspectors, professional witnesses, informers, and tellers-of-tall-tales who have lived off the case these last fifteen years? Dropping any one of them from the payroll would be dangerous; there is always the possibility, as the department has discovered of recantations. Fortunately most of these officials have grown old and will soon be eligible for retirement. To Bridges they are indebted for fifteen years of lucrative government employment and the pensions that one day will be theirs.

Diplomatic Friends

The United States will not recognize Communist China nor agree to its supplanting Nationalist China in the United Nations. But an American Ambassador is talking to a Chinese Communist Ambassador and is doing so, significantly, in the Geneva Home of the United Nations—as Mr. del Vayo points out in this issue. The position of the United States is thus both awkward and equivocal. It won't and it must; it will and it can't. But American leaders know that if war is to be avoided, China as well as Russia must come within the circle of coexistence. And so de facto recognition is already here, and what remains is to get over the enormous hurdle Washington set up when it established a military protectorate over Formosa and Chiang Kai-shek.

One of the most convenient and time-honored methods of getting past a diplomatic awkwardness is to arrange concessions through neutral intermediaries. This was done in the case of the American airmen held in China and may be tried again in arranging the mutual delivery—the word "exchange" is not permitted—of civilians detained by both governments. After that the way may be open for direct talks on the more basic issues which must be settled.

. . . And How to Lose Them

All this being evident, we are at a loss to understand the failure of Washington to acknowledge India's role and the services of Krishna Menon, Premier Nehru's personal ambassador, in obtaining the freedom of the fliers. As we understand it, the news of their release came not from Hong Kong, as reported, but from Ambassador Cooper in New Delhi, who had heard it direct from Nehru. But the Administration thanked everybody else who had anything to do with the matter and said not a word about the Indians' help.

Why? Is it because the President and Mr. Dulles resent India's neutrality; object to a nation which is not tied to American apron strings playing a role of leadership in Asia? If so, the Administration's pique is painfully shortsighted. For our failure to acknowledge and welcome India's role creates an opportunity which the Russians and Chinese will exploit to the hilt. Already both governments go out of their way to let it be known that India is being consulted on various issues. For example, Peking made a point of requesting that India be asked to screen the returning Chinese students. Whether agreed to or not, the gesture will emphasize China's friendly feeling. And if India should make the check, Washington, having resisted it, would get no credit anywhere. This makes little sense in view of the obvious necessity for a neutral "bridge" between this country and the major Communist states to which we are beginning to edge up.

The Veto Power

In a recent speech before the Advertising Federation of America, Mr. Clarence Eldridge, executive vice-president of the Campbell Soup Company, asserted the advertiser's right to control the media in which he advertises with a bluntness that distressed the advertising fraternity but which, we venture to suggest, actually reflects the prevailing philosophy of his business colleagues. Advertising, he said, "should exercise its power of the purse to recapture at the very least a veto power over the kind of entertainment with which it will associate itself." Continuing, he said: "Do we not have . . . the right of selection and rejection . . . to refuse to support . . . advertising media whose policies tend, in our individual judgment, to be destructive of our legitimate or national interests?" To make clear what he had in mind, Mr. Eldridge called attention to the fact that various media permit material to appear in their editorial columns and over their TV and radio stations that is "inimical to business and businessmen." This, of course, is the ultimate heresy in American society, but seldom has it been defined with less vagueness. Mr. Eldridge may be exceptionally frank; he is by no means exceptional. Isn't his view of the businessman's prerogative conceded, in point of unacknowledged fact, by a large section of the advertising media today? Fortunately the propaganda war between the Soviets and the West has momentarily subsided. We hesitate to think of the effective use that an eager commissar of propaganda, anxious to deflate "freedom of the press" and similar Western notions, could make of the frank boast that the advertiser is entitled to veto news and editorial comment "inimical to business and businessmen."

First Haiti Then Franco?

When Senator Henning's subcommittee studies religious freedom and church-state separation next fall, it should take a close look at the commercial treaty Vice President Nixon signed with the government of Haiti last March. Unlike normal commercial treaties, the Haitian agreement does not guarantee freedom of worship and conscience for nationals in each other's country. Haiti has been described as 90 per cent Catholic and 100 per cent Vaudou. But since its constitution gives the Catholic church a "special position," the tribal deities are not expected to benefit from Mr. Nixon's oversight. The *Christian Century* suggests that the Haitian treaty may pave the way for a similar agreement with Spain.

ATOMS AND POLITICS

An Historic Conference . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

Geneva

HERE one conference follows another. As soon as the Big Four had departed, the journalists turned their attention to the sessions of the Economic and Social Council which had been neglected during the great week. Now the ECOSOC has finished its deliberations and the "Little Geneva" conference—United States and Communist China—is going on. And as I write, the historic International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy is just getting under way. Before describing its impressive scope and prospects, a few words about the Chinese talks.

They could not have had a better beginning, since Ambassador Wang Ping-nan was able to precede his discussions with Ambassador Johnson with the good news of China's decision to free the eleven American airmen. "I hope this measure," he said soberly, "will have a favorable effect on our present talks here." Mr. Johnson cordially expressed his pleasure at the news. Mr. Krishna Menon, Premier Nehru's ambassador-at-large, whose role in bringing about the release of the flyers has been unfortunately—and most unfairly—minimized in Washington, was on hand to share the general gratification. He was, of course, not in the Palais des Nations when the meeting started, but had seen Mr. Wang the previous evening and Mr. Johnson shortly before the talks began.

By its timing of the release of the Americans, Peking achieved two things: first, it avoided giving the impression that the decision resulted from any kind of pressure or bargaining; second, it opened the way for the discussion of broader matters, Formosa above all.

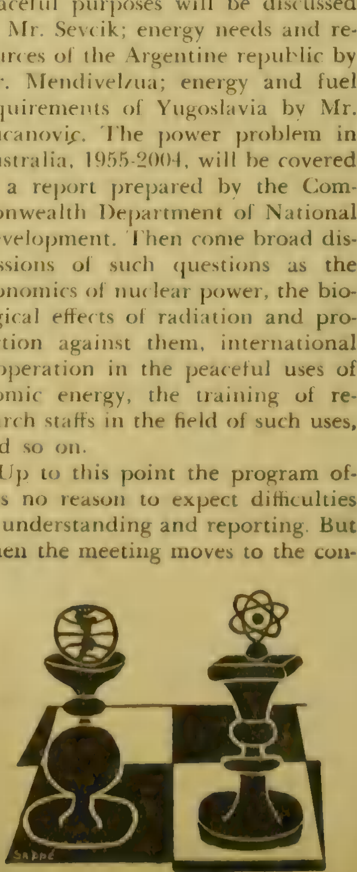
In the opinion of the diplomats, especially after what happened at the Big Four conference, there is no reason why these Chinese-American talks should not also prove successful. Mr. Wang has the reputation of being a diplomat of the school of Premier Chou En-lai, and Chou's prestige, won as the result of his subtle tactics during the Indochina meeting last year in this city, was greatly enhanced by the success achieved at Bandung. Asian observers, though conceding the strength of Washington's desire to save Chiang's face, were none the less hopeful that the United States would realize it would lose still more influence in Asia unless it grasped this opportunity to lay a reasonably good basis for broader negotiations—especially after Premier Chou En-lai's offer of a Pacific pact in his speech of July 30.

U. N. Secretary General Hammarskjold is being widely praised both for his part in the freeing of the American airmen and for having won, in a *tete-a-tete* meeting with President Eisenhower during the summit conference, American agreement that the present talks would be held in the Palais des Nations. The significance of this is that it can no longer be said that only the delegates of Chiang are welcome on the precincts of the United Nations. Some people here see in this gesture an anticipation of things to come.

THE opening of the Atomic Energy Conference has been preceded by a series of explanations intended to brief the laymen—beginning with the journalists—on the most important aspects of the conference; to help free them from the fear that they are walking through a dark tunnel of incomprehensible abstractions. In this regard, the speech by George L. Weil, technical director of the United States delegation, before the monthly dinner of the American Club of Geneva, was very encouraging; it proved that atomic problems could be talked about in understandable language.

The conference will cover a very wide field. It opens with an address and discussion on World Requirements of Energy, 1975-2000, for which many survey papers on estimated power needs and sources over the next fifty years have been prepared. This will be followed by a general presentation of the individual countries' requirements in power and heat, with reports by men of such authority as Dr. Bhabha, who will set forth India's needs during the next thirty years and the possibilities of the economic use of atomic power. The prospects of atomic development in Czechoslovakia and the part to be played by nuclear energy for peaceful purposes will be discussed by Mr. Sevcik; energy needs and resources of the Argentine republic by Mr. Mendivelzua; energy and fuel requirements of Yugoslavia by Mr. Vucanovic. The power problem in Australia, 1955-2004, will be covered in a report prepared by the Commonwealth Department of National Development. Then come broad discussions of such questions as the economics of nuclear power, the biological effects of radiation and protection against them, international cooperation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, the training of research staffs in the field of such uses, and so on.

Up to this point the program offers no reason to expect difficulties in understanding and reporting. But when the meeting moves to the con-

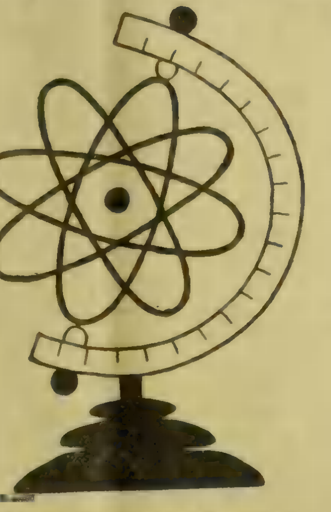


sideration of such technical topics as the inelastic scattering of fast neutrons by nuclei, on which Mr. Pasechynk will report; the theoretical prediction of neutron cross-sections of non-fissionable elements for energies up to 10 Mev. discussed by Mr. Weisskopf, and some fifty equally obstruse items, the general public, the journalists who must cable something to their papers, and especially the interpreters who must simultaneously translate these reports into the various languages—all are likely to feel at certain moments as if the atomic war had already begun. The 400 reports prepared for discussion were selected out of thousands received.

To calm the anxiety of the interpreters a system of red signals has been introduced as an innovation in international conferences. By flashing a signal the interpreter will tell the speaker that he cannot follow his scientific exposition and that the speaker must either go more slowly or use more understandable language. The interpreters have also been attending a brief course on atomic energy conducted under the direction of Prof. Leprince-Ringuet, of the College de France. But even so their task will not be an easy one.

OF course the sixty United Nations member states and the twenty-four non-member states, which are represented on specialized agencies and so have been invited to participate, have sent the best experts and scientists they could produce. The official doctrine is that politics has no place here. The choice of Dr. Homi J. Bhabha of India as presiding head of the meeting is expected to insure a kind of neutralism in the conduct of the sessions. But some doubt has been aroused about the real absence of politics by a poster one sees everywhere in Geneva announcing the United States exhibition of the peaceful applications of atomic energy. It bears the slogan "FOR PEACE!" written large in English, French, Russian, German, Italian, Spanish, and Chinese.

Since the origin of this atomic conference lies in President Eisenhower's famous declaration before the Assembly of the United Nations in 1953, there is nothing very surprising in the desire of the Americans to draw maximum advantage from the occasion. Leading members of the United States delegation have said privately that since Washington has lost to Moscow the initiative in the campaign against atomic war, Washington must compensate by taking the initiative and emerging from this conference as the pioneer in the exploration of means to develop through international cooperation the peaceful uses of atomic energy. But it may be necessary to go beyond this point to achieve any solid international leadership.



During the Big Four Conference "His Majesty the H-Bomb" played a decisive role, as Prime Minister Eden recognized in his report to the Commons. In the "reign" of the H-bomb, commented the *New Statesman and Nation,* "power politics, at least for the time being, have lost their meaning." Here, two weeks ago, any idea of using nuclear weapons as a response to hostile action or as means to impose a particular "way of life" was made almost impossible. But the campaign against the bomb goes further than that. Encouraged by the new atmosphere created in the first East-West encounter at the summit, the demand is growing for an end to the experimental nuclear explosions. The atomic conference will not be able to duck the controversy over this question that is going on among scientists and members of the various national atomic-energy commissions. Whatever the original hopes or plans, debate on this point will be one of the important features of the meeting.

Wide differences of opinion are freely expressed. One group of the scientists here have been influenced by the United States Atomic Energy Commission, which in its semi-annual report reviews encouragingly recent developments, including some experiments which appear to justify " a certain optimism, not possible a few years ago, on the possibility of protection against and recovery from radiation." Another group agrees with Dr. Roger Pilkington, the eminent British geneticist, who asserts that continued experimentation with the H-bomb, even in isolated desert areas, may lead "to the suicide of the human race."

The American delegation must therefore do its utmost to concentrate attention on scientific developments for peace uses. When a couple of days ago the White House announced that the United States plans to launch small unmanned satellites into space some time in 1957 or 1958, Americans here immediately quoted Mr. Hagerty as saying at his press conference, "I would like to stress that this project is entirely for scientific purposes"—and that its results would be available to all. The Russians have met this move by announcing their readiness to cooperate in the American venture while going ahead with their own plans of the same sort. The introduction of the space satellites issue is taken here, correctly or not, as an omen of better Soviet-American relations in the atomic field too.

BUT politics plays a part in other directions too. There is the struggle between private and public control within national boundaries, as illustrated in the United States by the Dixon-Yates affair. There is the "peaceful" struggle on the international level between industrialists and financiers for domination of the new world markets to be opened by the application of atomic energy to industrial uses—a struggle already evident here in the British exhibition accompanying the conference at which one sees how quietly, but efficiently, the British have been working. And finally one senses the political pressures of industrial groups—the fears and rivalries, for instance, between oil and coal interests and the interests tied to the vast potential of the atom. These long-range and highly controversial aspects of the conference will become more evident as the days pass.

MIDSUMMER SANITY

Russians in Iowa . . *by Charles F. Ransom*

Des Moines

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV blistered Soviet agriculture in January and demanded eight times as much corn production for livestock feed by 1960. So in the heart of Iowa's corn-hog country, Lauren Soth wrote a playful little editorial for the Des Moines *Register* on February 10 inviting "any delegation Khrushchev wants to select to come to Iowa to get the low-down. . . . We will take the visiting delegation to Iowa's great agricultural experiment station at Ames, to some of the leading farmers of Iowa, to our livestock breeders, soil-conservation experts, and seed companies. . . . Furthermore, we would be glad to go to Russia with a delegation. . . . We ask nothing in return. We figure that more knowledge about the means to a good life in Russia can only benefit the world and us. It might even shake the Soviet leaders in their conviction that the United States wants war. . . ."

The *Christian Science Monitor* reprinted the editorial. Tass, the Soviet news agency, sent it to Moscow as the first bit of friendliness in a long time. The Soviet Ministry of Agriculture's newspaper commented, "Workers in Soviet agriculture regard with approval the proposal of the Des Moines *Register.*"

But it took a lot of nagging and pushing and catching Ike off guard by the *Register's* relentless Washington bureau before the State and Justice departments would agree to make the necessary exceptions to the McCarran Act, and they never got enthusiastic about the project. It took a lot of selling by Soth (once a state-college faculty member) to get Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts to take over the job of arranging the tour, which the State Department insisted upon.

Even then, the whole thing almost fell through when the Soviet government got up on its ear about having delegations of honored visitors fingerprinted. This was surmounted by sending the Russian group as an official, government mission which it would have been anyway, though the American farm delegation to Russia is entirely unofficial, with the individuals paying their own way (or wangling expenses, which are high, out of some private organization or other). Seven of the twelve Americans are actual dirt farmers who can afford to take a month or so off in the summer and spend upwards of $2,500.

THE Soviet delegation, on the other hand, is headed by Vladimir Matskevich, the acting Minister of Agriculture, and is studded with other high officials of the Soviet Union and the Russian and Ukrainian member republics. There is also a state-farm director along: Petr Babmindra, head of "Gigant," the biggest state farm in the country, with 115,000 acres in the Rostov district. There is a machine-tractor station director, and the president of the 35,000-acre collective farm "Kuban" in the Krasnodar district.

Both delegations have been getting a big play in the Soviet and American press: half a page in *Pravda* once, picture clusters in Cleveland and Denver, and long stories in Milwaukee and St. Louis, well outside the tour route. The Soviet press, naturally, has a uniform line: the tremendously warm-hearted welcome from the American and Soviet peoples, the mutual learning, mutual friendship of "the toilers."

The American press is much more varied. A cynical old hand might expect other papers to lay off a story so openly "created" by the *Register.* But this has not been happening. To be sure, the *Register* and *Tribune* in Des Moines, and their sister Cowles-owned papers in Minneapolis are devoting more space to the visiting Russians than other papers. But it isn't just the New York *Times,* the *Christian Science Monitor,* the national news magazines, and the internationalist dailies which are following the Russian delegation's travels with interest. The Chicago *Tribune* had its own staff man, Richard Orr, with the Russians for eleven days, turning in straight news and features. The copy desk in Chicago got "Red Burocrats" into the head from time to time, but the stories were factual and well done, and the interpretation fair.

Even more "nationalist" ordinarily than the Chicago *Tribune* is the Omaha *World-Herald.* But the *World-Herald* is trying to build up its own circulation in Iowa, so it covered (for Iowa editions anyway) the Iowa leg of the trip much more fully than you might expect from a paper which denounced the whole business editorially, pointing out that the Russian visitors were officials, not farmers, and that tourists with cameras (from Nazi Germany, for example) were not always harbingers of peace.

Before the Russians came, the Sioux City *Journal* called them Communist Party leaders rather than farmers (which of course they are), and said "we have been took." But the Sioux City Chamber of Commerce, when it heard that the Russians were canceling their visit to the stockyards for lack of time, asked Governor Leo Hoegh of Iowa to intercede for them. Governor Hoegh told Matskevich he would be "personally gratified" if the Russians could stop in Sioux City. So Matskevich split the delegation three ways: he and two others made a side trip in Cadillacs to Sioux City, two Russians whose special interest is farm machinery flew to Peoria, Illinois, and the rest returned to Des Moines in their air-conditioned chartered bus.

A determined effort was made by individual Midwesterners to expose the Russians to religion. Graces and prayers were said over them, and sometimes translated into Russian—

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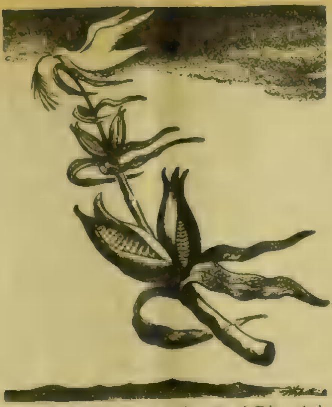
once by a Russian emigre who had been condemned to death as a "white guard." Six of the Russians allowed themselves to be dragged to church in friendly Jefferson, Iowa, where they spent a weekend in family homes. In Waterloo, three women cornered Alexander Tulupnikov and questioned him at length about his religion and religion in Russia. They were not very well satisfied when he told them, "My religion is to be honest and to do my duty to the motherland, to be useful to myself and others, and to raise the standard of living of our people."

Tulupnikov is the most flamboyant character in the Soviet delegation, with a great mop of wild black hair and a hearty laugh. He is a member of the collegium of the Soviet Ministry of Agriculture, the director of a research institute in agricultural economics, and the one member of the group who knows more than a few words of English.

One correspondent speculated that Tulupnikov might be the MVD man of the party, because he seemed so much more at ease and uninhibited. However, Leon Volkov of *Newsweek,* himself a Russian officer who defected to the West ten years ago, said it was obvious that the security man was Sergei Vasiliev, second secretary of the Soviet Embassy, who accompanied the party and handled many of the chores.

All I know personally is that on at least one occasion, Vasiliev did not have the last word. At a caviar-and-vodka party the Russians threw in Des Moines, they planned to show a color movie about the All-Union Agricultural Exposition at Moscow. Then a hitch developed: it was inflammable nitrate film, and there was no enclosed, fireproof projection room in the hotel ballroom. Matskevich, Vasiliev, a battery of interpreters, John Strohm (the party's able American shepherd), and the hotel management conferred frantically at great length. At 8:45 I asked Matskevich when the film would be shown. At 9, he said. At 9 I asked Vasiliev, who had now left the huddle. Vasiliev said the showing had been cancelled because of fire regulations. But a few minutes later the show went on by special permission of the Des Moines city manager, who was present, after urgent orders to extinguish all cigarettes and cigars.



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

And, lo, in her mouth was an Iowa cornstalk.

Everyone agreed that the Russians were doing a superb propaganda job. "Traveling circus," said the *Witness,* Roman Catholic diocesan paper in Dubuque. "Frankly we are scared," said the Mitchell County *Press.* Even when conditions were most trying, the Russians smiled: through the heat (105 degrees one day), the long hours, the hordes of newsmen and photographers hounding them, and the hundreds of neighbors who showed up for their scheduled farm stops.

They knew how to duck controversy without rudeness. Matskevich in particular was forever making little jokes. He said he would answer the hard questions "in the bus"—the air-conditioned bus for the delegation only. "We will now divide the work," he quipped when a farmer's wife invited the Russians only in for a light lunch. "The Russian delegation will go in the house and have something to eat, and the correspondents can sit out here and take it easy." After showing the nitrate film, he announced: "Although there are six parts, you have seen two. But that is to your advantage, because you can go home and go to bed earlier."

The Russians rarely told whoppers, although once Matskevich denied there were forced labor camps in Russia, and Deputy Premier Nikolai Gureyev of the Ukraine said, "Russian farmers love the collective farms. . . . If somebody would offer them land of their own, they would reject it."

The big argument, among Midwest press and public, was about the other side of the propaganda contest. Many "nationalists" seemed to think their nation was bound to lose out, and that fellow Americans are suckers who are falling for the new Soviet "peace" line as they once did for Hitler's. The Administration didn't help much by dragging its heels, and then sending at first only two interpreters, neither with any special knowledge of agriculture, and one agricultural specialist who didn't know Russian. This was remedied eventually, and meanwhile there were other bilingual men around who could help the party over the language barrier: two Tass men, a *Pravda* man, Vasiliev of the Soviet Embassy, an International Harvester engineer at East Moline, a Polish D. P. on an Iowa farm, several native Russians, several bilingual American newsmen.

THE Associated Press sent Tom Whitney, with Moscow experience and fluent Russian, to follow the tour, and the New York *Times* sent Harrison Salisbury for a few days. Volkov of *Newsweek* is a native Russian. These three agreed that the facts of American agriculture and American life, seen at first-hand, are making a big impression on the Russians, conceal it though they try. Whitney (like Orr of the Chicago *Tribune* and Carl Larson of the Chicago *Sun-Times)* felt the Russians were deliberately missing the biggest fact of all: the individual incentives of family-operated farms. But if so, this was not for want of people pointing it out to them. Of course rainfall (twice Russia's black-soil belt's), available capital per farm (several times Russia's), acres of good land per farm family (many times Russia's), and education (more advanced than Russia's) all have a great deal to do with the Midwest American farmer's higher living standards, too, as Matskevich indicated occasionally when goaded into it.

Matskevich himself, part way through the trip, said the chief Midwest practices he wanted to apply at home were: (1) large-scale use of hybrid corn, (2) wider use of feed concentrates for poultry and livestock, and (3) increase in the variety and number of farm machines, including time-saving machines for small jobs.

Questions by the Russians indicated that they were surprised at the smallness of the labor force needed on American mechanized farms, at the decentralization of decisions on what to plant, where to sell, what to study in college, what to do research on. They were surprised at the coffee breaks in a Cedar Rapids packing house, at the growing of "useless" dwarf corn "for fun" by hybrid-seed-corn research men, and most of all at the extreme cordiality of most Americans they met.

So kindly were Midwest press accounts of the visit that much of the material could go straight into the *Daily Worker*—and did. So, too, *Pravda's* comment about the "deep friendly feeling which plain Americans have for the Soviet people" would need only a word or two changed to get into almost any American paper, including the most nationalist. Yet there was a difference. This time Americans are not swallowing a bait, they are practicing competitive coexistence. The United Presbyterian pastor who tore the sign "There is no freedom in Russia" off its standard when an anti-Communist tried to picket a farm where the Russians were being entertained told the United Press afterward: "I agreed with the statement on that sign, but thought it was in bad taste to use Stover's farm as a sounding board." The picket left the place amiably when Stover's brother ordered him off. "That's okay," he said. "That's your right. I believe in private property."

A farmer named Ladimal Fiala, of Stratford, Iowa, called on the Russians at their hotel in Ames, to return some Communist propaganda leaflets a farmer in Regina, Saskatchewan, sent him. Fiala was "not impressed." One of the hovering newsmen tried to get him to make a scene about it, slamming the stuff on the floor at their feet. Fiala preferred politeness. So do most Midwesterners, now.

T.V.'S NEW "REALISM"

Truth Sans Consequences . . *by Ring Lardner, Jr.*

IT WAS inevitable that television drama would get around to tackling important social themes. The same thing happened in motion pictures despite all the obstacles carefully set up to prevent it.

During the past couple of months I have seen programs dealing with such significant subjects as the ruthlessness of big business men, anti-minority discrimination, and the role of the domestic servant. Two of them have been among the most skilful programs in my brief experience as a viewer, and all of them have come to profoundly reactionary conclusions.

Producers and story editors rarely ask for this sort of explosive material. Nine times out of ten it is the writer himself who feels the urge to break out of the playpen in which the mechanized entertainment industry tries to confine him. What he finds, when he explores the broader vistas of the adult world, is often dangerous stuff, but the seasoned manipulator knows how to handle it so the explosion will not strike any forbidden targets. He avoids the mistakes, on the one hand, of the romantic partisan who writes a script no sponsor will accept, and on the other, of the earnest fence-sitter who makes no point because none exists to which he can give his unqualified endorsement.

What is it that lures the most dedicated commercial writer into an occasional brush with the actual world around him? A major factor, I believe, is the simple truth that it is easier to write about something than about nothing. The more a man has to say—the more real and pressing the subject material with which he is dealing—the less important become the literary touches, the refinements of style, and the ingenuities of presentation.

In a mass medium where writers' work is consumed at a ravenous rate, the lure of the socially significant becomes more than the veriest hack can resist. The cute premises about amnesia and double identities grow strained after a while; there are limits to the variations on what an heir can do with a million dollars; brutality itself loses its shock value with repetition. The writer finds that his capacity for inventive plagiarism is insufficient to sustain the pace and mood he needs to make tired material acceptable once more. He begins to suffer from third-act trouble, and he is ready to try anything. He turns to reality.

Now all he has to devise is the particular distortion which will enable him to present a segment of life without facing up to its consequences. Two recent examples of what this process can lead to dealt with the ticklish subject of racial and national prejudice. Both were on big network dramatic shows during the month of March; both approached the discrimination issue gingerly, choosing a minority group so special and local that no appreciable number of set owners could be alienated; and both managed to arrive at grotesquely dishonest answers to one of mankind's besetting problems.

ONE, which took the better part of an hour to unfold, was about a young man who married a girl with a Sioux Indian grandparent. Prejudice in this instance was centered in the character of the young man's father, who not only refused to shelter the miscegenators under his roof but permitted his grandchild to be born without benefit of physician rather than rush to his daughter-in-law's aid in the only vehicle capable of penetrating a heavy snowfall.

The baby died and the old man broke down in a fit of remorse. What was startling was the revela-

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RING LARDNER, JR., screen writer and novelist, is the author of "The Ecstasy of Owen Muir."

tion of where his prejudice originated: he is part Indian himself! No one else in the play, except, for a fleeting moment, the wife of the justice of the peace who married the couple, has been guilty of anti-Siouxism. The implication is clear that it is the presence of the minority taint that breeds prejudice. Had the two races remained in the pristine purity of their separateness, nothing would have marred their peaceful coexistence.

The other show, happily limited to thirty minutes including commercials, laid bare the festering sore of Portuguese-Back Bay relations on Cape Cod. A daughter of immigrants was so ashamed of their poor English and odd Iberian customs that she called herself Mary instead of Maria, and tried to prevent her young man and his patrician parents from meeting them.

But when they were brought together none the less, it turned out that it had never occurred to the Boston types to probe the national origin of a prospective daughter-in-law. Actually they were passionately interested in Portuguese-American culture, including the quaint paraphernelia of his trade which the misguided fisherman had stashed away out of their sight. What all this proves, of course, is that the fantasy of discrimination exists only in the primitive imagination of the minority mind.

Reluctance to meet an issue head-on and the obligation to provide a quick, dramatic, and "constructive" finish—these are the gateposts of the primrose path that leads a writer to oversimplification, distortion, and downright fraud. If you are unwilling to expose the real cause of a situation you are headed inevitably toward either a weak or a deceptive conclusion. Sometimes a sufficiently confused or inept writer manages to blend the two defects. The expert, however, is always ready to err in the direction of deceit rather than of a dramatic letdown. As Robert Hatch said in his review of "The Blackboard Jungle," he "calls the citizen's attention to a pressing evil only to assure him immediately that a very pretty remedy is at hand."

One of the most discussed shows in the history of television was Rod Sterling's "Patterns," which was performed in January and repeated in February on the Kraft Television Theater. Here, at the end of a play which was written, directed, and performed on the highest level of excellence I have seen in a work originally conceived for the medium, we were confronted with a twist which derived its shock value from its utter unexpectedness and direct contradiction of what had gone before.

The technique involved deserves, I believe, the name of the "Caine Mutiny" Method, and it is more brutally characteristic of our time than the others we have considered. Whether deliberately conceived that way or not, it emerges as a cynical and conscientious exploitation of democratic content for authoritarian purposes.

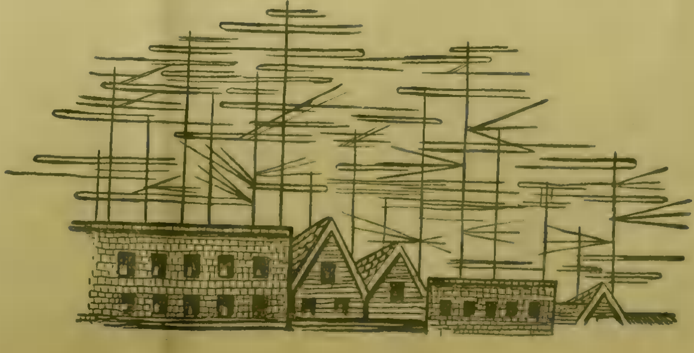
It consists of taking a target—the Annapolis system or the ethics of big business—against which you can enlist the instinctively progressive sympathies of a mass audience, attacking it for seven-eighths of your total length, and then reversing the point of view entirely in a last-minute switch which gains dramatic effect by its suddenness and presents an argument which would never hold up in a full-length work.

"Patterns" is probably too well remembered to require more than the briefest summation of the situation as it exists when Mr. Sterling pulls the switch. Ramsey, the head of the company, skilfully played by Everett Sloane, has succeeded beyond his expectations in his unprincipled and frankly immoral campaign to rid himself of an executive too highly placed to be fired. The man's resistance to the efforts to make him resign have brought on a fatal heart attack.

At this point the viewer, carefully conditioned to identify himself with the young executive who has been groomed to succeed the veteran, sees him accept, almost as if it were unchallengeable, the doctrine that the god of profit stands above all the moralities of the older religions. Our hero learns that the end justifies the means, a doctrine that has been ascribed to Jesuits and Communists and sharply repudiated by both groups. In "Patterns" it is the declared position of the capitalist spokesman, and apparently of the author as well.

ANOTHER variation of the same technique of applying the reactionary twist to progressive content was demonstrated in mid-March by Tad Mosel in a Television Playhouse presentation called "My Lost Saints." This, too, was a program decidedly superior to the general run of television drama. It had a provocative idea and good characterization. It was well directed and well acted, particularly by Eileen Heckart in the leading role of a housekeeper who had worked eighteen years for the same family.

Rarely has one person done so much for so many with so little appreciation as this heroine did for her employers and for her mother when the latter arrived for an over-



night visit which she extended into weeks by pretending to be injured. Dashing back and forth with superhuman energy and patience between the demands of her "family" and of her mother, the housekeeper was sure they were saints, all of them. The irony, of course, was that she herself was the only person in the household in whose behalf a claim for canonization, or beatification at the very least, could be made.

The possessive, egocentric mother and the incompetent, worthless lady of the house were about equally objectionable, and when the housekeeper was finally driven to denounce them both, one felt that here was a woman ready at least to assert her identity and free herself from the most degrading and thankless work our society has to offer.

IT WAS a momentous decision after all those years and this viewer at least was quite curious to see how the character and her creator would meet the challenging necessity of providing her a new, independent orientation. They didn't. Abruptly, and despite all the evidence that her employers had little regard for her as a person, she decided that the familiar life was best for her after all. She would stay with the family that made believe she was one of them even though she now knew that it wasn't true.

As with "Patterns," such an ending would be quite satisfactory if it were treated as a piece of irony or as a tragedy. But it was obvious in both cases that the endings were meant to be taken as proper resolutions of the conflicts presented.

The rewards for this sort of work are becoming more respectable and I myself am working on an epic Western in which a high-hatted mortgage-holder with mustachios and a riding crop will offer the young maiden a postponement of foreclosure in exchange for the use of her fair white body. My surprise ending will show her yielding herself voluntarily because she has learned the patriotic lesson that our society will fall apart at the seams unless the sexual needs of the investing classes are satisfied.

MOROCCO IN FERMENT

Violence as Policy . . *by Marvine Howe*

Rabat, Morocco

THE GREAT danger in Morocco today is that the followers of violence may succeed in eliminating or terrorizing French and Moroccans who are striving to find a peaceful solution to the country's crisis. This reign of force has already begun. It began even before August 1953, the time of the forced deposition of Sultan Mohammed ben Youssef, who had always tried to come to a peaceful settlement with France. Already Moroccan officials, *pashas* and *caids,* who were loyal to the Sultan and who tried to reason with their French superiors had been exiled and replaced by Moroccans prepared to rule with an iron hand.

As long as violence was law in Morocco, certain ambitious leaders, French and Moroccans, could be sure that the country would not be given the right to govern itself. And so violence became an integral part of the policy of a few influential men in Morocco. But while Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef was on the throne, there had been a check to that policy because the Sultan could and did protest against injustices enacted against his people.

In the absence of Morocco's rightful ruler, there has been no one to speak for the Moroccan people. They cannot speak for themselves because they have no press and are not allowed to hold public meetings. Any peaceful attempt to show opposition to the present regime, such as the closing of shops, workers' strikes, parades, has always been suppressed by force.

It was inevitable that some Moroccans should take the only way out, fighting repression with violence. These Moroccans have been labeled "terrorists" by Europeans. But in the eyes of the Moroccan population, the "terrorists" are leaders of the resistance—the *Fidai,* or redeemers, and are heroes as the Gaullistes were before them.

The Moroccan resistors began their campaign after the Sultan's exile. First they attacked those known to be French agents. Later, when the resistance movement was better organized, a campaign was directed against individuals known to be responsible for the deposition of the Sultan, including prominent French and Moroccan officials. Attacks against these influential persons naturally excited the European population much more than attacks against Moroccan water-carriers and tobacconists.

Severe sanctions were taken against Moroccans accused of terrorism. Hatred and violence spread, and attacks were often committed at random by Moroccans who had joined the protest movement for their own individual interests.

When what is commonly called the "counter-terrorism" broke out in June, 1954, Europeans in Morocco tended not only to excuse but often sympathized with this European violence as a kind of just retaliation to the Moroccan attacks. The Europeans, deciding to take the law into their own hands, grouped themselves into different organizations: *Avant-garde des Ideologies Republicains* (A. G. I. R.), and the *Organisation de Defense Antiterroriste* (O. D. A. T.). These organizations began a fiery campaign, particularly in Casablanca, where tracts were widely distributed criticizing the au-

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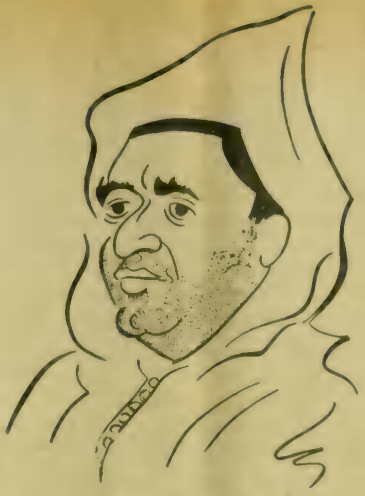
thorities' methods of combatting terrorism and announcing that they themselves would assume the task of repressing terrorism.

Certain local weeklies publicly supported the counter-terrorist movement. In one edition of *Paris-Maroc,* early 1955, the French director wrote that the only efficient way to fight terrorism was "to follow it onto its own ground; to paralyze it by its own means." The Protectorate organ *Echo* wrote at the same time that terrorism had provoked some people to consider the forces of law and order insufficient and to want to defend themselves.

Counter-terrorism (called "European terrorism" by Moroccans) has turned out to be a movement, not against terrorists, but rather against those French and Moroccans who themselves are opposed to violence of any form. The victims are often innocent Moroccan peasants or persons who had volunteered to act as mediators between France and the Protectorate. Unscrupulous men used the legitimate patriotic sentiments of the local European population for their own personal interests—to maintain a troubled atmosphere and do away with those who sought a just solution to the Moroccan problem.

Officially, counter-terrorism was denounced in the same terms as terrorism. When Resident General Francis Lacaste arrived to assume his new post in Morocco in June 1954, he declared himself determined to fight against both. But although hundreds of Moroccans suspected of terrorist activities were arrested and condemned, no action whatsoever was taken against counter-terrorists until the recent change of regime here. More than a dozen well-known Moroccan moderate nationalists and Frenchmen who defended the Moroccan point of view were victims of counter-terrorist attacks in the past year; more than a hundred machine gun, bomb, pistol, and arson attacks were the work of counter-terrorists, according to those who have closely studied the situation. The authors of these crimes were never apprehended, although there was no lack of witnesses and evidence. It has recently been proved that the counter-terrorist movement enjoyed police protection, and high police officials have been deported to France.



Sultan ben Youssef

Protectorate officials more or less ignored counter-terrorism until the recent death of Jacques Lemaigre-Dubreuil, a French industrialist said to have been assassinated by Europeans. This was the shock needed for France to revise her Protectorate policy. Gilbert Grandval, who had gained an excellent reputation as Ambassador to the Saar, was brought in as the new Resident General with instructions to clean out at once high administrative and police posts.

On June 11, at 11:30 p. m., Lemaigre-Dubreuil was killed by machine-gun fire in front of the Liberty Building in the heart of Casablanca. A hero of the French resistance in North Africa in World War II, he had, months before his death, purchased the controlling shares of *Maroc Presse,* and enlisted in another North African campaign: the Moroccans' struggle for national sovereignty.

Maroc Presse was the only relatively liberal newspaper in Morocco, and had been under severe pressure from the authorities and important financial groups. With Lemaigre-Dubreuil's influence and financial support, the newspaper took a new lease on life, and in a few weeks, the Casablanca daily had become an important political power. For the first time since 1952, when their own newspapers were outlawed, Moroccans had a publication in which to express their opinions. At the same time, the new owner traveled frequently from the Protectorate to

Hope for Morocco

By Pierre Mendes-France

Jacques Lemaigre-Dubreuil's tragic end has revealed to public opinion the existence in North Africa of liberal and courageous Frenchmen who do not share the views of those who always claim to speak in their name. There are those who think that only the use of force, of open warfare against nationalism in all its forms, and even of provocation, can still assure the continued existence of France's privileges [in Morocco]. And there are others who are convinced that it is hopeless to fight the will to the rights of man, and patriotism. They are certain that only a frank and faithful understanding with the Moroccans will guarantee the maintenance there of French presence.

Thus the line of demarcation is not really between two peoples, but rather between those on both sides who believe only in violence and those, also on both sides, who advocate negotiation. And the fact that such a situation exists is a cogent reason for hope.

Let us look to the future. What counts above all is that the continental French realize that certain "usual" spokesmen do not represent all the French of Morocco. Far from it. This ought to facilitate the task of the government. . . . Those who worked with Jacques Lemaigre-Dubreuil, and who want to continue in that direction, should now be heard oftener and more clearly.

That depends first of all on the civil service—where men of good will are quickly overwhelmed, discouraged, or paralyzed. It depends still more on the government. Finally, it depends on the French in Morocco themselves. who must continue the efforts they have just begun.

They must make their views known on every occasion, courageously disown the excesses of counter-terrorism, and make constructive suggestions to their compatriots on the continent. In Africa as in France, political activity has too often remained the monopoly of unrepresentative men and groups whose power lies in the apathy of the majority.

Paris to keep the French government informed about the actual situation in Morocco and to urge a radical change in policy. On the very day of his death, Jacques Lemaigre-Dubreuil had flown back from Paris where he had warned the French government about the increasingly bad political situation in Morocco and the growing threat of counter-terrorism. He urged immediate action and threatened to publish a very serious dossier on the situation if the government did not enact urgent measures of reform.

Former Premier Pierre Mendes France paid a stirring tribute to the dead publisher. [See Mr. Mendes-France's statement elsewhere in this article.—The Editors.] But there has been no general denunciation of counter-terrorism among French colonialists since Lemaigre-Dubreuil's death. The local European population as a whole continues to deny its very existence, or to defend it, or blame it on foreign *provocateurs,* despite the detailed proofs of a counter-terrorist organization published in the French press, the public condemnation of counter-terrorism by high officials in France, and the arrest or expulsion of several dozen Europeans implicated in counter-terrorist activities.

THE murderer of Jacques Lemagre-Dubreuil has not been found. And he won't be found, say the dead man's friends, who believe that the murderer is too big to be attacked. And counter-terrorism continues in spite of Resident General Grandval's energetic reforms. Tracts are still widely distributed urging the European population to rise up against the new Resident General and his policy of "appeasement." When the leaders of the right-wing settlers' organization, *Presence Francaise,* were implicated in the recent Casablanca riots and deported, that powerful organization announced that it would fight the Resident General and his policy with force.

It is now widely believed that the bomb which exploded in downtown Casablanca on July 14—Bastille Day—killing six Europeans and injuring thirty-five, was instigated by counter-terrorist organizations. Likewise the European massacre of Moroccans which followed. A correspondent for the leading French daily *Le Monde* wrote: "The Casablanca uprising was not spontaneous." He reported that already at the arrival of Mr. Grandval in Morocco, Casablanca was in the hands of "revolutionary committees."

The big job before the Resident General is bringing not only the terrorists but counter-terrorists to justice. To eliminate Moroccan "resistance," an end must be brought to the wartime occupation regime here under which Moroccans are denied basic human liberties in their own country. To eliminate European provocation, counter terrorism must be unmasked for what it really is—the implement of large and small privileged groups who for their own personal interests wish to see the status quo in Morocco unchanged. This includes both the powerful colonial interests as well as minor officials such as policemen and customs officers, those Europeans who know they will be the first to be replaced by Moroccans the day the citizens of this country are permitted to share in its management.

VOICE FOR LABOR

Editor Scoop White . . *by William C. Blizzard*

Winfield, W. Va.

THERE may be another daily newspaper managing editor in the United States like Ralph Scoop White, but those who work for him are not prepared to agree without an argument.

Scoop, they say, is *sui generis,* just as *Labor's Daily,* the newspaper he edits, is the only daily labor publication in this country. Where else could you find a boss invariably modest, soft spoken, courteous, always willing to listen to suggestions, generous with praise and temperate in criticism, a welcome and friendly associate in his few leisure hours?

Scoop—a boyhood nickname later legally adopted—has gained the affection and respect of employees of *Labor's Daily* for one major reason: He does not consider himself a "boss" and he doesn't act like one. He grew up in a print shop, working at a hand-fed job press when he had to stand on a box to reach his work, setting type by hand when he was ten years old. Scoop's background does not, of course, entirely explain his amiable disposition and personal outlook. But whatever the hereditary and social complex responsible, Scoop was a good choice to guide the fortunes of labor's first daily newspaper.

Some readers of *The Nation* may be surprised to learn there *is* a nationally circulated daily labor newspaper published by and for the American labor movement. For many years the project was talked about in high labor circles but received the same treatment as Mark Twain's weather until Woodruff Randolph's 103-year-old International Typographical Union printed the first issue of *Labor's Daily* at Charleston, West Virginia, on September 16, 1952. With initial help from John L. Lewis's United Mine Workers, the newspaper has appeared five days a week ever since, not missing a single issue.

This historically important event came about largely because of the fight for life of the I. T. U. in the sea of reaction which swept the country after World War II. (The Taft-Hartley Act alone is estimated to have cost the I. T. U. more than $20,000,000.) Union printers were often faced with a strike situation in towns where the non-union pub-

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WILLIAM C. BLIZZARD is a free-lance writer with long experience in the labor field.

lisher had no competitor. The I. T. U. hit upon the bold idea of setting up a rival newspaper plant and leasing it to a competing publisher.

The idea was later expanded into a chain of union-sponsored newspapers. One such newspaper plant was erected at Charleston, and eventually became the home of *Labor's Daily*, turning into reality a long-cherished dream of the more progressive segments of labor.

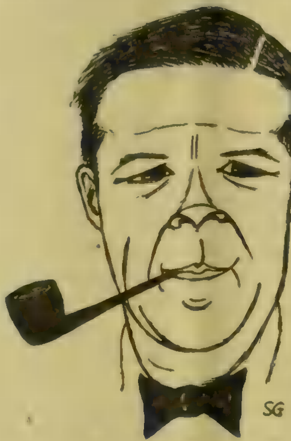
Scoop White, a stocky, dark-haired man with a penchant for a pipe and conservative (union-made), double-breasted suits, has been an I. T. U. member for almost thirty years. He is a charter member of the Monroe, Louisiana, typographical union and served several terms as its president. After holding a number of relatively minor union posts, he served from 1948 to 1952 as vice-president of the Louisiana State Federation of Labor.

His early introduction to the printing trade came in his father's shop. While Scoop calls Monroe his home town, his father liked to travel, working in print shops and putting out weekly newspapers in many Southern states. The elder White, now deceased, did much "stringer" work for Southern newspapers in addition to his own publishing. Scoop's writing bent also stood him in good stead. When the depression struck he lost his job as a printer and went to work as a newspaperman, doing stints as police reporter, feature writer, assistant telegraph editor, and Associated Press correspondent.

WHEN the printers were locked out of the Monroe *News-Star* and *Morning World* in 1932, Scoop was made managing editor of an I. T. U.-sponsored daily called the Monroe *Free Press*. Its publication brought quick results: the lockout was broken in about two months. Scoop was later editor of a weekly newspaper of the same name which continues to exist and is not a strike paper, but a general circulation sheet.

When the I. T. U. set up one of its chain of dailies at Monroe it was only natural that Scoop was selected as managing editor, serving in that capacity until the I. T. U. leadership chose him to be the editor of *Labor's Daily*.

While vice-president of the Louisiana State Federation of Labor, Scoop established a monthly newspaper for that body, conducted a weekly fifteen-minute labor-forum program over Monroe's station KNOE, and was the prime mover in the formation of the Louisiana Typographical Conference. He was also successful in getting a state Fair Employment Practices Act, requiring governmental agencies to hire union labor, through the Louisiana legislature, only to have it vetoed by Governor Sam Jones.



Scoop White

But Scoop is fondest of telling of his help in the organizing into the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (A. F. of L.) of the unskilled and semi-skilled Negroes who clean the streets and haul away the garbage of Monroe. "They worked," says Scoop, "for a base pay of $24.50 for a 44-hour week. Right away we upped that to $32.50 a week and chopped the hours to forty." Later, when Scoop ran for the state legislature (he wasn't elected) these same municipal employees came to him with $100 to help along with expenses. "It was about half their treasury," says Scoop, and it is plain he has never forgotten the gesture.

As the guiding hand of *Labor's Daily* Scoop White has not had an easy task. Immediately after its birth the newspaper threw itself into the national elections of 1952, a vociferous partisan of Democratic candidates. There was, of course, a Republican landslide. A little later came the McCarthyite bogeyman, which magnified every dissident squeak into the thunder of revolution and distorted every protest against the smooth-running "crusade" into advocacy of guillotine-bound tumbrels.

It may be said to the credit of *Labor's Daily* and Scoop White that there was no retreat. The newspaper fought the Eisenhower Administration from the beginning and was an uncompromising and outspoken foe of McCarthy and all he stood for while the Senator was still alive politically.

Despite the fact that, to date, *Labor's Daily* has championed Democratic political candidates, Scoop emphasizes that his newspaper is not tied to the Democratic Party, but is an independent, liberal publication. And it is interesting to note that a newspaper sponsored and managed by the I. T. U., a craft union and an A. F. of L. affiliate, has nevertheless given unbiased coverage to C. I. O. and independent unions. The paper has tried to heal differences and minimize jealousies among unions, a reflection of Scoop's conviction that labor unity is both necessary and inevitable. As an early and persistent advocate of unity, *Labor's Daily* has been encouraged by recent merger moves of the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. It is a fact that in January of this year Scoop stated editorially that 1955 would see such a merger of the two great labor bodies, a prophecy which is apparently being realized. In its third year of publication *Labor's Daily* is heartened by the growing support of both the independent unions and the two great federations.

SCOOP White is no radical. He is no "intellectual." He is a dedicated trade-unionist. In the past three years it has been no rare thing for him to spend twelve to fourteen hours a day, seven days a week, in the office of *Labor's Daily*, the day beginning as early as 5:30 a. m. He is sincere, almost devout, in his determination to do what he can for the American labor movement. And he is generally a shrewd judge of who and what is good for labor.

Quiet, almost shy, Scoop is nevertheless a man of deep convictions whose prose can thunder on provocation. Pragmatic, somewhat cautious, a good liberal from that South where not so very many are supposed to grow, he is representative of the best of the rank and file of American labor.

BOOKS

"The Canker in the Righteous"

THE BENT WORLD. A Christian Examination of East-West Tensions. By J. V. Langmead Casserley. Oxford University Press. $4.

By Kathleen Lonsdale

J. V. LANGMEAD CASSERLEY, now professor of dogmatic theology at the General Theological Seminary, New York City, was born and educated in London, and was, he tells us, surrounded in his home "by influences which, if not quite atheistic in the formal sense, were so bleakly and negatively agnostic as to amount to very much the same thing." A violent swing away from agnosticism brought him to the acceptance of a dogmatic, credal form of Christianity, and he was ordained a priest in the Church of England.

His background, which included a period of study at the London School of Economics, must have fitted him peculiarly to understand and appreciate both the truth and the errors of Marxism. In the first three chapters of "The Bent World" he has reproduced, in skilfully edited form, a series of addresses on Marxism in Theory and Practice, given to a large Rotary audience in Devonshire. If sometimes the sources on which he has drawn for his material show through rather clearly, that is perhaps no matter, for he has certainly a capacity for expressing in language that is easy to read what many others have said before in a more confused and less convincing way.

He is, of course, concerned with the conflict between Russo-Marxism and Western civilization at the philosophical and religious level, and he is, therefore, most properly anxious that Marxism shall be refuted in a reasonable way and not merely abused and rejected without understanding. But to refute it means that a positive alternative must be presented. A pagan and secularized individualistic democracy is an alternative that lacks power, he says, because it is half-Marxist already. The major part of this book is, therefore, a careful analysis of the weaknesses of Western civilization, of what Sir Walter Moberly called "the canker in the righteous," of those failings that sap the West of its ability to wage the war of ideas with any real certainty of success.

Democracy has, at times, been defined and presented as an alternative to Christianity and Dr. Casserley will have none of this. Democracy, he insists, is simply a technique for arriving at decisions which bind the group that makes them. His definition, however, is one that would justify the Communist insistence that their system is also a democratic one, for, at various levels for different types of group action, Soviet citizens do indeed arrive "at group decisions by way of open discussion." What they lack is the accepted and organized opposition, the permanent integration of minority political opinion, that characterizes normal Western democratic government. On questions of policy, such as the making of hydrogen bombs, it is doubtful, to say the least, whether the Western governments are any more democratic than the Soviet; in each case these are high-level decisions in which the mass of the people acquiesce with dismay in their hearts and with no previous open discussion at all.

Dr. Casserley does not, however, criticize democracy for this, but for its obsession with technical achievement rather than with ultimate values, with work rather than with a full life, with national independence rather than with international interdependence, and in particular, with selfish sexuality rather than with stable and harmonious family relationships. A society in which the custom of divorce has become chronic is, he contends, an unhappy, frustrated, neurotic society, ill fitted to defend the great traditions of Western civilization.

His prescription for the straightening of the bent world is a recovery of the power to believe in a dogmatic, Biblical, credal, institutional Christianity. But, curiously enough, it is just at this point that he becomes vague. He has a good deal to say about original sin, in opposing the notion of the self-perfectibility of man. He does just mention "the victory of the sinless Christ." But one looks in vain for any clear statement of the meaning of the crucifixion in terms that the secularists to whom he addresses himself would understand. He has little to say about the solution of international problems in terms of personal or community Christian behavior.

HE ASSUMES that the Western cause is righteous, although he is careful to say that we Westerners are sinful men. And he finds excuses for the neutralism of Indian anti-communism. This neutralism, he says, must be met with "great patience and forbearance" in order that India may finally be wooed to the side of the West. It never even seems to occur to him that Indian neutralism may be a salutary check on the aggressive defense mechanisms of both sides. He pays lip-service to the horrors of nuclear warfare, and strongly condemns the irresponsibility and wickedness of those who would advocate a so-called "preventive war," but apparently believes that "to proclaim the possibility as well as the necessity of waging war without hate is the primary prophetic task of the church in a war-torn world."

Since this book was printed, it has been admitted that a war fought with hydrogen-uranium bombs could blanket hundreds of thousands of square miles of territory in a lethal radioactive fog, the effects of which would persist for weeks or even months, and which would also certainly cause the birth of sub-human creatures who would pay the penalty of our sinful folly. One wonders whether Dr. Casserley is still "convinced that there are worse things than war, black and horrible though war itself must always be," and what kind of Christian faith it is that leaves a man no choice except between the torturing of his fellow men in a war of so-called self-defense and submission to the evils of an alien philosophy.

KATHLEEN LONSDALE is professor of chemistry at University College, London, and the author of numerous books, among them "Removing the Causes of War."

"The theory of the ideology shows us one of the ways in which even the rational thinking of fallen man can be corrupted, robbed of its honesty and integrity, even without the thinker himself being conscious of the fact." Is this not illustrated most aptly by Dr. Casserley's own concept of the Word of God to a nation at war as being merely "Wage your war without hate"? Personally I prefer the remark of G. B. Shaw: "If you strike a child, take care that you strike it in anger. . . . A blow in cold blood neither can nor should be forgiven."

Lambs into Lions

THE PRIVATE DIARY OF A PUBLIC SERVANT. By Martin Merson. The Macmillan Company. $3.

By Alan Barth

MR. MERSON'S title is a misnomer. His book is not a diary; it is a collection of notes from the past embellished by a number of second thoughts and subsequent recollections. And Mr. Merson himself is in no meaningful sense of the term a public servant; he is a successful lawyer-businessman who consented to give one month of his time to a government undertaking. As things turned out, he and Dr. Robert Johnson, president of Temple University, devoted five months to administering the International Information Administration. Mr. Merson's book is an account of their unhappy and generally unsuccessful experience in that embattled agency.

A great deal of the difficulty encountered by Dr. Johnson and Mr. Merson stemmed directly from the fact that they were *not* public servants. An important part of their task involved dealing with Congress; neither of them had ever done anything of the sort before. They were plunged into a bitter political row within the Administration; but they had no comprehension of politics. Moreover, neither of them had much equipment for the task they undertook. Johnson had become a millionaire before he was forty because he had been a cofounder of Time, Inc., and then had gone on to Temple University, while Merson had been associated with the Dixie Cup Company; but neither knew much about running an information program or about international affairs. The notion that a man is qualified to come to Washington and manage a complex governmental agency simply because he made money as a businessman is one of the characteristic, and pathetic, delusions of the incumbent Administration.

Johnson and Merson began their careers as public servants with almost every misstep it was possible to make. They were mousetrapped into assuming responsibility for administering the IIA before they had a chance to find out about the agency. They knew all the wrong people. They looked to such newsmen as David Lawrence and George Sokolsky for counsel. Of Senator McCarthy, who was determined to cut their bureaucratic throats, Johnson said at the outset, "I think he is a good American who wants to see that the Voice (of America) works properly. So do I." His first official act was to ask Scott McLeod for a check on the security files and an evaluation of the IIA's twenty top employees. "I'll back you to the limit," he told McLeod. "Send me information on anybody you think is a risk and I'll fire him."

BUT if they approached their task with almost incredible innocence and ineptitude, they approached it also with a generous fund of decency and sensitivity. Very quickly they came to understand and to resist the efforts of McCarthy and John Taber on Capitol Hill, of McLeod and Secretary Dulles in the State Department, to scuttle and stultify the information program. They responded with genuine indignation when they saw able officials of the IIA such as Reed Harris and Theodore Kaghan pilloried by the McCarthy subcommittee. They experienced real outrage over the Nazi-like book-burning directives that went out from the State Department to the IIA's overseas libraries.

They turned for help to the Administration in which they had taken their places with pride as "public servants." The President was too busy to see them. The President's assistant, Sherman Adams, could talk only in terms of "expediency." When they went to C. D. Jackson, the President's adviser on psychological warfare, to ask for White House backing in a showdown with McCarthy, they were told that it was Eisenhower's "passion not to offend anyone in Congress." Secretary Dulles had no interest whatever in them, in books, or in an information program. Undersecretary Walter Bedell Smith seemed to be an intimate of McCarthy; the hard-pressed IIA administrators found him personally cooking a curried lamb dinner for the Junior Senator from Wisconsin when they most needed his help.

THE great virtue of Merson's book lies in its recognition of the elementary political fact that the real responsibility for McCarthy's reign of terror belonged to those members of the Eisenhower Administration who kowtowed to the Senator instead of resisting him on grounds of essential principle. The picture of the Administration which Merson conveys is a sickening one.

At the end of five months, Johnson, broken in health, felt impelled to resign; Merson, of course, went with him. Nothing in their tenure of office so became them as their relinquishment of it. Indeed, it might have been a great deal better for them and for the country had they quit in outraged disgust as soon as they saw what they were up against. They stayed too long to escape some share of culpability for the policies forced upon them.

Nevertheless, if they came into office like lambs ready for shearing, they went out in something like the style of lions. They put into effect, at the very end of their term of service, a rational book policy. And they defied McCarthy rousingly when he attacked them for doing so. Perhaps there was some measure of justification for Merson's claim: "I could see clearly that the tide had begun to turn. I was proud that the IIA had been the first to set it in motion. We had managed to push Dulles and Eisenhower into the ring with McCarthy."

ALAN BARTH is the author of "Government by Investigation" and "The Loyalty of Free Men."

Four Angles on France

FLESH AND BLOOD. By Francois Mauriac. Translated by Gerard Hopkins. Farrar, Straus and Company. $3.

THE ROYAL HUNT. By Pierre Moinot. Translated by Ralph Manheim. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

THE BEST BUTTER. By Jean Dutourd. Translated by Robin Chancellor. Simon and Schuster. $3.50.

BONJOUR TRISTESSE. By Francoise Sagan. Translated by Irene Ash. E. P. Dutton and Company. $2.50.

By Haakon Chevalier

THESE four novels are all by young or beginning writers—though Mauriac, who was thirty-five when his appeared, is now seventy. The other three were published in France only recently and were all prize-winners. All have freshness and vigor. Each reveals an aspect of France from a personal angle.

"La Chair et le sang," which appeared in 1920, was Francois Mauriac's third novel, preceding by two years "Le Baiser au lepreux," which made him famous. All Mauriac's novels, it may be said, deal with passion and Catholicism on the banks of the Garonne. "Flesh and Blood" is a poorly constructed but nevertheless absorbing novel, in which one seems to witness the process by which a craftsman achieves mastery of his material. It begins with the return home of Claude Favereau, a vigorous, book-loving peasant, from the seminary, which he is leaving because the call to the priesthood in him is not sufficiently strong. He falls in love with May Dupont-Gunther, the spoiled daughter of a dreadful Bordeaux business man who is the new owner of the property on which Claude's family works and who belongs to the Reformed religion. A furtive kiss exchanged by the two leads May to marry the man of her father's choice, whom she detests, and to embrace Catholicism without conviction, and leaves Claude distraught and at loose ends for the rest of the novel. The focus shifts to Edward, May's brother, a dilettante and predestined suicide, and his passionless love affair with Edith Gonzales, daughter of his father's ex-mistress. Mauriac's fervor, his dedication, and his sense of life inform this early novel, and his gifts as a painter of the world of the senses and as a dissector of souls are already apparent.

IT IS hard to put one's finger on the specific quality of Pierre Moinot's "The Royal Hunt" that saves it from being what it almost is—a fable in which nothing is engaged but the surface. The surface is very agreeable. The novel takes us into the mountain country of the Vosges and into a rather beguiling realm of romance. There is a love story, and there is hunting of wild boar and deer, and the tracking down of an elusive gang of poachers on the great hunting preserve. The tale itself, well-paced, is engagingly natural and uncontrived. But the characters, though they are quite credible, exist only in the moments we see them, and have no past or future. No ideas, motives, or emotions are more than superficially explored. And the impact of the whole is pictorial rather than dramatic. What saves it is an elusive poetic quality that is not so much in the writing as in the succession of details that make up the flow of the narrative.

Young Philippe Lussac, bearing fresh scars from an unhappy love and permanently disillusioned so he thinks, with women, is off on a hunting trip with his older friend Henri Guifred on the latter's property. The theme of hunting is developed on three levels—hunting for game, the manhunt, and the pursuit of love. Here the hunter becomes the hunted. The reversal by which Helene Servance brings Philippe to bay is also poetic. The novel has something of the quality of a medieval tapestry: two-dimensional, its colors mellowed, with its stylized vegetation, its hunters and hounds, and a wounded stag.

"THE BEST BUTTER" is a savage satire. It relates the epic story of Charles-Hubert and Julie Poissonard, keepers of a little dairy-products shop on the rue Pandolphe in Paris during the years 1940 to 1950. By the end of this period they have accumulated a fortune of 47,000,000 francs and a country estate, and have married their daughter off to a deputy. Their rise to riches begins with the discovery that the German occupants are "correct," and Julie's hunch that food supplies will become scarce. Capitalizing on their country's humiliation and their fellow-citizens' misery, lying, cheating, playing up to the Germans, diluting the milk, larding the butter, manipulating ration cards, hoarding and black-marketing, gorging themselves while their neighbors starve, they breeze blithely through the occupation years, the Liberation, and the early post-war, making money right and left, inventing new infamies, ignorant, coarse, shameless, full of self-righteousness. In contrast to them, Leon Lecuyer, a neighbor, young intellectual and escaped prisoner, plays the role of ardent patriot, alternately touching and ludicrous. Imprisoned for plotting to assassinate Laval, he is released after the Liberation. His promising career as a school teacher is nipped in the bud because he refuses to be bribed into giving his hopelessly backward pupil Riri Poissonier a passing grade.

Thus vice is rewarded, and virtue punished, both rolled into an explosive package by the author, who writes with gloating ferocity, reveling in his virtuosity. A host of secondary characters form a lively supporting cast. Scenes like the Poissonards' visit to Marshal Petain with a gift of a dozen eggs, or M. Poissonard initiating the building of a barricade in the rue Pandolphe after the danger of street-fighting is over, are hilarious comedy. The moral of the novel is: Go into the dairy business.

WHEN "Bonjour Tristesse" received the Critics' Prize last year, Francois Mauriac made some rather trenchant comments on the jury's selection, referring to the author as "a charming monster of eighteen," and making the point that while the literary merit of the "cruel" book written by this "dreadful little girl" was beyond question, there were other books of equal merit "that bear witness to the spiritual life of France." The success that this novel has enjoyed all over Europe is un-

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HAAKON CHEVALIER, translator, critic, and novelist, is at work on a new novel, "The Man Who Would Be God."

doubtedly due in part to the particularly heady blend of ingenuous charm and depravity that it exudes, though this would have been inoperative had it not found a shape adequate to its impact.

Leaving aside the miracle of its having been written by so young a writer, the novel achieves that additional dimension by virtue of which a work of art transcends its subject matter, as in classic tragedy. Stripped to its baldest terms, it is the story of a girl who, faced with a choice between recognized good and recognized evil, chooses the latter and thereby precipitates tragedy. It is of course much more complicated than that. Good and evil are too absolute terms. When Cecile plots to have Elsa, her father's most recent mistress, recapture him from Anne for just one brief encounter, she does not see her choice as irrevocable. Taking her first lover not only does not tip the scales decisively one way or the other; it contributes to the ambiguity with which her path is strewn. And the fact that the tragedy, as far as her moral responsibility goes, is a fortuitous consequence of her choice affords her no escape from its implications. The step-by-step development of the plot, the accumulating tension, the economy of means, the creation of mood, all reveal a gift of a high order. On the other hand, the comparison with Radiguet is quite inept. There is nothing experimental about Francoise Sagan's writing. She is not out to explore new worlds. She follows familiar paths. But she treads them with exemplary grace.

FRANCOIS MAURIAC complained just the other day about the translation of his article in *Look* magazine on the choice of an American for the Papacy, which he said appreciably distorted or significantly altered the meaning of some of the things he expressed. He will be no happier with the present translation, an inexcusably sloppy job by a translator who certainly does not lack experience. Of the four novels under consideration, only "Bonjour Tristesse" has been wholly fortunate in its English incarnation, though Miss Ash often gracefully skirts difficulties rather than meets them. But she at least recognizes them. The translations of Moinot's and Dutourd's novels read well enough, though they lack style, but the latter in particular contains far too many errors, inaccuracies, and infelicities. Publishers would be well advised to follow a policy adopted by Unesco for its publications, which is to have all translations revised by an expert linguist.

A Verbal Work of Art

ASPECTS OF CHINESE PAINTING. By Alan Priest. The Macmillan Company. $7.50.

By S. Lane Faison, Jr.

THE first paragraph of this wise and charming book by the curator of Far Eastern art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art reads as follows:

> One of the early Chinese philosophers, Chuang Tzu I think, once dreamed he was a butterfly and spent the rest of his life in worry lest he was in fact a butterfly dreaming he was a man. Both Chinese and Westerners smile at this seemingly innocent and beguiling fantasy. But if you stop to ponder on it, turning it this way and that, you will find it full of meaning, just as the ephemeral bubbles blown of soap and water, seeming no more than a brief diversion for the very young, in fact inform one of many things without the boredom of a wordy lecture. A gossamer bubble aglow with rainbow colors, floating on the lightest breeze and in an instant exploded —almost nothing, yet it is a completely perfect thing. Fragile and evanescent, it is a sphere like the sun and moon and the planet we live on and as such is a reminder of them.

Several of the fifteen essays it contains have appeared in the museum's bulletin, but they have been revised for the present publication. Others are entirely new. All of them are concerned primarily, but not exclusively, with examples owned by the Metropolitan, whose magnificent collections in this field are themselves a tribute to Mr. Priest's discrimination. Four fine color plates give some taste of the subtlety of the originals, and fifty good halftone cuts point up the brilliance of Mr. Priest's criticism.

Nothing in the history of art makes more demands on the critic than Chinese painting. It picks his brains, challenges his most delicate perception, charms his senses, tests both his knowledge and his soul. To misfire in such criticism, to seem loutish in such exalted company, would be as fatal as it appears to be inevitable. In the book's 130-odd pages there is, I think, not a single false move. These essays are as surely works of art as the paintings they discuss. Verbal works of art inspired by visual ones: shall we not accept with gratitude such lines as "bats whickering around in pursuit of fat-bellied night moths"?

On purpose I have not analyzed the content of these gentle homilies. Suffice it to say that they instruct the cultivated general reader—and inform the experts—about the landscapes, the genre themes, the insects, the birds, and the animals both real and fantastic as the great painters of China, meditating upon them, came to comprehend them.

The dragons are taken care of in the last paragraphs of all:

> Compare a medieval dragon with a Chinese dragon. Both are fantastic, but ever and always your Chinese dragon and all the other beasts are logical creatures. The Western dragon is a lumpy, unwieldy creature, somewhat pinned together. The Chinese dragon out of glorious fish into a creature of air is far more logical, far more believable.
>
> A man can be sensible and make his own private world secure with facts—and there are enough wonders of bird and beast and insect life to satisfy him. There are enough real animals at the zoo for any man to be sure of, but from the beginning of civilization man has invented fanciful beasts. Why not? They are lovely beasts, and the Chinese beasts are the most lovely and lovable of all.

S. LANE FAISON, Jr., is chairman of the Art Department at Williams College.

IN EARLY ISSUES
"Captain Dreyfus"
by Nicholas Halasz
Reviewed by Matthew Josephson
"The Genius and the Goddess"
by Aldous Huxley
Reviewed by Carlos Baker
"The Greek Myths"
by Robert Graves
Reviewed by Moses Hadas

Books in Brief

Our Basic Freedoms

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS. By William L. Chenery. Harcourt, Brace. $3.75.

In these days of anti-democratic demagogy it is gratifying to come upon a new book that defends the Bill of Rights with positive forthrightness. This pleasure is augmented by the fact that the author is not a brash liberal but a tough-minded conservative journalist. Mr. Chenery has been a newspaperman for almost half a century and for almost half that time he was editor of *Collier's*. Now in retirement, he has been so disturbed by the campaign of intolerance and repression stimulated by our dread of communism that he has written this book in courageous defense of the American freedoms.

Although the title connotes concentration on only one of them, Mr. Cheney discusses all the basic freedoms with equal cogency. He traces the fight for human liberty carried on by Milton, Locke, and the American leaders who fathered the Revolution in 1776 and supported the Bill of Rights a decade later. "Freedom to think as the citizen pleases," he declares, "is the foundation of American freedom. It is what makes American freedom unique."

Proud of the long-run efficacy of American democracy, Mr. Chenery rebukes those who seek to curb or undermine it. He surveys the efforts of these anti-libertarians throughout our history and exposes their essential un-Americanism. Thus he maintains that in our first decade as a nation we were confronted by an external danger fully as grievous as the one we are facing today. Yet when the excesses and intrigues of the French Jacobins frightened our Congress into enacting the Alien and Sedition Acts, this subversion of the Bill of Rights was vigorously opposed by Jefferson and a host of sturdy Americans who soon brought about the defeat of the Federalists.

In dealing with the current attacks upon our freedoms, Mr. Chenery insists that our most potent weapon against the Communist danger is the freedom enjoyed by our citizens. He denounces the recent efforts of self-appointed patriots, in and out of Congress, to harness Americans into the yoke of conformity and to persecute those who prefer to think for themselves. He scorns the assertion that it is necessary to fight the devil with fire. Such means, he claims, are not only abortive but a "betrayal of American principle."

The book also devotes separate chapters to a defense of the freedom to publish, to exhibit movies, and to use the radio and television. Such discussion would have seemed gratuitous during the nineteenth century or even in the 1930's, when our established freedoms were taken for granted. Now, however, with McCarthyism only slightly subdued and with fear and confusion still prevalent, such a book by a conservative American is most timely.

Governor Roosevelt

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AS GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK. By Bernard Bellush. Columbia. $5.

Mr. Bellush began his study of Roosevelt's governorship with the belief that it lacked the luster achieved by his predecessor, Alfred E. Smith; he was inclined to accept Walter Lippmann's devastating dictum that Roosevelt was "a pleasant man who, without any important qualifications for the office, would very much like to be President." After a careful, if pedestrian study of Roosevelt's activities and development during his four years as governor, Mr. Bellush still finds fault with certain acts and decisions that speak more for Roosevelt the politician than for the social crusader, but these lapses he considers minor in the light of F. D. R.'s achievements. Moreover, he concludes that as governor Roosevelt increasingly fought for the social reforms that later composed the program of the New Deal.

Roosevelt, Mr. Bellush demonstrates, did not assume office equipped "with formalized economic principles." He came to Albany as a man of good will, a Wilsonian liberal ready to follow in the footsteps of his popular predecessor. (He overlooks the fact that Roosevelt from the very first day in Albany asserted his independence of Al Smith and soon outstripped him as a liberal.) Roosevelt was a thorough pragmatist, but he had the great ability of keeping his mind open and active. The severe economic crisis gave him the opportunity to reveal one of his most constructive traits—a willingness to experiment in the people's behalf. In striking contrast to President Hoover, he was bound neither by custom nor by conservatism, and in his eagerness to allay human suffering he arrived at a social philosophy that was repugnant to Mr. Hoover. "In broad terms I assert that modern society, acting through its government, owes the definite obligation to prevent the starvation or the dire want of any of its fellow men and women who try to maintain themselves but cannot." This philosophy, proclaimed by the New Deal, Roosevelt brought to Washington from Albany.

Art History

THE ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF THE ANCIENT ORIENT. By Henri Frankfort.
SCULPTURE IN BRITAIN: The Middle Ages. By Lawrence Stone.
The Pelican History of Art, Penguin Books. $2.50.

These volumes, the seventh and eighth of the forty-eight-volume history of art under the editorship of Nicolaus Pevsner, are similar in format but differ vastly in scope. As befits an English production the study of English art receives more detailed attention than its overall importance deserves, yet one can only be grateful for Stone's summary of archaeological discussion culled from journals of small circulation and from the surprisingly few books of general coverage which have surveyed British sculpture of the Middle Ages. Some 90 per cent of the original material was destroyed in the sixteenth-century dissolution of the monasteries and by the Puritans a hundred years later. Furthermore, restorers of a century ago systematically removed the original painted surface of most of what was left. Thus the study of what was on[illegible] a major field of production, riv[illegible]ng the work of France and Germ[illegible] is reduced to the most difficult [illegible] of archaeology, perhaps no les[illegible]i- [illegible] is u[illegible] cated than that which is involved in the study of the ancient Near East.

Henri Frankfort's volume is his last work. This distinguished scholar, who was associated with the Oriental Institute in Chicago before he became Director of the Warburg Library in London, spent nearly ten years in developing the present synthesis of the study of some 2,500 years of Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Hittite, Phoenecian, Syrian, and ancient Persian art and architecture. The book was all but finished when he died, just a year ago. Its importance may be suggested indirectly by the fact that most of the material it contains has been discovered in the past twenty-five years. Thus Assyrian and Persian art fall into a much broader and more ancient cultural context and are here reinterpreted as late examples of very old attitudes. Archaic as they may seem by Greek standards, the cultures of the Near East have their own variations and formal evolutions.

Records

B. H. Haggin

CAPITOL P-8310 offers a first recording of Musorgsky's *Sunless* cycle, whose six songs are perhaps the finest examples of his fully developed style of subtly inflected vocal declamation, and are sung very beautifully by Maria Kurenko with Vsevolod Pastukhov at the piano. The envelope gives summaries of the texts by Kurenko; but with songs as closely related to the words as these (and as Wolf's) the full effect requires the complete texts— and not only literal English translations but transliterated versions of the Russian. The record also offers songs of Prokofiev and Gretchaninov.

The strikingly original idiom of Janacek's "Slavonic Mass" is not heard in his narrative song-cycle "Tagebuch eines Verschollenen" ("Diary of One Who Vanished"), which I have found uninteresting. Epic LC-3121 offers a recording of an excellent 1954 Holland Festival performance by Ernst Haefliger, tenor, Cora Canne Meyer, mezzo-soprano, and a little chorus with Felix de Nobel at the piano.

The two records of Epic SC-6005 offer the Holland Festival performance of another work of Janacek, the opera "Aus einem Totenhaus" ("From a House of the Dead"). The libretto is adapted from Dostoyevsky's novel about life in a Siberian prison camp; and for its action—including the prisoners' stories of the episodes that had brought them to the camp—Janacek uses a style ranging from declamatory arioso to mere detached ejaculation, which is powerful and grim and may be effective in support of action seen on a stage but is monotonous when listened to by itself. The performance by soloists and chorus and orchestra of the Netherlands Opera under Alexander Krannhals is good.

Vanguard has issued another record of performances by the countertenor Alfred Deller, Bach Guild 547, "Music of Henry Purcell, Jenkins, and Locke," on which the best things are three fine vocal pieces by Purcell: *Here let my life* from the Cantata "If ever I more Riches Did Desire"; *Since from my dear Astrea's sight* from "Dioclesian"; and the better-known *Oh! let me forever weep* from "The Fairy Queen." They are sung beautifully with good harpsichord and viol accompaniments by Gustav Leonhardt and a "consort of viols."

THE four Handel Sonatas for flute and harpsichord Op. 1 Nos. 1, 4, 5, and 9 on Oiseau-Lyre 50040 have surprised me by turning out to be quite uninteresting, and in this respect unlike some of the fine sonatas for violin in the Op. 1 group. Beautiful performances by Rampal and Nef.

Epic LC-3131 offers Mozart's charming Sonata K.306 for piano and violin, the Sonata K.481 with its outstanding slow movement, the unfamiliar and inconsequential Variations K.360 on "Helas, j'ai perdu mon amant," and the Sonata K.11, which as a product of the eight-year-old Mozart is amusing. Alice Heksch, whose piano-playing in Mozart violin sonatas on an earlier record was so exciting in its continuity of tension and outline, plays with an aggressive emphasis this time that gets to be wearying and unpleasant; and Nap de Klijn's violin-playing is undistinguished.

Mozart's Trio K.542 is on London LL-1177, played acceptably by the Trio di Trieste, but without the fluidity and grace and incandescence of the Jambor-Aitay-Starker performance on the Period record; and the pianist's heavily over-assertive playing in Beethoven's Trio Op. 70 No. 1 on the reverse side leads me to suspect that his is the dead weight in the Mozart performance.

The Musical Arts Quartet plays well in much of Mozart's Quartet K.421 and part of Schubert's "Death and the Maiden" Quartet; but in the minuet movement of the Mozart and the fast movements of the Schubert its playing is unpoised and rigid in its hurry and drive, and unsubtle in inflection. The violin sound is coarse, and is distorted near the ends of the sides.

London LLA-23 offers all four of Bloch's string quartets, played well by the Griller Quartet. Of these No. 4 is new, and turns out to be even more disappointing than No. 3 was. The best is No. 2, which exhibits a refinement and subtilization of the idiom of the early works, and whose slow portions offer some of the most beautiful writing Bloch has done. And of this one there is an excellent performance by the Musical Arts Quartet on a Vanguard record.

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Letters

Miami Strike Ads Refused

Dear Sirs: I'd like to call your attention to an error in fact that appeared in Bryan L. Donaldson's otherwise good story about the strike situation in Miami Beach in your July 16 issue. Donaldson, referring to efforts of the Miami Beach Hotel Association to force newspapers to suppress union advertising referring to the strike, says that "a Philadelphia newspaper is the only one that has turned down a union ad." At least five major dailies refused to run a union ad even before the association mailed out its intimidatory wire. As reported in Labor's Daily on May 27, these papers were the Cleveland Plain Dealer, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the Washington Post, the Detroit News, and the Boston Traveller. The ad involved simply stated that a strike was in progress against certain hotels. It listed them, and advised its members who might be planning to go to Miami Beach for work to contact their local union first. One paper—I believe the Plain Dealer—had "no space." Two found it controversial. Two found it to be against their policy.

RALPH SCOOP WHITE,
Editor, Labor's Daily.
Charleston, W. Va.

Sheppard Case

Dear Sirs: I wish to applaud your recent stand on the Lattimore case in the July 16 issue, and was happy to see that you took your position forthrightly without bowing either to the Right or to the Left. Yet I cannot but regret that you seem to refrain from commenting on any cases without political implications. While no one deplores the excesses of McCarthyism more than myself, and while I would rather see ten enemies go free than see one traditional liberty violated, I feel that these incidents are a small part of the total picture. There were many to speak for Owen Lattimore, including myself; but who will speak for Dr. Sheppard? The only magazine today which concerns itself with similar cases is Argosy, which is not much read by liberals.

There is considerably less evidence to prove that Dr. Sheppard killed his wife than that Sacco and Vanzetti were guilty of the crime for which they were convicted. Where are there any echoes today of that cry that went round the world. If the Sheppards had been anarchists instead of osteopaths we would hear about the case If you are politically and socially respectable and then convicted of a crime, the fact of being untainted actually works to your disadvantage as far as popular sympathies go.

ROGER N. PARRIS
Hayesville, Ohio.

"A Little Shake-Up"

Dear Sirs: How true, Steven Warshaw's Raiding the Jobless in your July 23 issue! But it isn't all the machinations of business groups. Too much of it comes from the little man, or even the steadily employed union worker who sees it all as a racket. Right now, too many people seem to think, we're sailing along in fair weather; hence we can throw overboard or leave behind extra gear—at least until another storm hovers. Maybe what we need right now is a little shake-up, to take us out of our smugness.

Chicago, Ill. WILLIAM BROWN

When Is Democracy Not Democracy?

Dear Sirs: Frankly, I'm worried about the status of democracy in the United States. As a native-born American, a veteran, a taxpayer, an active citizen, a father, a practicing professional, and a believer in liberty, equality, and democracy generally, I'm worried.

Why, in a democracy, can the F. B. I. or any other agency photograph each private citizen entering a public hearing or public trial? Why, in a democracy, at Congressional hearings, are witnesses constantly confronted with the accusation: "You signed a petition . . ." or "You attended a meeting . . ." or "You sponsored a newspaper ad"? By what constitutional license can the citizen's right to petition and free assembly and free speech be infringed upon?

When is democracy not a democracy? When it is native American fascism. Huey Long was certainly correct when he said that fascism would come to America wrapped in the American flag.

JEROME J. VIELIE
Los Angeles, Calif.

Information Desired

Dear Sirs: As centennial historian of the National Education Association, 1857-1957, I am eager to obtain sidelights and anecdotes about well-known educators. Any help that the readers of The Nation can give me will be gratefully received and discreetly utilized.

EDGAR B. WESLEY
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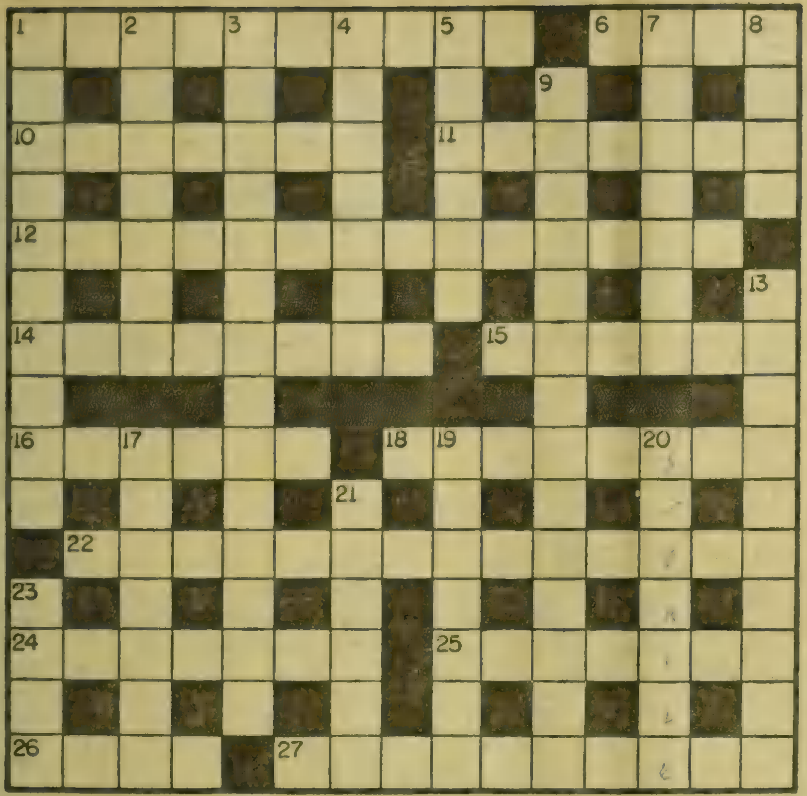
Crossword Puzzle No. 632

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 22 across

6 With or without a cap, has a strong potential. (4)

10 See 14. (7)

11 The time of Othello? (7)

12 Is the rest in the crib if you do? (5,4,1,4)

14 A representative of them, or 10 with a sort of them. (8)

15 Where the ore is refined. (6)

16 Prompt in mention of it. (6)

18 Eager to be like the well-dressed crowd? (5,3)

22 and 1 across A question of time which is not well done? (4, 2, 2, 4, 2, 1, 3, 2, 4)

24 Stick in the most essential part. (7)

25 Certainly not on the inside track, to make it brief! (7)

26 With 6, a sort of seat belt. (4)

27 It might be difficult to 16 people with this. (10)

DOWN

1 Pertaining to th craft of aircraft? (10)

2 A morbid affectation. (7)

3 An unfit state implying orders in your hat? (14)

4 Merely what is hard and cold in a moral principle. (7)

5 See 8 down

7 Responsible for the blindness of a man in our town? (7)

8 and 5 down Still less sensitive! (4, 6)

[illegible] The organization of the bar used to be led by suit, perhaps. (6,8)

13 Versifiers who like to sample American short story now and then? (10)

17 Sticks here in the island. (7)

19 Might one be both wise and disapproving? (4,3)

20 Does it make the rest lie fallow? (7)

21 Advancement, like a small amount of money. (6)

23 Payment which might show cost. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 631

ACROSS: 1 ALLAH; 4 GIVEN NAME; [illegible] ENCOMPASS; 10 NIGHT; 11 INSINCERE; 12 PREEN; 13 MARIONETTE; 17 INTIMIDATE; 21 RURAL; 22 HARD SAUCE; 23 SOUPY; 24 FAST BREAK; 25 SATIRISTS; 26 ROSIN. DOWN: 1 ACETATE; 2 LOCUST; 3 HUMANS; 4 GRAVEYARD SHIFTS; 5 VESTED INTERESTS; 6 NINEPINS; 7 AIGRETTE; 8 ENTENTES; 14 DIERESIS; 15 STARDUST; 16 EMPLOYER; 18 ISOBAR; 19 TUNERS; 20 WEAKEN.

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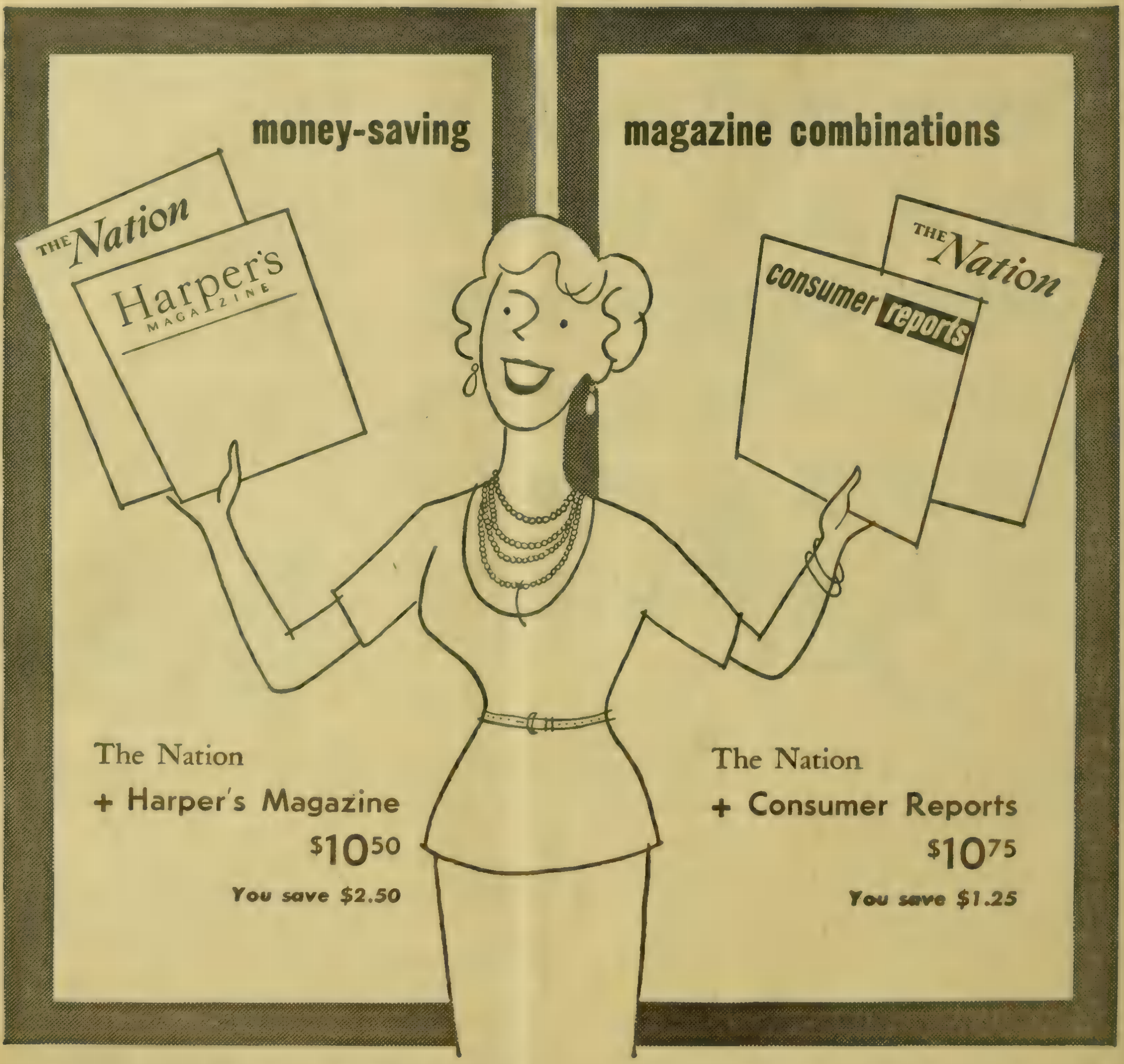

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GERMANY AFTER GENEVA BY CAROLUS

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THE *Nation*

August 20, 1955
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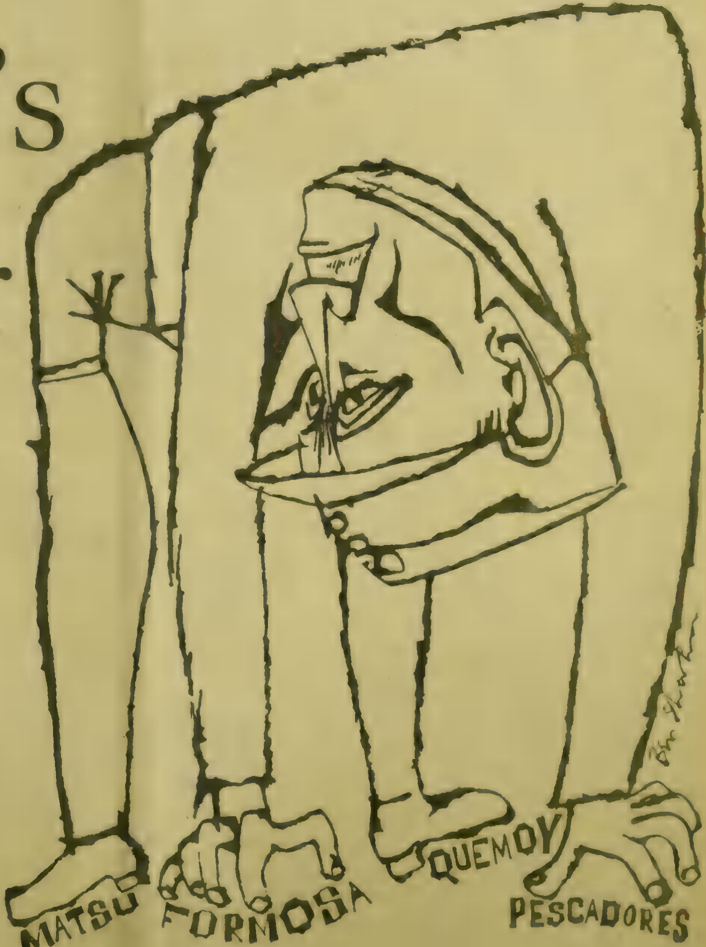
Chiang's Rumor Mill

by John O'Kearney


MATSU
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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

First-Hand Report on Formosa

OFF THE EDITORS' SPIKE

● FOR THE first time in many moons the business journals have begun to echo a note of mild apprehension about their favorite subject of the last decade—the great American boom. Rather plaintively, Business Week wants to know if it had not be better known as "the too beautiful boom?" A subtle change, it points out, has taken place in the business picture. What its forecasters see is "the sort of inflationary symptoms characteristic of a late state of a cyclical boom." Consumer credit totaled almost $32.5 billion at the end of June. Moreover, in mid-June it exceeded 12 per cent of this year's probable disposable income, compared with 11 per cent in 1954 and 1953, less than 10 per cent in 1952, and 9 per cent or less in every prior post-war year. In short, the volume of consumer credit is increasing considerably faster than net disposable income. Auto paper alone amounted to nearly $12.6 billion and the American Collectors Association, Inc., reported that 6,000,000 American families were delinquent on consumer-contract purchases of one kind or another. Fully half of the nation's $26-billion increase in output since 1954 was sold on credit. Home-mortgage indebtedness totals more than $75 billion, having increased 14 per cent in a year. Corporate earnings in the second quarter showed an increase of 33 per cent over those of a year earlier. When these second-quarter earnings are analyzed, however, it appears that thirty "mostly very large companies" accounted for nearly one-third of the aggregate earnings of 474 corporations for the period.

Milton Moskowitz, writing in Advertising Age, reports that auto dealers boosted their advertising lineage by 32 per cent in seven New York dailies. "Never before," he writes, "have dealers had to unload so many new cars jammed into vacant lots, warehouses, and behind farmers' barns." Car retailers are "wheeling and dealing" in crazy style, trying to unload a record total of 673,000 unsold cars. The Senate Interstate Commerce subcommittee is "greatly concerned' over the record number of unsold automobiles and the high dealer mortality; despite booming production, dealer mortalities have increased by about 200 per cent since 1951. Average dealer operating profits before taxes have dropped from about 6.3 per cent on sales in 1950 to about 0.6 in 1954. But the earnings of General Motors soared 49 per cent in the second quarter over a year ago.

It is not only the auto dealers these days who are having difficulty in disposing of their wares; appliance dealers face much the same problem and are meeting it in much the same fashion, that is, by promoting and creating obsolescence. Recently Mr. W. C. Sanford, manager of market research for the Hotpoint Company, gave some advice to appliance dealers on how to overcome the limitations of a saturated market. The supplier must promote, he said, "the second car, the second refrigerator" and, at the same time, speed up obsolescence. One way to do this, of course, is to bring about quick style changes. For example, the appliance industry is jocularly known as the "white-goods industry" because so many of its products are white. Why not produce a revulsion of feeling toward these old white artifacts by bringing out new models in attractive and varied colors? Why not make the customer "conscious" of his old-fashioned kitchen? After "self-defrosting built-in freezer units and shelve in the door," why not refrigerators with the freezer in the bottom? This is all being done, with apparent good effect. But Mr. Sanford is not satisfied. "In the case of refrigerators," he observes, "we are very slowly starting to get two refrigerators into some homes"—one for him, one for her.

■ Roll Call, a new Capitol Hill organ, offers insight into business giveaways. More than ever before, business firms are showering gifts on Congressmen. In a recent week, all members of Congress received avocados from California, corn flakes and beans from Michigan, and butter from Minnesota. An organization known as Bull Elephants, made up of men employed by Republican Congressmen, provides an effective channel through which business favors can be distributed. At recent Bull Elephant sessions, Wisconsin cheese, New York champagne, Illinois whiskey, Steuben glass, fishing rods, ash trays, and Connecticut watches were handed round. Isn't this the real answer to the problem of saturated markets? Why not just give the stuff away?

■ In the meantime, first-half profits of the New York Stock Exchange rose to $708,618 compared with $108,030 in the first six months of 1954. The exchange, which has been spending $500,000 annually on advertising the past few years, will double its newspaper lineage for the coming year with insertions appearing in 556 newspapers in 327 cities reaching 44,000,000 readers. The campaign will be handled by Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn. Exchange officials were appalled to discover, through a market survey, that 20 per cent of those polled didn't know that just anyone can buy stock on the exchange. The new advertising campaign is designed to educate this 20 per cent on their rights and privileges as American citizens which include, of course, the freedom of investing on the New York Stock Exchange.

■ Of the many fine letters we received on a recent editorial on Owen Lattimore, the most highly prized came from Bernard Reich Beverly Hills Mr. Reich liked the editorial but pointed out that "without a lawyer or lawyers there would have been no Lattimore case . . . Behind almost all civil-liberties cases are forgotten lawyers." Mr. Reich has a good point. Someone should prepare an honor roll of the lawyers who have upheld the finest tradition of the American bar these last few years by taking difficult civil-liberties cases, lawyers like Abe Fortas and Thurman Arnold, Lattimore's able counsel; Telford Taylor, Osmond K. Fraenkel, R. Lawrence Siegel, A. L. Wirin Lloyd K. Garrison, Howard Whiteside, Robert W. Kenny, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Leonard Boudin, Roland Watts, and many others.

Jotting these names down reminds me, sadly, that the Philadelphia bar lost one of its most valued members with the death of Earl G. Harrison on July 29. A great friend of this publication — he served on the committee for our 90th Anniversary dinner — Mr. Harrison was an outstanding Commissioner of Immigration during World War II. Enforcement of the Alien Registration Act, under which some 3,600,000 aliens were registered in 1940, might easily have degenerated into an alien round-up comparable to that which J. Edgar Hoover helped run after World War I, had it not been for Mr. Harrison's sensible direction. And, on the subject of lawyers, we have not before this expressed, in any adequate fashion, our appreciation for Frieda B. Hennock's fine service as a member of the Federal Communications Commission. During her term, Miss Hennock was "the public member" of the commission, an able official with a real sense of the public interest.

C. McW.

VOLUME 181, NUMBER 8
NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 20, 1955

THE *Nation*
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Satellites on the Loose

The United States is discovering, belatedly, some of the dangerous by-products of the satellite system—especially for a democratic state that cannot apply strong-arm measures to enforce its policies along distant defense lines. In Formosa, for example, Chiang Kai-shek has been able to use American funds and military build-up not only to protect his island refuge but to pursue a well-conceived plan to embroil this country, and if possible the Western world, in a war against his Communist-ruled homeland. Until checked rather recently by Washington, he carried out frequent air-attacks against the China coast; he still raids Western merchant ships headed for Chinese ports. Along with these military harassments, he has conducted a fantastic propaganda campaign aimed at creating fear, aggravating tension, and in general multiplying the chances of all-out hot war.

The facts about Formosa's lie-and-rumor mill are told in a vivid, first-hand report by John O'Kearney on page 148 of this issue. What remains is to make two points: one, that Chiang's behavior no longer accords with American policy on the cold war; and, conversely, that the Administration's recent negotiations with Peking can only have the effect of stimulating Nationalist anger and alarm. The conclusion is evident. Like it or not, Washington must soon tell its favorite protege to quit his belligerent tactics as damaging to America's present aims in Asia. An unpleasant task but one that should not be delayed, as the threatening situation in Korea amply proves.

Syngman Rhee is openly and cynically using the weapon of mob violence to force Washington's hand. By manipulating "popular indignation" against the Czech and Polish members of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission he intends to place the American command before an ugly dilemma: either to abandon its obligations under the armistice or face the probability of having to shoot down South Korean civilians. Without doubt, President Rhee has reason to dislike the Communist commissioners, whose "neutrality" is at most purely formal, but he knows well that by loosing the mob against them he is embarrassing not them but the United States. One can understand his desire—paralleling Chiang's—to stymie Washington's effort to settle differences with Peking, and also grant that previous American policy is largely responsible for his reckless defiance. But our leaders cannot yield to Rhee's blackmail and still carry out their purpose to reduce the chances of conflict in Asia. They must repress the South Korean boss and, for the future, realize that one cannot light the fires of national revenge and then, to suit a shift of policy in Washington, simply turn them off at will.

Notice to Readers

Due to a strike at the American News Company, some newsstand readers in New York City and the metropolitan area were unable to purchase copies of the August 13 issue. Those who wish copies can order them direct from *The Nation*, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, at 20c per copy.

The End of Secrecy

If no other achievements are scored, the Geneva Atoms-For-Peace Conference has dealt a fatal blow to the structure of secrecy and security which has prevented the international exchange of atomic technology. In open sessions, scientists have freely exchanged information which, not so long ago, nations allied with this country could only obtain by secret negotiation. These same scientists have listened to several papers and discussions which would probably be banned by Admiral Strauss if the locale were Chicago or New York. According to Representative James E. Van Zandt, the type of American "pool reactor" on display at Geneva could not be exhibited to the general public here at home. But this state of affairs will not last long. Not only have Senator Clinton Anderson and his colleagues on the Joint Committee been impressed by the Soviet exhibits at Geneva; they have also discovered that many of the "secrets" guarded so jealously by Washington have been matters of common knowledge for some years. Senator Anderson is now convinced that restrictions which have severely inhibited the distribution of information on peaceful atomic products and processes must be relaxed. Here is another favorable omen for peace. For the secrecy we have sought to enforce has been an important factor in the maintenance of cold-war attitudes both here and abroad.

The Race for Markets

Behind the news from Geneva is the story of the race for markets—for reactors and other products of

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the atomic age. The *Economist's* special feature on atomic energy (July 23) provides an insight into the nature of this largely unreported competition. According to this journal, the United States has a large surplus of two atomic fuels, uranium metal and plutonium. The stockpile of the latter is said to be so large that it is only a matter of time before it finds its way into a new kind of Fort Knox. American manufacturers have naturally been encouraged to suggest to prospective foreign buyers that plutonium might be acquired from the government at cut-rate or even giveaway prices, provided the fuel were to be used in American-built reactors.

Furious, the British have been quick to point out a special advantage of their own, namely, their ability to provide information without formal negotiation over security and clearance regulations. By contrast, the bilateral agreements we have negotiated with other countries, including Great Britain, Canada, and Belgium, have in effect compelled these countries to comply with American security regulations—a humiliating and universally resented proviso. There is no doubt, therefore, that the British have a good talking point and that they have been using it to advantage at Geneva. American industrialists there have been fuming about secrecy provisions which restrict their sales activities. "Europeans who ought to be our customers for isotope chemicals are laughing at us," one of these industrialists told the *Wall Street Journal's* Henry Gemmill, "the British have taken almost the whole foreign market."

Man Bites Dog

It is scarcely news when an employer, acting in cahoots with an inquisitorial committee, blacklists union members, but it is news, and sad news indeed, when a union, cooperating with such a committee, blacklists its own members. This, in effect, is what the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (A. F. of L.) has just done. The leadership of the union recently proposed, and the membership subsequently approved 4 to 1 in a national referendum, a rule which provides that any member who invokes the Fifth Amendment when questioned about membership in the Communist Party may be subject to charges of conduct prejudicial to the union's welfare. The accused may be investigated and, after a hearing, fined, censured, suspended, or expelled, with, of course, a right of appeal, for the offense of having invoked a constitutional privilege. Under AFTRA's union-shop contracts, expulsion is tantamount to permanent blacklisting.

The referendum, which was intended as a retroactive endorsement of certain actions taken by Hollywood locals, was presented to the membership without prior discussion or notification. The best the opposition could do was to take up a collection and buy space for an ad in *Variety*. Previously the New York local had touched off a House Un-American Activities Committee investigation by adopting a resolution condemning Aware, a private anti-Communist group, for the methods it has used. No sooner was the resolution adopted than the officers of Aware sent a call to Washington for assistance. The House committee hastened to New York to help Aware, and certain elements of the union leadership, put down the threatened rebellion. While it is clear that the union adopted the new rule chiefly to appease the House committee, there is every reason to believe that it will be vigorously enforced by the present leadership. So far as we know, this is the first time an American trade union has adopted a rule the effect of which is to threaten with expulsion members who invoke a right guaranteed by the Constitution. Enforcement may well be stayed by court action but AFTRA will have occasion to regret its adoption.

The Army Security Program

THE cases of Lieutenant Radulovitch and Midshipman Landy have aroused considerable interest in the treatment of alleged security risks by the military establishment. Both men were threatened with the ruin of their military careers—not because they themselves had committed undesirable acts, but because their parents were reported to be "subversive." Recently, in a report prepared by Rowland Watts for the Workers Defense League, the cases of over 100 draftees accused of subversive acts and associations have been studied. The picture that emerges of the Army's security program is not a pleasant one.

In the summer of 1954, at a time when the promotion of Major Peress became a national issue, the Army revised its security regulations. Under the new dispensation a soldier is to be relieved from active duty or discharged "when reasonable grounds exist that his retention is not clearly consistent with the interests of national security." Although military service is a duty rather than a privilege, the Army has, without statutory authority, incorporated the federal loyalty-security programs for civilian employees into military regulations. Thus, shortly after their induction, draftees are required to sign a Loyalty Certificate and indicate whether or not they have belonged to any organizations on the Attorney General's list. Despite the fact that the validity of this list is yet to be tested, past membership in any organization included is considered evidence of subversion. If the replies of inductees are unsatisfactory to the Army, or if further "derogatory" information is received, an investigation of their political histories is started. Pending this investigation, draftees are placed on "specially controlled duties," which means that they are unable to receive normal assignments. A series of hearings and appeals may follow, and if the alleged security risk is unable to clear himself of the charges made against him, his military service will be terminated with either a "General" or an "Undesirable" discharge.

In the cases described by the Watts report, most of the allegations made against men investigated as security risks pertain to their activities *prior* to induction. Such allegations include membership in the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the "Trotskyist (Communist) Movement," attendance at meetings, subscription to "subversive" newspapers and magazines, and association with relatives. As in the Radulovitch and Landy cases, it is frequently not the inductee, but some member of his family, who is accused of subversive activities. For example, one soldier was told: "You have a father who is reported to have said that if communism offered anything good he would accept it." To take another instance, an alleged security risk was described as having a mother-in-law "who was reported to have been 'lying low' as a Communist for a long time and was supposed to become active in the peace movement again." (Actually, she had died in 1940, when the inductee was ten years old, ten years before he had met his wife.) It is not particularly surprising that the Army's criteria for uncovering subversives leave much to be desired. Nor is it surprising that the sources of such "evidence" are never revealed to the alleged security risk, or that the hearings to which he is entitled are so circumscribed and so secret that neither he nor his counsel are able to prepare an adequate defense. While these procedures are a disgrace, it is the manner in which these men are separated from the service that represents the greatest injustice.

THE major weapon in the Army's campaign against subversives within its ranks is to discharge soldiers regarded as security risks under less than "honorable" conditions. Under normal conditions, draftees may be discharged in a manner determined by the character of the service they have performed *while in uniform*. The Army has a right to discharge a man if his service has been unsatisfactory, but men who receive "General" or "Undesirable" discharges as security risks are being stigmatized for life because of pre-induction activities—or because of the activities of their friends and relatives—although their service is "honorable." Hence, an inductee is penalized for aleged acts or associations that have nothing to do with the character of his service in the Army. He is not only discharged, he is defamed. As Watts writes, "This is particularly true when the Army knew, in advance of induction, of these activities and knew that, on the basis of them, it would not permit him to serve normally; or having permitted him to serve, does not accord him the 'Honorable' separation to which he is entitled based on 'the character of the service he has rendered'; or, having accorded him such an 'Honorable' separation, attempts to control his political, social and marital life under threat of an 'Undesirable' discharge after six post-service years of inactive duty in the Army Reserves."

The immediate consequence for the veteran who has been discharged under less than honorable conditions —and who, in effect, has been branded "disloyal and subversive"—is a loss of rights and benefits that would otherwise belong to him, a bar to all public employment, most employment in defense industries, and in many other fields of work where the certificate of discharge must be shown. It seems reasonable to assume that the Army's policy represents a violation of basic constitutional guarantees. To give a man a less-than-honorable discharge when the character of his service demands an honorable one, is an act of defamation, and an infliction of punishment without judicial trial—since what is at stake is the right to work.

There are other consequences of the new policy. In the first place, the Army is turned into an investigative agency and soldiers are encouraged to become informers. More important, because many soldiers have been separated from the service as security risks for alleged acts or connections prior to induction, the Army security program establishes military controls over the political behavior of great numbers of young Americans before they enter the service, and for years afterwards. As Watts writes, the Army now performs the role of a censor over all the nation's young men from approximately the age of 15 to 30, by making pre-induction activities a major consideration in determining the character of the discharge which soldiers shall receive; and by extending its control during the six years' reserve period after active service. It is by no means certain that the Army wishes this role, but out of fear, or an aim to please certain Senators, it has set an alarming precedent.

CHIANG'S RUMOR MILL

It Grinds On and On . . *by John O'Kearney*

THE United States appeared to be awfully close to a shooting war in the Far East in the early months of this year, not for reasons that would have been acceptable to informed American officials on the spot, but because Chiang Kai-shek has had a free hand in running a single-minded propaganda agency dedicated to his dream of returning to the mainland.

Day after day during the tense months of January, February, March, and April, millions of Americans were told that a Red Chinese attack on the small offshore island groups held by the Nationalists was imminent. They were told that these islands (among which were the Tachens and the Nanchis, since evacuated) were: A. stepping stones for reconquest of the mainland; B. just as valuable as stepping stones for the Communists, were they to attempt to invade Formosa; C. outposts from which the Nationalist navy was able to blockade the Red ports of Amoy and Foochow; D. tip-top radar stations in guarding Formosa against air attacks; E. centers from which the Nationalists were able to direct guerrilla operations in Fukien and Chekiang provinces. Americans were led to believe that the loss of these islands would be an all-but-mortal blow to Nationalist China and United States security.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek

It is not my present purpose to assert, in the face of Peking declarations to the contrary, that no threat to Formosa has been posed. Rather, it is my intention to show that Chiang Kai-shek, soon after the Korean armistice had begun to jell, felt that the time had come to stir up an active war on his own, using his few planes, his few ships, but chiefly his Government Information Bureau, to deceive and excite the American people into giving him their almighty support.

As far back as last September Chiang had already set the pattern of provocative initiative. With bombs and shells he had stirred things up to a point where, according to an AP report of September 10, out of Washington, there was "reliable information" that navy fleet units west of Pearl Harbor were being deployed to counter a big Communist military build-up near Quemoy.

Communiques had announced that for four straight days Nationalist planes and warships had been blasting away at new concentrations of Red forces in the Amoy area ringing Quemoy, though five months later, in February, American correspondents on Quemoy itself watched a Nationalist propeller aircraft slowly circle low over Amoy and slowly wheel away without a shot being fired. A Nationalist C-46 had carried the Americans to Quemoy.

JOHN O'KEARNEY, on the staff of one of the metropolitan dailies in New York, has just returned from a three-month assignment in Formosa.

It was unarmed, unescorted, and did not even bother to fly "on the deck" as it crossed Formosa Strait to come down within a few thousand feet of the Red mainland. That same February day, a Nationalist air-force source said the circling plane had seen one warship in Amoy harbor. It "appeared to be" a motor torpedo boat.

STILL another communique of September 10, 1954, told of the massing of Communist jet aircraft in the coastal province of Chekiang. These Communist jets were still massing nine months later, though somewhat more credibly, since by March and April of this year the Communists had at last completed fields in Chekiang from which their jets could operate. From September into October the Nationalists continued their offensive, issuing reports about gunboats sunk, junks set afire, napalm bombs dropped on vital military targets. They were, in surely excusable vernacular, getting away with murder. But what were they shooting at? On October 13 the New York *Herald Tribune* reported from Taipei that American officials on Formosa discounted Nationalist reports of a Communist build-up around Amoy. Neither did they see any immediate threat to Quemoy, and they felt, besides, that continued Nationalist attacks against the mainland might provoke counterattack and war.

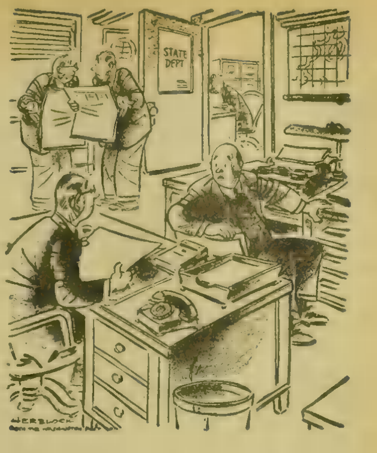
By the end of the year it had become evident that Chiang's forays—or claims of forays — had alarmed Washington. On December 10, at the insistence of Secretary of State Dulles, Nationalist Foreign Minister George K. C. Yeh sent the Secretary a written assurance that Chiang would take no further offensive action against the mainland without United States consent. This was tied into the new Mutual Defense Treaty, which laid down that use of force was to be a matter of joint agreement.

Chiang's raids ceased—as, in fact, they had already done so under less formal American pressure. But his propaganda agency, the Government Information Bureau run by Dr. Wu Nan-ju, was turned loose to help make up on the roundabouts what had been lost on the swings. Restrained from offensive action on his own, Chiang immediately had the Communists taking the initiative in the struggle.

Communiques now reported great sea battles in defense of the offshore islands. Scores of motorized junks and gunboats were sent to the bottom or set afire; but—for all the reported damage inflicted on Chiang's navy—it would appear that the opposing Red fleets were unarmed fishing craft or merchant junks. In January the Kuomintang-policed press of Formosa reported that United States destroyers had been in battle with Communist warships. This was not an isolated instance of inflammatory untruth. With excitement at its height over whether President Eisenhower would or would not decide to commit the Seventh Fleet to defense of the offshore islands, a Nationalist pilot reported the sinking of a submarine in the strait. A few days later Admiral Robert B. Carney was to say in an interview in Taipei that no submarines had appeared in Formosa Strait waters.

At one point, it seems, Chiang's Information Bureau overdid things. Washington, agitated by souped-up accounts of battles and the Red "build-up," decided that Nationalist territory was over-extended for urgent defense, and that Chiang should evacuate the Tachens, 200 miles north of Formosa. Chiang gave up the Tachens, with much heroic fanfare in the press, but it was rumored that he had refused to do so unless given an assurance that the United States would commit itself to active defense of Quemoy and the Matsus. It was then that Dulles made his "as such" statement — saying we would not defend the islands "as such," but only if they became involved in Communist assault action aimed at Formosa and the Pescadores.

CHIANG chose not to understand this language. He complained of American policy as being vacillating, shilly-shallying. An inspired local editorial blasted Eisenhower and described his position as "soapy." At the same time, official Nationalist propagandists stepped up their campaign to represent the remaining offshore islands as outposts of vital importance. Chiang gobbled up the space of millions of words in the world press, while the only people on Formosa who might have corrected reports and interpretations that were breeding frantic anxiety in America and fright in Europe remained supinely gagged by direct order of Maj. Gen. William C. Chase, recently replaced chief of the Military Assistance Advisory Group on Formosa. MAAG personnel on the offshore islands were even forbidden to reveal their own names, though some of Chase's highest subordinates later risked giving interviews to correspondents they could trust.



Washington Post

"What's our firm, unswerving Asia policy this week?"

While in Washington the violent champions of the Generalissimo were echoing Nationalist propaganda — accusing Eisenhower of having reversed himself on Formosa in failing to commit the Seventh Fleet to defense of the offshore islands, proclaiming the United States position in Asia to be in peril unless he did, demanding that Red China be told it could have the islands "only when it has defeated the United States of America," calling Quemoy and the Matsus America's "first line of defense" in the Pacific, and creating further tension by predicting Communist invasion of Formosa within days—the military men who defied the Chase gag order let it out that neither Quemoy nor the Matsus group was of any importance in the strategic scheme of things.

They said the islands were useless as stepping stones for either side; that an effort to take them, hastily fortified though they were, would cost the Communists tens of thousands of lives; that they were useless to Nationalist reconquest of the mainland because they lay against a ruggedly mountainous Communist shoreline inaccessible to invading armies, without highways or railroads; that they could not be used either as air bases or as naval stations of any effectiveness because of their own hilly terrain and lack of harbors. As for being important radar outposts, two small radar ships at sea could do as well. Further, they had not stopped trade along the Communist coast. And if the Communists achieved air superiority over the strait, how could the islands be supplied?

AS THIS fresh concept of things emerged, growing from day to day in cables to the States, Army Secretary Robert Stevens arrived in Formosa. He first refused to see the press, then finally granted a planeside interview, saying nothing very significant, as he took off for home three days later. On the morning of his leaving, April 5, Chiang addressed a closed meeting of the Kuomintang. A bit more than an hour later the Government Information Bureau called an American news-agency correspondent and asked that he report nothing of what Chiang had said at the meeting. No one knew he had said anything. The request roused curiosity. One correspondent, by diligent digging, learned that Chiang again had accused Eisenhower of vacillation, and then had angrily stated: "The United States has failed in its moral obligation to defend the Matsus and Quemoy."

This speech by Chiang, linked to the Stevens visit, suggested that Washington had at last made it clear that the Seventh Fleet would not be drawn into war over the offshore islands. A few days later the newsman who had done the digging was summoned by Dr. Wu. Wu denied that Chiang had said anything of "international relations." The correspondent expressed faith in his source, while the doctor complained that in yet other instances the reporter had been "uncooperative"; that he had sent dispatches about the uselessness of the islands that were a comfort to the enemy. Wu took the line: We're both interested in defeating communism. Why won't you behave yourself? Within a matter of days there appeared in the rumor column of an American news magazine an item datelined *Defense Department*, saying that a reporter for a major United States news medium, recently arrived in a critical area of the Far East, was known to be a secret member of the Communist Party. End item.

More days later, the "uncooperative" newsman was tipped by an official American source that he was under surveillance by Chiang's security police—that he was the "secret member of the Communist Party." He immediately advised his intimate Chinese friends to give him a wide berth, lest they also be found to be "Communists," and thus be the goats of a frame-up designed to expel him from the country. Simultaneously, the correspondent sent a brief, informative cable to his desk asking for an investigation of the Defense Department rumor. A cabled reply—open to government scrutiny—suggested in substance that the Nationalists ought to have better sense.

That night two of Dr. Wu's deputies bought the correspondent a few drinks, and there, in hearty laughter joined, the matter was dropped. But the propaganda went on.

In June, in Honolulu, spokesmen for Pacific Fleet headquarters told the correspondent, in a not-to-be-attributed interview, that reports of sea battles and imminent invasions kept them in a state of jitters. "We think we ought to know what's going on out there," they said, "but sometimes we feel that we haven't the faintest idea."

SCIENTISTS OF THE WORLD

Evangelism to Compromise . . *by Andrew Roth*

London

THE World Conference of Scientists showed most unscientific emotion in its last hour on the eve of the tenth anniversary of Hiroshima. At the rostrum stood a genial little Soviet professor, Academician Topchiev, who was beaming broadly and clapping, Russian style, in answer to the audience's applause. He had just assured them in the closing minutes of this London conference on nuclear problems that "Soviet scientists will take the fullest part in the steps that must follow" in removing the danger of the use of nuclear weapons, and using atomic energy for the benefit of humanity.

In most of its phases one felt that one was watching a play by George Bernard Shaw rather than a real-life conference. The stage had been set by the Shavian-sounding World Association of Parliamentarians for World Government, whose core of firm-willed idealists is amply padded with slender young graduates and full-bosomed matrons whose feet are firmly planted in mid-air. It was from this contingent that the applause rolled when any idealistic hope was mentioned. In usual style their idealism had been larded with ineffectiveness: the invitations to the conference had gone out too late and too indirectly to harvest any American scientists except Professor Eugene Rabinowitch, who represented the American Federation of Atomic Scientists.

A dramatic presentation of the problem as seen by the British academic conscience had been guaranteed by the support of a noble trio: Lord Boyd Orr, Lord Beveridge, and Earl (Bertrand) Russell. Russell threw the full weight of his sardonic wit

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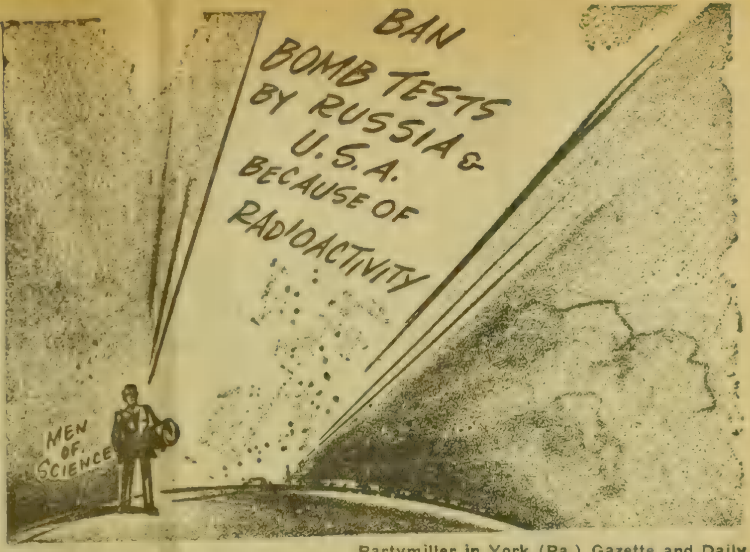
into lining up the assembly behind the dramatic appeal he and Einstein and other famous scientists had launched on the eve of Geneva Conference. He called on the meeting to support a resolution which began with unscientific certitude: "Since in any future world war nuclear weapons will certainly be employed and since such weapons threaten the continued existence of civilized life and possibly even mankind . . ." He called on scientists to make known that "a nuclear war would not bring victory to either side, and would not create the sort of world desired by Communists or the sort of world desired by their opponents or the sort of world that uncommitted nations desire. The probability is that it would create a planet destitute of life, except for a few mosses and fungi."

In a dry voice he expressed the hope that "if the dangers of a nuclear war are recognized in all their appalling magnitude, it will be necessary that international controversy should be conducted with an overriding loyalty to mankind as opposed to separate nations or blocs of nations or ideologies . . . it must not be thought that the defeat of communism or the defeat of capitalism, as the case may be, is of such importance as to justify the extermination of the human race in the process . . . In this case learning through experience is ruled out since the experience will, in all likelihood, be that of universal death . . ."

None of this was lost on the four funereally-clothed academicians who sat smiling as the simultaneous translation into Russian reached their earphones. The last-minute appearance of these Soviet scientists—Professor A. V. Topchiev, A. V. Kuzin, M. A. Markov, nuclear physicist, and C. A. Goiounsky—had converted the character of the conference. It was difficult to see in these matter-of-fact men the personification of the new wind from Moscow, or, as Topchiev called it "the new spirit in international relations created at the Geneva Conference." But they were the first Soviet scientists associated with atomic developments to appear at an international conference in ten years. Their presence, said the leader of the Liberal Party, Clement Davies, changed the meeting "from being a half-world conference into a whole-world conference."



Partymiller in York (Pa.) Gazette and Daily

A Very Serious Matter

Not entirely. There was a great deal of thoroughly Western soul-searching on the part of the scientists present. Professor R. Furth, formerly of Prague and now at the University of London, wanted every scientist to take the equivalent of the doctors' Hippocratic Oath, pledging himself "to abstain from any activity known to me to be intended for harmful purposes." Dr. A. J. Ayer of the same university argued it was almost impossible today to pinpoint the responsibility of a single scientist, or to expect him to isolate himself from the main stream of government-subsidized work; he could only strive for the greatest freedom within that framework. Professor Gallie of Belfast University urged that instead of "beginning to cart their consciences from conference to conference" scientists should assume a new loyalty to mankind. Professor J. Bronowski rebelled against the new picture of the scientist as a modern Mephistopheles and the tendency to put on his individual conscience the decision of what he is to do; it was precisely for such a decision that Klaus Fuchs was jailed. There was general agreement that the known facts of nuclear war would do most to fulfil the scientists' obligation to their fellow men.

In a curious way the drama of the conference came from a muting of its dramatics. The arrival of the Soviet scientists changed its basic character from evangelism to compromise. The Russians joined in the work of the four commissions and, unlike other Soviet emissaries in a previous period, showed themselves rather cautious. Instead of Bertrand Russell's dramatic formulation, which made it seem automatic that another international war would mean the end of mankind, the Russians joined with more scientifically cautious Westerners to produce a resolution which began: "Since in any future war nuclear weapons will probably be employed and since such weapons threaten to bring immeasurable suffering for humanity and material destruction and possibly even the end of mankind, we urge, therefore, the governments of the world to realize and to acknowledge publicly that their purpose cannot be furthered by world war . . ."

Even before the Russians made their appearance, the organizers of the conference had decided on the tactic of making this the beginning of a year of study and preparation for a bigger conference to take place next summer. When they decided this they had no idea that they would get a firm assurance from Topchiev that Soviet scientists would cooperate in the project.

There are, of course, a multitude of problems which lie between even the most heart-felt resolutions and the emergence of a practicable system of international control and a diversion of resources from H-bombs to power stations. But, ten years after Hiroshima, we have begun to see glimpses that not only Russian man but man in general may be ceasing to be his own worst enemy.

GERMANY AFTER GENEVA

Cold Facts on the Cold War . . *by Carolus*

Bonn

LIKE an eagle crouching in his eyrie, Dr. Konrad Adenauer looked down from his 5,000-foot retreat at Muerren toward the Lake of Geneva, about 80 miles distant. Surrounded by his Foreign Minister, Dr. von Brentano, his Minister of State, Dr. Hallstein, the envoy to the Western European Union, Dr. Blankenhorn, and the German Ambassador to the United Nations in New York, Felix von Eckhard—surrounded by these dignitaries, the Chancellor waited cheerfully for events to develop in Geneva.

Didn't he have in his pocket Moscow's invitation which reached him so unexpectedly last May? And didn't this invitation confirm his oft-repeated conviction that Russia was in the throes of a grave crisis, and that the gentlemen in the Kremlin were at the end of their wits—a brief Dr. Adenauer had reiterated during his most recent visit to Washington? Furthermore, didn't West Germany's chief before leaving for Switzerland provide himself with all the trump cards necessary to win for the "policy of strength" in Geneva a victory as inevitable as an Amen in church?

With a stubbornness that even in his own political party aroused bitter criticism and almost caused a revolt in his government coalition, Adenauer forced Parliament to accept his army draft law shortly before the summer recess. This was just a week before the Geneva talks. Of course he had to compromise on a few safety clauses, including the setting up of a neutral control commission for the selection of generals and other high-ranking officers. Moreover, the Social Democratic opposition remained adamant and in the final vote stood to a man against the law, though failing to stop its passage. In spite of all obstacles, the old man once again had made his will prevail. With the bill in his briefcase Adenauer happily went to Muerren. Assured of 6,000 officers—the skeletal basis of a new German army—he looked confidently forward to the conference of the Big Four. What could go wrong? Weren't the Russians confronted with a *fait accompli?*

HOWEVER, on the second day of the Geneva negotiations Dr. Adenauer must have realized that he'd lost the game. His envoy, Dr. Blankenhorn, vainly shuttled back and forth between Muerren and Geneva. Exhortations to the Western powers went unheeded. References to Western solidarity and previous commitments to Bonn did no be[illegible]r. Eisenhower remained firm: no controversial question dividing Russia and the West must interfere with reaching a peaceful understanding. According to the Paris newspaper *Le Monde,* Sir Anthony Eden emphasized this point on July 28 in the House of Parliament: "The Prime Minister insisted that, far as the Western powers are concerned, Germany must be able to make a free choice once she is unified. The West does not insist that Germany be integrated in NATO no matter what. Russia and Europe have a right to hope that Germany's reunification will not create any danger for them."

There was no word in the German press about these remarks of the British Prime Minister, and this is characteristic of the manner in which the German government and the German press have treated the results of the Geneva conference. Despite the shock to German public opinion, Dr. Adenauer and his supporters kept up a brave front. Outwardly they celebrated Western solidarity and pretended that the results were a success for the Chancellor's policy. They insisted that the question of Germany's reunification had remained on the agenda with the expected priority, and that without a solution "satisfactory to West Germany" there would be no collective security and no peace in the world.

The violently pro-government newspaper *Koelnische Rundschau* went so far as to publish an editorial in which it demanded that the West should not slow down rearmament, its reason being that Geneva had not proved the West's military superiority conclusively enough to force the Russians to yield on all important points. This military superiority, the paper said, could only be achieved by rearming the Germans—hence, onward and upward with the German army; the cold war must go on!

Similar opinions were expressed in Dr. Adenauer's immediate entourage. Herr Strauss, one of his younger Cabinet members, declared in a speech that, for the West, Geneva must be considered as only half a success, and hence as a half failure. On July 10, immediately before Geneva, Foreign Minister von Brentano was sitting on such a high horse that during the Thousand-Year celebration of the Battle on the Lechfeld, he exclaimed in Augsburg "in the name of the federal Chancellor" that today as in centuries past "pagan nomadic hordes from the East" were threatening Western Christianity, and that "we must take decisive and effective counter-measures." "The surging nomadic hordes," Brentano continued, "cannot be warded off by offers of neutrality and peaceful conduct. Western Christianity can assert itself only if it is united and if it restores the unity of Christian faith as the basis of Western culture." This, incidentally, was a clear stab at the Protestant church. After Geneva, even Brentano's voice came out in a lower key.

In the meantime, however, other voices have made themselves heard in Western Germany. Concerned about the reunification issue, the Social Democratic Opposition has noted regretfully that the results of Geneva have justified its policy of

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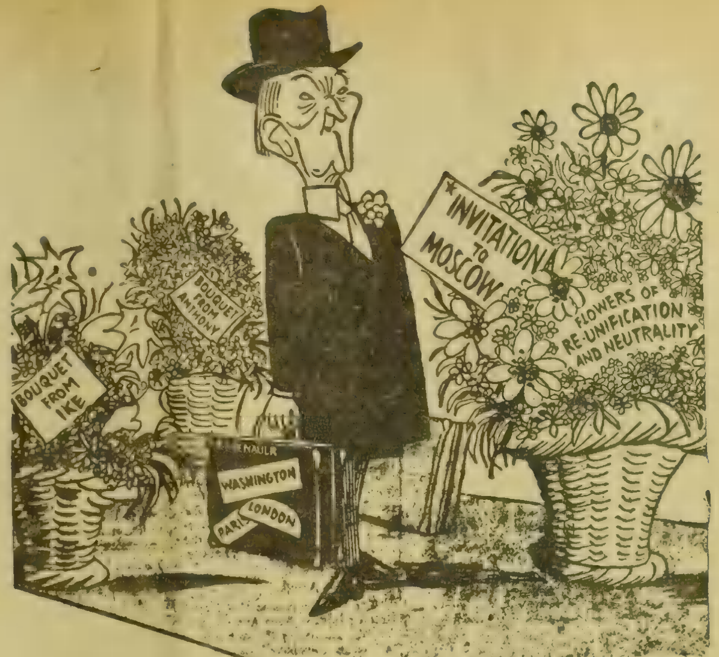
rejecting the Paris treaties and Germany's remilitarization. What the Social Democrats had reiterated time and again had become true; with West Germany's membership in NATO and its military pact with the West, the country's reunification could not be achieved. For this reason the *Vorwaerts,* organ of the Social Democrats, implored the West to voluntarily renounce the West German army divisions — which are militarily useless anyway — and to release Bonn from its NATO membership, so that the Russian-occupied part of Germany might then be freed from the obligations of the Warsaw pact. Otherwise, the *Vowaerts* said, there is no hope for German reunification, and no hope for a collective-security system with guarantees for both East and West, which alone could transform the Geneva truce into a genuine peace.

Similar ideas are being expressed in more middle-of-the-road papers, whose domestic policies are diametrically opposed to the Social Democratic program. First and foremost, there is the extremely influential *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung.* Unlike Dr. Adenauer, this newspaper believes that time is working for Moscow and that Germany's position is very dangerous. An editorial dated July 29 says, verbatim: "We have the feeling that a long-repressed criticism of Germany's official foreign policy has now come out in the open after the Geneva conference."



Vicky in London Daily Mirror

Mein Gott, this is positively embarrassing.

THE *Allgemeine Zeitung* bases its opinion on a widely quoted speech of Professor Friedensburg, federal delegate at Bonn from Berlin, a prominent member of Adenauer's party, and former Lord Mayor of Berlin. As president of the Institute for Economic Research Professor Friedensburg said on July 28 in Heidelberg: "I am afraid that the result of Geneva has cruelly revealed our lack of a realistic concept for German reunification. The notion that the West should become so strong that the Russians cannot do anything but retreat is devoid of any basis in reality. Unfortunately, the German people have been made to feel a mystic horror toward the Soviet Union. The only possible way of reunification is through an understanding with the Russians on a basis of equality. We cannot expect the Russians to accede to reunification at the cost of weakening themselves; at the same time the West cannot be expected to surrender any of its freedom." The paper then quotes the words of Dr. Thomas Dehler, party chairman of the conservative Free Democrats, members of Adenauer's coalition, who exclaimed only a short while ago: "It was a mistake to treat the Russians like lepers for ten years and thus deprive ourselves of any chance to reach an understanding with them."

This is the mood that permeates Western Germany after Geneva: first, the people are relieved that the nightmare of a new war has receded to the background; second, the politicians are depressed and resigned, having been made aware that the West German state is merely a tool of the Great Powers, and not the center of the universe, as all who swallowed Adenauer's propaganda were entitled to believe. Needless to say, its publicists had powerful help from across the Atlantic.

There is a third factor: Geneva has confronted the Germans with the cold facts about the cold war. When the Bonn Parliament reconvenes, no member of the Chancellor's party will have the nerve to mount the rostrum and berate the opposition as, for example, was done by Dr. Jaeger, one of the vice-presidents of the Bundestag, during the debate on the Paris treaties when he proclaimed: "You should not overlook the fact that the world is divided into two camps — the West is inhabited by gentlemen, the East by bandits."

After Geneva, this era is presumably ended for West Germany and the West German beneficiaries of the cold war. If anything had been lacking to mark the end, it was provided by the visit of Bulganin and Khrushchev in East Berlin. This trip of the Russian statesmen on their way back to Moscow has overshadowed even the results of Geneva, where Bonn and West Germany are concerned. Dr. Adenauer was so disturbed that, after hearing the first news from the East Zone, he wanted to give up his visit to Moscow. Now he has regained his composure and in this case, too, is putting up a brave front.

Dr. Adenauer will soon go to Moscow, and the only controversial question in government circles is whether he will be accompanied by Foreign Minister Brentano or by Dr. Ehrhard, the Minister of Economy. Moscow has offered to West German industrialists the markets of the East. German industrialists would be the last to renounce this source of profit and allow themselves to be outdone by Britain, which is so much in need of exports. Since Dr. Adenauer, in spite of his personal magnetism and his will to rule, is in the final analysis a creature of the German banks and German heavy industry, he will, if he wants to remain in power, have to bow to his superiors from the Rhine and the Ruhr, whom he has served so faithfully since 1949 and for whom he has created a state in their image, and a commercial paradise without parallel.

It is true that Dr. Adenauer will receive in Moscow the doubtful gift of diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia. There will then be two German ambassadors in Moscow – the one from Pankow and the one from Bonn–and Bonn will have all the ambassadors from Moscow's satellite states, and of course from the Kremlin itself. This done, what is to prevent Sweden, and later Belgium or France, from sending ambassadors to East Berlin-Pankow? As for the German POW's still held in Russia, whom the Federal Chancellor meant to bring home triumphantly to strengthen his hold on the voters, Bulganin has already promised their liberation to the East Zone government, as a shot in the arm. Reunification? "A domestic issue of the Germans," said Geneva. Truly, the road to Moscow will be a difficult one for Dr. Adenauer. It will be a journey to Canossa and nothing will be spared him. No wonder he gags at the thought.

The opposition gags no less. Negotiations with the East Zone and their Communist rulers, it fears, will take a tremendously long time. Today there is scarcely any basis for Germany's speedy reunification within the leading political parties, including the Opposition. Unless an irresistible popular movement forces the hand of all these parties, virtually nothing can be done. Given today's resignation among the West Germans, whose strongest characteristic is an egoism which will not permit a genuine solidarity even among the workers, it is hard to see any possibility for the rise of a spontaneous popular movement, though the concept of unity is in everybody's heart. Reunification is bound to happen. The questions are how and when.

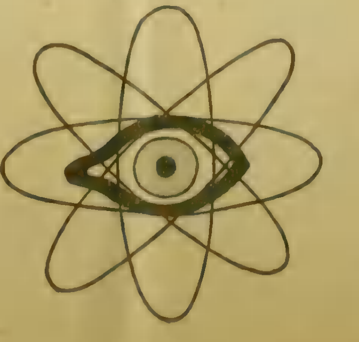
It was the French newspaper *Le Monde* that during the Geneva negotiations expressed the bitter truth: "Chancellor Adenauer is the undiluted product of the cold war. If the cold war stops, he will again become the mayor of a Cologne expanded to the dimensions of the Federal Republic. He will no longer be the standard-bearer of the anti-Communist crusade."

The Geneva conference was born in January, 1954, when it was decided at NATO headquarters in Paris that a future war should be fought with atomic weapons. It is almost a gift from Heaven that in this crucial time a man like General Eisenhower, with his military knowledge coupled with a deep humanitarianism and a sense of responsibility, is the President of the United States. Thanks to Geneva he has become a symbol of peace and the hope of peoples everywhere. The Germans, too, will eventually be grateful to him, for their welfare and their hopes of unification are based on one thing only – the preservation of peace.

THE SENSE OF THE FUTURE

Man's About Face . . *by Roderick Seidenberg*

THROUGHOUT the long course of history mankind seems to have been animated by a sense of the past rather than the future. During the last three centuries, however, a gradual shift in emphasis has taken place: today, in a significant volte-face, we are oriented almost wholly toward the future. This vast change of polarity is itself the expression of a decisive shift in the life of man. It symbolizes a new relationship in respect to nature, to himself, and to his destiny. Modern man has boldly accepted the world in all its challenges, but not, it is worth noting, without a residue of doubt and misgiving amidst the splendor of his anticipations. If he has grown strong in the power of his accumulated knowledge and his scientific understanding, he has come to recognize the unknown in himself. For he has still to comprehend his own nature, his capacities and limitations, his being. In widening the horizon of his opportunities he has added immeasurably to his responsibilities, and the burden of this creative challenge has sobered his optimism.



In a relatively static milieu such as that of medieval society, or even more so in the hieratic civilization of ancient Egypt, the future may well have seemed remote, serene, and stable. For the routine of life flowed on with the days and the seasons in an unchanging recurrence of events sustained by the continuity of long-established customs and traditions. A sense of the past pervaded the future. The essential patterns of life were deeply rooted and man lived in a state of comparative "fixity and permanence." A panoramic view of history would seem to indicate that the rate of change in the status of

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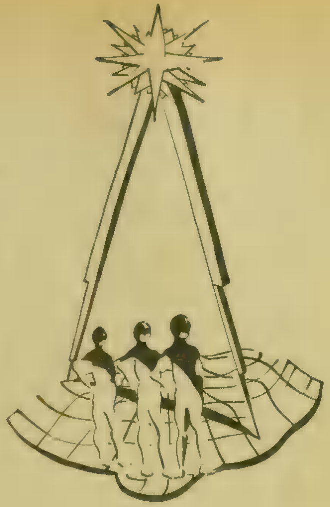
human affairs has by and large followed a slowly accelerating curve, and that man in the course of his development has steadily compounded his activities and hastened his sense of time.

With the coming of the machine, which enabled man to telescope time in unimagined ways, the tempo of change rose in a wholly unprecedented and explosive manner. Now it is precisely in a time of change that the future moves toward us, as it is in a time of stability that it recedes from us. That is why, in our unstable and dissolving world, the future impinges upon us with relentless immediacy. Increasingly we project the implications of our civilization into the future.

OUR approach to the problems of the future has undergone a radical change of attitude. We no longer consult the Delphic oracles or seek revelations in the entrails of birds. If we have abandoned the ancient arts of divination, addressed for the most part to specific events and particular occasions, we are moving toward a more comprehensive science of prediction founded upon general trends and basic principles behind the bewildering spectacle of isolated happenings. We have learned that in human affairs even chance, in its widest interpretation, follows statistical laws. Our advances in prognostication are at once broader in scope and less daring in their pretentions than the clairvoyance of the past. Yet those earlier, superstitious forays into the future were a kind of intuitive affirmation of a science to come, much as ancient astrology and medieval alchemy were forerunners of astronomy and chemistry. It is true a science of social prognostication remains to be established. Prediction, which is the hallmark of all science, seems not to have advanced much further in human affairs than to clear the ground of superstitious underbrush while venturing to formulate, at least in respect to certain large-scale, mass phenomena, its basic first principles. Still, efforts have been made toward a more far-reaching and all-inclusive methodology.

Half a century ago Henry Adams hinted at the possibility of establishing such a science, and however futile and awry his own attempt may have been, the challenge of the problem has been taken up, in one way or another, ever since. Thus, to mention a recent example, Charles Galton Darwin in his book "The Next Million Years" (1952) speaks of a set of laws "like the laws of thermodynamics, which would place absolute limits on what can be done by humanity." There have been many other indications, both in the field of biology and of history, pointing toward the hope of establishing the principles of such a science. Meanwhile the monumental efforts of Spengler, Toynbee, Danilevsky, Sorokin, and others to formulate the laws of civilization on the basis of a cyclical interpretation of the processes of history, constitute attempts to carry the trajectory of the past into the future. These interpretations suggest an alternate thesis: that the advent of science and the coming of the machine mark a decisive and climactic turning point in the life of man, and that history itself as we have known it may be but a transitional phase in the final development of mankind. There are, it is clear, sufficient reasons for believing that humanity is on the brink of a profound change of direction, the effects of which we can only hope to assay in an abstract and structural sense. In terms of these far-off, large-scale vistas it is possible that the theory of probability will cut athwart the factor of the individual human will, enabling us to attain a measure of predictability akin to that of other sciences.

CONSIDERED from a purely speculative point of view it is not without significance that man has already attained, in some respects, perimeters of the future that he cannot surpass. He has circumnavigated the globe, and conducted a virtually complete exploration of its surface. He has attained world-wide, instantaneous communication. He has established a universal system of latitude and longitude and a corresponding system of universal time—the framework of an ultimate unification of mankind. He is moving, implicitly and irrevocably it would seem, toward some form of universal organization, toward a world community. His science, limited and provisional as it may be, has universal validity. His mathematics knows neither temporal nor parochial boundaries. Man thus touches, here and there,



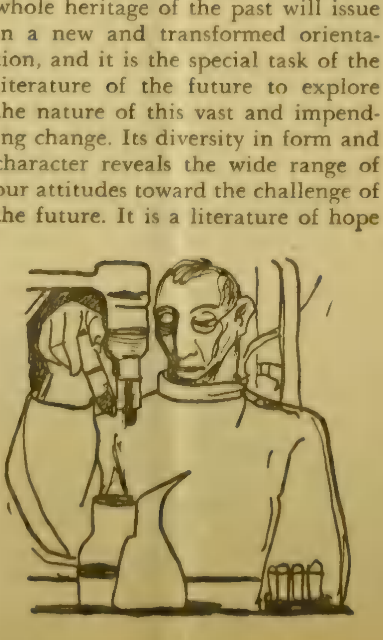
certain ultimates whose influence is certain to pervade his future as constants in a world of increasingly predictable variables. Through the specific achievements of the human spirit may forever elude prediction, certain inherent aspects based upon the laws of nature define, if they do not delineate, the probable limits of his future possibilities. Though unique, man remains a member of the biologic hierarcy. Doubtless his future development will become increasingly conscious, deliberate, and self-directed, but his further evolution—despite the adage that history repeats itself—will remain, in consonance with evolution in general, an irreversible process. The implications of this basic principle have not been fully explored, but clearly, they place the future of man within the locus of thermodynamic considerations. However abstract, these aspects of the picture suggest that the future is not a *tabula rasa* of illimitable possibilities.

With pardonable concern we look to our own immediate future within the larger perspective of man's ultimate destiny. Here too we do well to confine ourselves to underlying trends and tendencies. No age ever sees itself clearly; and in our age of ceaseless change nothing seems fixed, sacred, and enduring around which to pivot the issues of the future. Under the compulsion of our speed, our forward thrust and dynamic projection we live in a state of baffled anticipation. Our fears as well as our hopes arise out of a feeling that our vertiginous rate of change is approaching a saturation point beyond which our civilization will either collapse into chaos or attain a new order of things. In this condition of doubt and uncertainty our preoccupation with planning furnishes a significant clue to the underlying direction of affairs. For planning implies, above all, a conscious response to the challenge of the future. In its basic and broadest significance planning constitutes a rational approach to the solution of the problems of civilization—whether conceived in our piecemeal fashion or in an overall and totalitarian manner as in Soviet Russia. In either case it is the expression of a profound need, an inherent structural necessity in the functioning of our highly technological society.

WE live in a world of proliferating means. Under the impact of their complexity we have come to accept organization as an axiomatic principle of procedure. In America, as in the West generally, the principle of organization has been applied in response to the specific needs of the prevailing system of things; in Soviet Russia it has been accepted generically. Despite this apparent distinction, it is clear we are moving along parallel paths toward a common goal if only because organization itself demands, inherently and inevitably, the attainment of a final state of complete organization. As the antithesis of chaos, organization moves implicitly toward a condition of all-embracing universality. It is a crystallizing process encompassing the entire social scene, politically and economically, culturally and spiritually. Thus we are aware, however dimly and reluctantly, that contemporary humanity is marching—whether in step or out of step—toward the fateful denouement of a collectivized world. For better or for worse we are set to enter the portals of the future *en masse*.

From one point of view the process of organization appears to be the result of deliberate, consciously directed planning; from another aspect, seen in its totality, it emerges as the functioning of a vast, all-pervasive historic determination. On the basis of either interpretation modern man is caught in a grave dilemma of preserving his sense of individual freedom while the world about him moves irrevocably toward universal collectivization. The one world of the future may well be a world freely established; it will unquestionably be a world of precisely determined conformity. If, in the past, man has been the least predictable factor in the complex functioning of his ecology, he is now set to eliminate this ambiguity by adjusting himself to the over-all demands of his situation. In a world of limited resources his own potentialities will be trimmed to the rigorous requirements of statistical analysis and prediction. Under the massive compulsions of organized society the individual will be reduced to the status of an elementary unit in the complex functioning of the community. Thus reduced, his freedom to conform may in time seem to him the highest form of spirituality.

Modern painting, sculpture, and music have given voice to the anguish and confusion of the soul of man under the ominous threat of this nameless fate. It has remained for literature, however, to give rise to a wholly new genre, a literature of the future, which serves as the program notes to a new act in the drama of history. The stark novelty of this genre is in itself an omen. We are aware, as never before, that humanity stands at the threshold of a change beyond the impact of an era, an epoch, a segment of history. For it is not only we who are entering upon the future in the routine course of time; with us humanity is entering a new dimension, a new direction in its evolution. The present is a funnel through which the whole heritage of the past will issue in a new and transformed orientation, and it is the special task of the literature of the future to explore the nature of this vast and impending change. Its diversity in form and character reveals the wide range of our attitudes toward the challenge of the future. It is a literature of hope and fear, of argument and propaganda, of speculation, prophecy, and exhortation, of escape as well as challenge. And like much of modern art in its adolescent distortions, it "makes faces" at the faceless future: it is ironic, contemptuous, satiric, puerile, fantastic; but it is also a literature of sober scientific speculation and prediction.



IN early antiquity the golden age of man was placed in a remote past. In due course, however, he chose to locate his idealization of human existence in Utopia—that is to say, *nowhere*, as the word connotes in Greek. Thus Sir Thomas More's "Utopia," written in 1516, gave its name to the whole genre; while in the nineteenth century Samuel Butler's "Erewhon," a satire on modern trends, received its title by spelling nowhere backwards — more or less. Actually, Butler's title was out of date because the locale of these idealistic or imaginary projections had been changed; they were now placed in the future. After the circumnavigation of the globe and the exploration of the "Great Frontier," in the phrase of Walter P. Webb, only the future remained as a likely locale for the mythical, the unknown, and the unexpected. As early as 1770 Sebastian Mercier wrote a romance of the future entitled "L'an 2440," and in 1790 Restif de la Bretonne followed with a comedy called "L'an 2000." The tradition has been carried forward ever since. We need only to note Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward: 2000-1887," George Orwell's "Nineteen Eighty Four," Aldous Huxley's "Brave New World," which is dated A. F. (Anno Ford) 600, and Bernard Wolfe's "Limbo"—a brilliant if nightmarish farrago of the future dated 1990—not to mention a host of other prophetic ventures without benefit of a date line. Plainly, the imagination of man has turned toward the future as never before.

Coincident with this shift in locale there has been an even greater shift in outlook, in the quality and anticipation of life from the earlier Utopias with their lofty, pellucid atmosphere, their calm rationality and spiritual poise. That sanguine and roseate atmosphere still suffused the Utopia of H. G. Well's "Men Like Gods" written in 1923, but it wavered and vanished during the ensuing decades to be replaced by a darker and more sardonic mood. In place of Utopia with its fair vision of humanity, the modern forays into the future are more apt to be concerned with dire prognostications and gruesome presentiments of a sterile world of utter mechanization—the collectivized world of a monolithic, rationalized, totalitarian state. In that world man is reduced to an automaton. The individual as such has ceased to exist, or remains on the scene as the isolated scapegoat through whom the rigid collectivization of life is revealed. In Eugene Zamatian's satiric novel "We," based on the compulsory routine of Soviet life and published only a year after "Men Like Gods," the men of the future are identified not by names but by impersonal numbers. The theme of dehumanization and depersonalization runs through the literature of the future from the satiric pages of "Erewhon" (1872) to David Karp's forceful "pulverization" of man's identity in his book "One" issued in 1953—not to mention such a contemporary novel of life as C. Virgil Gheorghiu's "The Twenty Fifth Hour" (1950). If the Utopian literature of the past concerned itself with the challenge of visualizing an ideal state for man, the contemporary novel of the future explores an opposite path to social adjustment in the ruthless conditioning of man to the state. This profound and tragic reversal, in which the whole spiritual structure of man is violated, lies at the heart of our literature of the future: it endows it with a characteristically cruel and diabolic anguish, a sense of universal futility and frustration. It heralds the demise of man as a person.

AS WE follow the development of this literature we see that it grows more grim, more subtly brutal, more fateful and pessimistic. The hopeful ending has long since become equivocal or non-existent, as in Huxley's "Brave New World" or Orwell's "Nineteen Eighty Four"; while the partial failure to reduce the individual to utter conformity as in David Karp's "One" is satirically redeemed by solemn assurances of further research to achieve this end. The deliberate conditioning of mankind in a monolithic scheme of things is conceived as the prime objective of society. It is fostered in Orwell's picture of the future by means of torture; in Wolfe's "Limbo" by a bizarre resort to amputations and lobotomy; in Karp's excursion by advanced techniques in psychological degradation aided by drugs in a systematic brain-washing operation; in Huxley's more distant world the conditioning process has been accomplished, finally and completely, through the scientific application of eugenics. But another and perhaps even more alarming aspect of this literature is the progressive short-circuiting of time: the scene is brought ever closer to ourselves. In a foreword to new edition of "Brave New World" fifteen years after its original publication, Huxley confesses that one century rather than six would have sufficed for the future he envisaged. Meanwhile, in the field of "science fiction" we may seek escape in interstellar flight, which we have ground for believing is perhaps closer to realization than the removal of tariff barriers and passport restrictions on earth. Characteristically, scientists seem more confident of overcoming astral gravitation than human inertia.

There is of course another aspect to the literature of the future contributed by historians, social scientists, philosophers, biologists, and others too numerous to mention, which, if less sensational than that of the novelists, is nonetheless concerned with essentially the same problem. In this category alone the number of serious contributors is startling and impressive. Mention may be made of Hermann J. Muller's "Out of The Night: A Biologist's View of The Future," L. L. Whyte's "The Next Development of Man," Harrison Brown's "The Challenge of The Future," Fairfield Osborn's "The Limits of The Earth," Charles Galton Darwin's "The Next Million Years," along with the critical works of such men as Karl Jaspers, J. Huizinga, Ortega y Gasset, Waldo Frank, Reinhold Niebuhr, Lewis Mumford, and many others whose approach to our contemporary situation is inspired by a profound sense of the future. In comparison to the more imaginative flights of the novelists and dramatists, their approach is critical, speculative, and analytical; such judgments as they venture are constrained and cautious and disciplined as much perhaps by their nescience as by their knowledge. Nevertheless it is interesting to observe, in retrospect, that during the late nineteenth century no one but Nietzsche, Dostoevsky, and the historian Buckhardt had the depth of imagination, the psychological insight, and the daring to envisage the immeasurable degradation that overtook the civilized world only half a century later. The extraordinary display of universal self-deception in a period of high optimism and faith should serve as a warning to us.

OUR age has come to the belief that man's intelligence is equal to the challenge confronting him provided only that he would somehow commit himself to its use. But here too, paradoxical as it may seem, man may find himself in the cul-de-sac of the law of diminishing returns. For we must ask whether intelligence, which has amplified the technique of means throughout history, is qualified to stem the tide and undo the spell it set in motion. Will man, facing this dilemma in humility of spirit, seek salvation in a renewed affirmation of transcendental and other-worldly visions, or will he succumb to a religion of the state through which he will happily lose his identity in a plateau existence of uniformity, compliance, and security? Will he come to inhapit a world in which, short-circuiting all inwardness, only the means of life remain to be elevated into its ends? Or is he, finally, subject in reality to an inexorable fate, a kind of morphological determinism under the domination of his intelligence, which will carry him, not to a future without end, but—like other arrested species—to an ultimate condition of "fixity and permanence," to an end devoid of a future?

BOOKS

Long Shadow of the Thirties

PART OF OUR TIME. Some Ruins and Monuments of the Thirties. By Murray Kempton. Simon and Schuster. $4.

By Martin Solow

MURRAY KEMPTON'S first book, "Part of Our Time," is a series of novellas which share a common element: each deals with what happened to certain people or groups who had a revolutionary view of society during the 1930's. Each represents a different aspect of radical experience.

In presenting his segments of history Kempton uses the technique of the novelist—and it comes off brilliantly. He succeeds in evoking the characters of the men and women he writes about, and he does what only the good novelist can do: he recreates the atmosphere of the time in which they functioned and so forces the reader to inhabit a world which may be alien, dimly recalled, or long forgotten.

Contrary to the professions of former radicals, informers, and government agencies, Kempton holds with an increasing group of social historians that the Communists, the dominant radical group of the time, were no more than a ripple in the turbulent current of events. "We [radicals]," says Kempton, "were only part of our time. It was our illusion that we were the most important part, but most Americans knew we were not and they were right."

HIS stories are mostly stories of failure, although "the myth of the thirties did not touch only persons afflicted with the need for fantasy. Its heritage is not only ruins; it left its monuments too." He writes of the embittered, the pathetic, the disillusioned, and of the few who emerged as "monuments." Kempton's view is that the rebellion of the thirties was undertaken by individuals whose sense of rebellion was flawed or arrested. If they became, as they thought, non-conformists by embracing the Communist Party, once there, they embraced an even more stringent form of conformity in the "party line." His Communists are people without graces, without heart—or faint of heart. They are unscrupulous, petty, rigidly orthodox, lost in mazes of picayune party politics. They engage in seemingly non-productive activities and in endless feuds with other groups of radicals. They are, says Kempton, outside the current of social change in the thirties—yet unaware of their separation and their alienation.

His account of the left-wing Hollywood writers rings true for the most part. They were, he says, "unable to corrupt the movies with ideas; the movies corrupted them, and they got rich fabricating empty banalities to fit Hollywood's idea of life in America." Though what they did in Hollywood had made a mockery of their values, in the end the Hollywood Ten did stand up for their principles and go to jail for them. They were virtually the first to defy the witchhunters. Had their courage been contagious, had their defense been widespread and not in the main confined to the far left, we might never have plunged so far into the postwar witch hunt. The Hollywood radicals deserve credit at least for this.

When he deals with the writers of the thirties, Kempton attempts to limit arbitrarily the effect of the radical thrust on the creative imagination by fixing his attention solely on the proletarian novel. But despite the wooden, unrealistic books of most of those who wrote according to Marxist formulas—and Kempton cites some horrible examples—there were a number who wrote well precisely because of this radical impulse.

John Steinbeck's "The Grapes of Wrath" was not a "proletarian novel" but it undoubtedly emerged from the radical ferment of the time. The books of James T. Farrell, Richard Wright, and Nelson Algren were also a part of the same impulse, and to separate them from it and consider each as an unrelated case, as Kempton does, is to establish artificial categories. Maxwell Geismar, writing of the "new direction of the nineteen-thirties," cites such writers as MacLeish, Dos Passos, Sandberg, Rukeyser, Caldwell, Halper, Wright, and Odets, whose work he says "was in many respects more aware and mature in its values, in the epoch of crisis more fruitful in its intimation of the future, than possibly any other literary movement of the last half-century." Today, when we are more jaded and perhaps more cynical, much of what was written in the thirties sounds banal. But if we contrast the themes of affirmation with the sick and tortured material current today, we can approach a fairer evaluation of it.

In his section on the youth movements Kempton brings alive the flavor of their holy wars—too many of them, alas, waged against ideological opponents who presumably were on the same side of the barricades. I have no doubt that the bitterness engendered during those days has contributed to the tragic polarization of the left in America today. What was unfortunate about the dissipation of radical energies was not what Kempton sees—the personal alienation and neuroticism—but the frustration of the good people who believed they were part of an inexorable march toward a brave new world.

THERE were more positive elements in the radical movement of the thirties than Kempton distinguishes. And perhaps part of Kempton's difficulty lies within himself. For instance, at one point, in order to prove a generalization, he cites some adolescent letters written by friends of his wife—hardly a fair sampling of youthful opinion. Writing of the youth movement, he warns his readers, "If I remember its characters as posturing in the main it is because I remember myself as posturing." Whose problem is that? And I think he would find a host of witnesses prepared hotly to refute him when he observes that if his book is barren of "remembered acts of mercy or kindness or fraternity" it is because "there was less kindness, justice, and brotherhood in the radicals of the thirties than in any other group of radicals in our history." The fact is, during those days many people were inspired—and the Roosevelt pragmatic revolution played its part in quickening that inspiration—to become concerned with the welfare of other people.

Granted some of the negative factors Kempton recalls, nevertheless the thirties were literally alive with ideas. Young people especially, in contrast with today's youth, were not afraid to examine problems, talk about them, and hunt for solutions. While the youth movements in a formal sense were small, they cast an influence in much wider circles than Kempton indicates.

I remember dropping out of college for some months in 1939 and hitch-hiking through the South — working in a retail store, picking pecans and oranges, washing dishes, bell-hopping, and so on. Fired by the miserable conditions I had seen, when I returned home I straightway wrote a letter to the YIPSELS telling them I was ready to join up and to come and get me. I never heard from them, and so ended my efforts to affiliate with any part of the youth movement. But the impulse was not lost, for subsequently I went to work organizing for the C. I. O.—as did countless other young people with or without "revolutionary" affiliations.

CONTRARY to Kempton's thesis that people became radicals because of subjective problems, I would cite the atmosphere of the time as a deeper reason. America was haunted by the depression, by bread lines and "Hoovervilles." There were the bonus marches, unemployment demonstrations, relief demonstrations, violent strike-breaking. And there was the shattering impact of fascism and the fact that the Soviet Union represented its most militant, consistent opposition. To a number of those who were truly concerned with these situations, the Communist Party existed as a ready vehicle for the expression of that concern. Many who today profess to have seen from the start the design of evil in the Communist Party are speaking from hindsight. In the thirties the Communists worked for the stated objectives of many other liberal and left groups. They offered, moreover, the attraction of incessant activity. As Kempton says, this did not take place within the "mainstream of American life." But neither was it all sickness or malevolence.

Kempton laments the disappearance of the young radicals of the thirties. "So many of us are gone now, gone without trace, this bright young legion of the elect who were supposed to be the leaders of their generation and the beacon for its future." They have not stood up well, he says, and you can agree.

And yet, confronted with the cold war, how many young people could become heroes? Especially when they acquired wives and children and no longer enjoyed the luxury of making decisions only in accord with their personal desires. It does not reflect solely on the radical youth that they have lost their way; it is, rather, a revelation of the pressure of the times and of economics—as Kempton has frequently pointed out in his perceptive newspaper column.

Persons possessed by a dream, says Kempton, are a minority in any time. This is an easy truth but not one which necessarily reflects the effect of that minority upon society. So when he attempts to write off the effect of the radical movement in the thirties by showing how small it was, he does not provide an adequate measuring rod. The great social changes down through the ages have come from small groups who had an impact upon the greater body of their fellow citizens. The impact of radicalism in the thirties had a continuing effect upon America. As Kempton himself notes, the thirties produced "a great economic revolution at whose end children no longer worked in factories and assembly hands spoke unafraid to their foreman." Virtually to read the radicals out of this process is, I believe, to misread the history of the time.

TAKEN as a whole, however, I found "Part of Our Time" one of the most stimulating books in many years. Among its best chapters are those on J. B. Matthews, the Reuther brothers and the United Automobile Workers, the National Maritime Union, and Lee Pressman and Gardner Jackson. In addition, when we have witnessed—as in recent years—the spectacle of radicals repenting their past all over the landscape, it is good to read a book which eschews the confessional approach.

Kempton himself stems from what was best in the radical movement of the thirties. In recent years he has built a substantial reputation for his courage on civil liberties and labor issues and for his generally discerning columns on our way of life. I suspect that somewhere underneath what he is and what he writes there exists the shadow of his own radical past. Were he to assay further his values today and his values yesterday, he might well find that he need not patronize and deprecate that past.

The Blow Lands

Dead objects seem to live in the arms of the southwest wind:
Thorns, feathers, skin of the lizard, dung of the bleached bull,
Dreams of tired men leaving under clouds of their blown ranches.

All lost and senseless things move seaward to drown in the wet ravines.
The heaviest bones remain, and the heaviest thoughts;
The great rocks stay, and history in the mountains;
Stay the hard-eyed buzzard, the absolute sun.

A hundred miles perhaps to Alamogordo,
A bird's flight to the proving ground at White Sands,
A thousand years to the pyramid of Los Alamos
Waiting for the speckled wings to dive,
the dry wind to blow.

The simplest act of man is to plant trees,
To bring snow water from the cold passes.
The Indian was a father to the desert,
Even the armed Spaniard thought of gardens.

The complicated mind is seedless:
The simple acts are kept for children in the glass museum.
All pyramids rise in the worship of annihilation:
Dead objects only seem to live in the arms of the southwest wind.

Don Gordon

France's Cold Civil War

CAPTAIN DREYFUS. The Story of a Mass Hysteria by Nicholas Halasz. Simon And Schuster. $3.50.

By Matthew Josephson

THE STRANGE case of the Jewish army officer who was wrongfully sentenced for treason in a French military trial of sixty years ago has brought forth a veritable torrent of books in all languages, as well as countless plays and movies, good and bad (such as "Madame X" which I saw in a nickelodeon of my boyhood days). For the world-renowned *affaire* has a perennial fascination both for those who crave escape in the mystery thriller and those whose interest leads them to the serious study of the makers and shapers of history, or of power politics, militarism, nationalism, anti-Semitism. It is to the latter type of reader, however, that Mr. Halasz's lucid and skilfully organized history of the Dreyfus case is mainly directed. His is a large, many-threaded, tightly woven narrative encompassing most of the pertinent material in Joseph Reinach's seven-volume work (1904-1911), but augmenting the old records with more recent revelations, such as the long secret documents giving the German side of the story, released in the last days of the Weimar Republic. These, including the diaries of the German espionage chief in Paris, finally removed whatever last lingering doubts anyone might possibly have entertained concerning the innocence of Dreyfus.

The Dreyfus case literally "has everything": fools, clowns, base rascals, honest villains, and citizen-heroes of large stature. Even a mysterious, veiled lady, always clad in black, who turns out to be a man. It forms of course *the* great folk-drama or miracle play of the Third Republic — that highly civilized, scandal-ridden "Republic of the Bourgeois," which, nowadays, is so much belittled and deplored. For over ten years the lusty bouts of the Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards, those latter-day Guelphs and Ghibellines, kept all France in the turmoil of a cold civil war. During the struggle the political issues constantly broadened. The fight to save an innocent man consigned to Devil's Island became a deadly contest between civilian and military authority, with the fate of the republic itself at stake.

In the early stages an overwhelming majority of the people believed in the integrity of the French army leadership, as did all the great press, and came to its defense. But in the end it was the anti-democratic extremists, those true precursors of racism and fascism whom Zola characterized as men possessed "with an obstinate will for darkness," who met with defeat. The miracle of it all was that a few mere writers, such as Zola and Reinach, and a handful of liberal and anti-clerical politicians, such as Clemenceau, managed through their own obstinate, unremitting exertions to lead the whole country toward revision and reform. As a consequence the school system of France was at last removed from the domination of the church; and the French army emerged with renewed strength to face the ordeal of 1914-1918.

IN RETROSPECT the epoch of the Dreyfus case seems to us inspired with an *elan* born of a revolutionary crisis. Men acted and spoke again with the passion and eloquence of Mirabeau and Danton. The "Tiger," Clemenceau, said:

> . . . When the watchwords of tolerance and liberty will have yielded their place to the clamors of hatred . . . then we may still have the same rivers, the same mountains. We may still sit on French soil. But we shall have ceased to be the France our fathers desired to create and left to us to make into a reality.

After all, one reflects, how little of Dreyfus himself there was in the Dreyfus case! This respectable and patriotic officer, on returning from exile, was utterly astonished at the furor over a judicial error by a military court. And one might add the further observation: how little of *Semitism* there was, after all, in the whole movement of anti-Semitism that swept over Europe in those days. But there was a great deal of mass-hysteria, quite obviously directed and manipulated by powerful groups who had a big "investment" in the national neurosis about war danger, internal enemies, traitors, spies lurking everywhere. On this aspect of the *affaire* Mr. Halasz focuses attention as few other commentators have done; his analysis of its crowd and opinion movements has a remarkable relevancy to our own politico-military situation in the fear-ridden America of the 1950's.

> . . . There was conformity, and sinister forces within the nation attempted to make conformity serve their own purposes. Through the efficient manipulation of mass-communication media they penetrated the plants, the offices, the barracks, the schools, the homes and even the nurseries. They intimidated the sober minority. But it was beyond their power to prevent a few men of courage and responsibility from offering resistance . . . .

Mass-hysteria over the Dreyfus case flared up at a time when France was harrowed by fear of new invasion and defeat. In essence the Third Republic was a parliamentary democracy plus an army, an army that was outsized for a nation of forty millions. The Ministers might come and go; the Generals remained. They headed a powerful, long-standing bureaucracy. Within the circles of the old officer caste and in those of the fanatical Catholic Royalists, a whole series of plots had been engineered, ever since 1871, to restore the monarchy or set up a dictatorial regime. It was from these quarters that a great hue and cry had been raised against the tiny minority of French Jews after the failure of General Boulanger's proposed coup, and again after the financial crash of the Panama Canal project toward 1890.

It was the reactionary group of army officers who seem to have been beside themselves with excitement and fear in 1894 when evidence was discovered of the operations of a traitor or spy in their very midst, one apparently having access to the General Staff. In their ignorance they leaped to the conclusion that it was the work not of one of their own charmed circle of aristocrats, but of some "outsider," one of the few Jewish officers, the one whose name began with a "D." Thus Captain Dreyfus was arrested, as if with

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MATTHEW JOSEPHSON is the author of "Zola and His Times. The History of His Martial Career in Letters."

a wild stab, and tried in camera, neither he nor his lawyer being shown the incriminating document or *bordereau* allegedly evidencing his guilt. It was a kangaroo trial even according to the military code. But the stupid generals, at any rate, had their "German spy" and could now breathe easily again. Later, they insisted that their haste and secrecy was dictated by fear of imminent war with Germany.

THE INNOCENT man's family strove to have the case reopened; but measures were taken to intimidate and silence them. Only a year after the sentencing of Dreyfus, a newly appointed and honest intelligence chief, Colonel Georges Picquart, discovered the emptiness of the Dreyfus "file" and even disclosed to the High Command the identity of the real traitor, Major Walsin-Esterhazy. His superior, a lieutenant-general, ordered Picquart to hold his tongue, saying: "For me truth is what the Minister of War and the Chief of the General Staff tells me is true." Picquart was then sent away to an African desert station. Thereafter the real traitor with the aid of an accomplice in the Intelligence Department and underlings of the General Staff fabricated forgeries in order to strengthen their case against Dreyfus and preserve their crime—already being whispered about all over Paris. The whispers soon became an uproar, and the army leaders, under pressure, committed ever greater follies. These are risks always present for a democratic society when it accepts the overshadowing power of a huge military establishment whose bureaucrats work ever in silence and secrecy—"for the good of the army" or, less sincerely, for "the safety of the republic."

The day came when the real traitor was openly denounced in the opposition press and by a few brave souls in Parliament. The army moved quickly to try him in secret court-martial, and, of course, exonerated him. Then the "Leagues of Patriots" began again to play on the theme of anti-Semitism and took over the streets of Paris. Whenever a big-army faction in concert with big or little demagogues makes its bid for power in the state—as more recently in the Weimar Republic — there is usually a recrudescence of anti-Semitism, or anti-common-sense, or anti-anything. And there always seem to be enough "traitors" and "subversives" around to feed the mass-hysteria engendered in the populace. Emile Zola, however, had glimpsed a good part of the truth at this stage, early in 1898; with the clairvoyance of a master novelist he constructed a coherent and powerful statement of what must have been going on behind the scenes. In his great polemical pamphlet, *J'Accuse*, he indicted the heads of the government and the whole army command; thus with one smashing blow he finished off all the mumbo-jumbo of military secrecy, deliberately forced a public trial of himself, and brought the whole *affaire* into the open daylight. Zola too was to be condemned, but henceforth, as he said, "the truth was on the march."

Considerable change in the spirit of the public showed itself by 1899, as Mr. Halasz notes, when Dreyfus at last was brought back for retrial. Formerly the common people had seemed confused, apathetic, or fearful; they were more or less indifferent to the issue of civil rights. Now all the republicans of the left, the trade-unionists, the Socialists came out in imposing demonstrations of a hundred thousand persons, filling the Paris boulevards and frightening off the racist hooligans. The magnificent agitation of men like Zola and Clemenceau and, belatedly, of the famous Social leader, Jean Jaures, brought all the democratic factions together in a great common stand for the republic. Even the most wavering of politicians could sense this turning of the tide. "To have reconquered the workers for the republic," Halasz observes keenly, "was the historic achievement of the Dreyfus affair"; it provided "a solid base for the Third Republic . . . enabled it to endure . . . ."

A Stubborn Band

LIBERTY AND REFORMATION IN THE PURITAN REVOLUTION. By William Haller. Columbia University Press. $6.

By Donald A. Roberts

THE events of British history from the calling of the Long Parliament in 1640 to the execution of Charles I in 1649 were fateful immediately for the people of Britain and for the outposts in America, destined to become the United States and Canada. Later they had considerable effect on the intellectual leaders of the French Revolution. And today few can be unaware that they loom in the background of the upheaval in Asia and Africa.

As in his previous study, "The Rise of Puritanism" (1938), the author chronicles these events only incidentally. At most, he reminds his readers of them or sketches them briefly. His concern is with the intellectual and spiritual development of the people under the leadership of a very remarkable group of preachers, agitators, reformers, and soldiers. Only the barest bones of biography are given for these men, but their ideas come vividly to life in copious and illuminating quotations from their writings, speeches, and petitions.

THOUGH the documentation of the study is very full its central ideas are never blurred. Once the authority of the bishops was successfully challenged the limits of freedom of conscience were beyond definition. Though the Presbyterians were able to establish the Westminster Assembly in order to reform the church according to their beliefs they found themselves frustrated by a stubborn minority who claimed the same right of dissent the Presbyterians had demanded of the bishops. Inevitably, the quest for religious freedom engendered the desire for political reform with the result that by 1649 the confusion in life and thought was so great that only the decisive action of the army could bring a measure of stability to the nation.

This is a rich and mellow book. It makes a fundamental contribution to our knowledge of a seminal age and to our understanding of such important men as Lilburne, Overton, Walwyn, Roger Williams, John Milton, and Cromwell.

DONALD A. ROBERTS is associate professor of English at the City College, New York.

Films

Robert Hatch

THE KNACK of Alfred Hitchcock was never great art and his decline is no great tragedy. Nevertheless, it is melancholy that a man who did so well the thing he did—with such wit and such apparent ease and pleasure—should now turn out ponderous imitations of himself. "To Catch a Thief," Hitchcock's latest, may not be such a bad Hollywood feature, but it is bad Hitchcock.

What was the charm of the famous pictures? Leaving aside their fine cinematic devices — many of which Hitchcock perfected and most of which have since become part of the general movie vocabulary—their charm was substantially that of good British detective fiction. They set wildly improbable peril against backgrounds of blandest normalcy. The characters, lightly drawn, were people who made strong claim on your friendship; they were intelligent and gay and, though involved in outlandish adventure, were obviously amateurs of melodrama. The pictures themselves had a pleasantly amateur feeling. They seemed to be made with the least possible fuss or paraphernalia, and as if for the fun of the job. Hitchcock was not being very original. Much of his camera work was borrowed from the British documentary crews and his narratives, both plots and structure, were adaptations to the screen of the urbane thriller. But he made the adaptation wonderfully well and the pictures were stamped with the ironies and incongruities that amused him.

When he came to America, Hitchcock took on American ways. Instead of making Hitchcock pictures, he began to turn out Hollywood pictures with Hitchcock touches—"Foreign Correspondent," for example. His work turned more pretentious and less personal. Like a good many European directors before him, he became a star, a big name for big pictures.

That is not to say that he suddenly lost his talent. "Lifeboat" was a compelling picture; so were "Rope" and "Strangers on a Train." But they were somewhat assertively tricky and they were not always appetizing, or strictly honest, pictures. The latter two deal with abnormality of a peculiarly baleful type—sadistic homosexuality carried to fatal extremes—and yet their content was essentially frivolous. They were entertainments, rather cute entertainments, derived from subject matter so inappropriate that we were ashamed to be entertained. Yet if you tried to handle them seriously, they fell into tinsel no weightier than the ingredients of "The Thirty-Nine Steps." They were Kraft-Ebbing at the level of John Buchan, examples of the fact that the studios do not hesitate to make smooth treatments out of the most painful and complex human predicaments.

"To Catch a Thief" is a turn back toward the old order of excitement. It is a Leslie Charteris kind of yarn in which a renowned cat burglar, now retired and living splendidly at Monte Carlo, has to put on sneakers and gloves once more to trap an imposter who is aping his old style. Cary Grant is sunburned and athletic in the role; Grace Kelly and Brigitte Auber do their best to distract him with their hot little breaths (as in "Summertime," a fireworks display is used for explicit but censor-proof symbolism); Jessie Royce Landis plays a boozy American oil widow with humorous effect.

There are scenes here and there to prove that Hitchcock was around when the film was made: a chase through a flower market, an altercation at a graveside, a girl staring through dark glasses, the perplexities of an insurance agent who is cozened into putting the finger on his most affluent clients; but I never felt he had the controls in his hands. The picture lumbers, it has violence but little tension, it wastes time in vulgar ogling, its characters are without individuality or relish. The acting is routine competence verging on inattention, and Grace Kelly, at least, can do better than that.

Most disappointing, there are none of the bizarre conceits by which Hitchcock used to run cold fingers up our backs, none of the foolishness that used to be hysterically funny in the dire circumstances. As always, Hitchcock appears briefly—this time as a passenger in a suburban bus—but his hound-dog face is the trademark without the product. Of course, his name will help to sell all that expensive colored Vistavision.

Records

B. H. Haggin

COLUMBIA ML-5038 offers Scenes 4 and 5 of "Antigonae" by Carl Orff, whose "Carmina Burana" made a big impression on musicians and critics when it was performed in New York last year. The vocal writing on this record is recitative; and much of it, especially at first, is a repetition of one note ending with a melodic cadence somewhat like that of the end of a phrase of Gregorian chant; but for greater tension and expressive force there is also a melodic type of recitative which is effective, impressive, and at times moving. This recitative is sung by the soloists and chorus to an accompaniment of rhythmic and percussive details achieved with great precision by an orchestra comprising string basses, harps, flutes, oboes, trumpets, and an enormous number of percussion instruments ranging from pianos and kettledrums to Javanese gong-chimes and an African wood drum. What we hear, then, is a personal and individual idiom and style that Orff has made for himself out of known elements; and a use of this idiom and style that is impressive and moving.

The performance by Christl Goltz, Hilde Roessl-Majdan, Hermann Uhde, Josef Greindl, the chorus of the Vienna State Opera, and members of the Vienna Symphony, under the direction of Heinrich Hollreiser, is excellent. I had listened to half of Scene 4 before I discovered in the record envelope the sheet with the German text and a combination of English translation and summary that leaves large sections neither translated nor summarized.

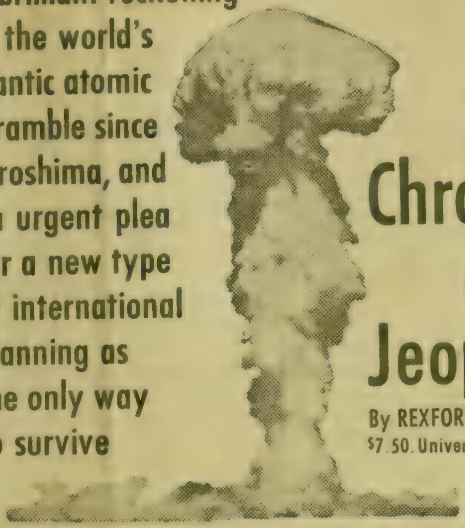
Epic LC-3135 offers *Dove sono* from "Figaro" and a number of less frequently heard Mozart arias: *Tutte nel cor vi sento* from "Idomeneo," two arias from "Titus," *Basta, vincesti* K. 486a, *Alma grande* K. 578, and the especially fine *Bella mia fiamma* K. 528. Hilde Zadek uses an agreeable voice in well-shaped and expressive phrases, with good accompaniments by the Vienna Symphony under Paumgartner.

The fresh, lovely lyric soprano of Emmy Destinn's performances of excerpts from "Robert the Devil" and "Russalka" on the Scala record I discussed last fall seemed to me to be that of Destinn in her pre-1908 Berlin days. With these performances the two records of Classic Editions 7001 offer several more of the same period and quality—of excerpts from "Lohengrin" and "Tannhauser," the Seguidilla from "Carmen" and Jewel Song from "Faust" (in German), and *D'amor sull' ali rosee* from "Il Trovatore" (in Italian). The beauty of the voice and the assurance with which it is deployed make the "Trovatore" aria worth the price of the set; but on the other hand you would never recognize in the hurried, unimpressively phrased *Ritorna vincitor* from "Aida" (in German) the singer who recorded the great performance for Victor a few years later.

VIVALDI'S engaging "Four Seasons," comprising the first four violin concertos of "Il Cimento dell' Armonia e dell' Invenzione" Op. 8, is on Columbia ML-5044, played by Cantelli with the New York Philharmonic and its concertmaster John Corigliano. The beautifully phrased and shaped performance is reproduced with rich sound that is made too huge at times by the close-range recording.

Tchaikovsky's rarely played Piano Concerto No. 2, far superior to the popular No. 1, is played on Classic Editions 3008 by Tatiana Nikolayeva with what is described as the State Orchestra of the U. S. S. R. under Anosov. Her playing is of finer musical quality than Pinter's in the Urania performance; and there is beautiful playing by the solo violin and cello in the second movement; but the orchestra is shabby and poorly reproduced, and Anosov seems unable to give the performance the slightest continuity.

The songs of Charles Ives that are sung well by Helen Boatwright on Overtone 7 I have found uninteresting.



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Letters

Shakespeare Festival Theater

Dear Sirs: In your issue of August 6, Harold Clurman dealt with the newly founded American Shakespeare Festival Theater at Stratford, Connecticut, and found nothing good in its first production, "Julius Caesar," nor a word, good or bad, to say of the theater structure itself, nor of the idea of its academy, directed by John Burrell, formerly of the Old Vic, in the great days of Olivier and Richardson, nor of the considerable effort made to provide an eventual frame for heroic acting in our nation, so far divested of it. However feeble the first steps may have been, it might have been gracious to have remarked the beauty of the building, its site, and the possibility of something for a future.

However, Mr. Clurman misread his program note, which was quite explicit, as to the style of the scenery and costumes for "Caesar." They were not, as he lumped them, Elizabethan. They strove to fulfill the imaginative requirements of what was in Shakespeare's own eye when he thought of Rome, which was not our archaeological Rome. He had his own archaeology. To him, Roman was Italian. His Roman Empire was the Holy Roman Empire of Dante and Petrarch, not the revived Forum of Winckleman and Alma-Tadema. The clothes and architecture of Rome he saw in illustrated books of the translations of Plutarch and Suetonius as depicted by the painters and engravers of the early and high Renaissance. Many people have spoken of the welcome relief of a production of "Caesar" eschewing the inevitable bathrobe togas. The armor was the sort of fanciful parade-armor imagined by Piero della Francesca and Paolo Ucello; that Shakespeare used such is proven by the extant drawing of the original "Titus Andronicus." There is no such thing as Elizabethan armor, per se; parade-armor and festival-armor was already a revived style.

That America lacks a coherent and homogeneous acting style, a clear-cut speech and projection is, alas, all too true—which is one of the reasons that an attempt has been made to found an academy, in New York and at Stratford, Connecticut, with those very elements, such as Dennis Carey of Bristol, the Old Vic, and Stratford-on-Avon, which Mr. Clurman has good reason to praise. Nevertheless, much thought lay behind the planning of our "Caesar": it was produced too hastily in a theater building not yet finished; but the production after fifteen performances has greatly changed. Even Mr. Clurman might like it better, now; it did not enjoy the normal two-week provincial tryout, and the opening, which was a diplomatic occasion, unfortunately could not have been delayed, although strikes and work stoppages, flash-floods and money problems delayed the completion of the building.

The approach to the production was not accidental; it was straightforward. It was not "experimental" or "revolutionary." The intention of the author was, as far as was locally and historically possible, the first interest of the director. The director's role was a governing one, but not a starring one, as was the case of certain productions by Orson Wells, Tyrone Guthrie, and admirably Mr. Clurman himself.

Mr. Atkinson, of the New York Times, in a notice certainly no less strict than The Nation's but more realistic and understanding, stressed the ritual aspects of the production's intention. "Caesar" fatally has the preordained atmosphere of a political rite, whose performance is in doubt, but whose ends are known. That we failed in our aim does not condemn our future, and the aim was high.

LINCOLN KIRSTEIN

Stratford, Conn.

[A reply to Mr. Kirstein will appear in Harold Clurman's regular column next week.]

"France Against Herself"

Dear Sirs: I am loath to disagree with Alexander Werth, whose books on pre-war France I consider as masterly. But I think he has been a little less than fair to Luethy's "France Against Herself" in the July 23 issue. The book is highly controversial; at times exasperatingly so. But only the conventional can please the conventional: free minds are bound to disagree, and even irritation is a form of stimulation. I found Luethy richly informed (with the inevitable slips), keen-minded, and witty without wisecracks. I should like to write a long refutation of his book, but I should like also to recommend it to serious and impartial readers.

ALBERT GUERARD

Stanford, Calif.

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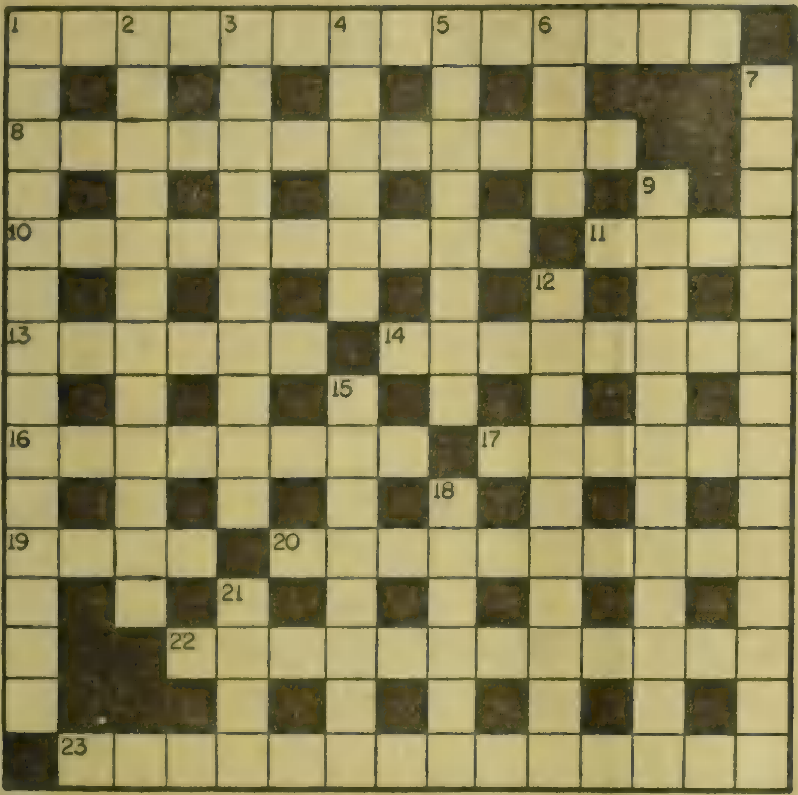
Crossword Puzzle No. 633

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Sawyer might skip with them. (9,5)
[illegible] A silver nut is wrought so. (12)
10 Toweling. (5,5)
11 In time we become inspired by fear. (4)
13 Truly concerned with the help. (6)
14 What the dicky-bird sang in the "Hot Mikado." (8)
16 Light starter for fair. (8)
17 Thoreau said his life was like one on the beach. (6)
19 Exposes one to music? (4)
20 A late-lived trouble is mitigated by it. (10)
22 See 3 down
23 Night gowns? (7,7)

DOWN

1 One who reckons on what's left. (14)
2 Rolling stock. (8,4)
3 6, and 22 across Premise on which a good turn-out was called for when the boys came home? (5,5,3,1, 6,6)
4 Let's us fight! (6)
5 Reprint. (8)
6 See 3 down
7 The result of layers exposed to high temperature, water, and time. (4-6,4)
9 Do hoop-snakes reputedly? (12)
12 Original crime, perhaps. (10)
15 Riding up on top of the carriage is bad to us, or a fighter. (8)
18 Burnt water-color. (6)
21 "The blood stirs more to rouse a ________". (Henry IV, Pt. I) (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. [illegible]

ACROSS: 6 ABLE; 10 RELICS; 11 MOORAGE; 12 SLEEP LIKE A BABY; 14 ARTICLES; 15 HERETO; 16 INCITE; 18 SHARP-SET; 22 and 1 ACROSS WHAT IS SO RARE AS A DAY IN JUNE; 24 CORRODE; 25 OUTLINE; 26 TEST; 27 STOLIDNESS. DOWN: 1 AEROSTATIC; 2 AILMENT; 3 INCAPACITATION; 4 JUSTICE; 7 BRAMBLE; 8 and 5 DOWN EVEN NUMBER; [illegible] DOUBLE-BREASTED; 13 POETASTERS; 17 COHERES; 19 HOOT OWL; [illegible] STERILE; 21 ASCENT; 23 SCOT.

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The Soviet Thaw

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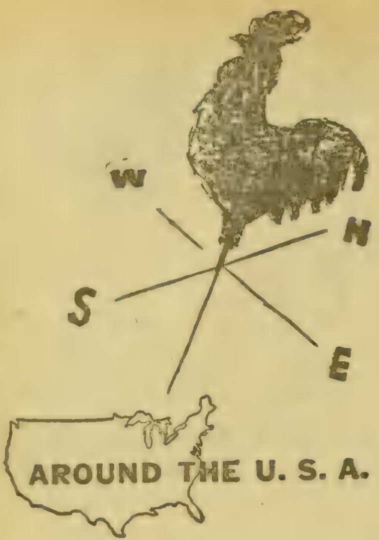

AROUND THE U. S. A.

The "Troublemakers"

Fargo, North Dakota

"WELL, they are all educated men. Surely they can find a good job elsewhere," said a Fargo housewife late last month after the state Board of Higher Education had voted to fire four faculty members who had waged a year-long fight with the president of North Dakota Agricultural College.

The four, Drs Daniel Posin, Baldur Kristjanson, Cecil Haver, and William Treumann, had dared criticize certain administrative decisions at the college. Posin was head of the physics department, Treumann an assistant professor of chemistry, Haver and Kristjanson associate professors of agricultural economics.

Last January, the board of education, following the advice of President Fred S. Hultz, suspended the four with pay, pending outcome of a public hearing before a thirteen-member advisory committee of deans and department heads. It was clear at the time that they were going to be fired, since they had already been asked to resign. The hearing apparently was only window dressing. But it was held, and to students and others attending, it presented an unbelievable spectacle. In unforgettably comic phrases. Hultz solemnly recited reasons for the dismissals.

One assertion that furnished newspaper headlines for several days was the charge that three of the four educators had "heckled" the president and had "sneered, scowled, and snarled" at him in the college council. There were other charges, both in testimony by hosts of witnesses trotted up by the Hultz forces and in a seven-page "indictment" filed by the president in accordance with the quasi-judicial procedure adopted at the hearing.

What they boiled down to was that these men—all respected educators and hardly of rabble-rousing temperament—had dared to challenge the actions of the president. That they had the right to challenge is set down in the college constitution which says the college council shall confer with the president in setting up academic programs. But according to Hultz, they adopted a "course of conduct deliberately intended to interfere with, undermine, frustrate, and render ineffective" his administration.

Most vociferous in reply was Posin, a wartime radar specialist and a man dedicated to bringing an understanding of science to the people. Posin accused Hultz of a gross violation of academic freedom. He said Hultz pandered to a palace guard of faculty supporters while displaying pique and vindictiveness toward "unfriendly" professors. He claimed that threats were issued against the faculty and that Hultz had told some professors they would never get a raise unless they "had something" on him. Posin also reported that Hultz resisted installation of a course in Russian history at the college because he feared the legislature would not like it.

THE hearing grew from some two years of parliamentary battles and heated arguments at faculty-administration meetings. According to the professors and other witnesses, Hultz regularly delivered vitriolic speeches at these affairs, including one naming Posin, Kristjanson, Treumann, and others as "troublemakers."

Time and again the arguments centered about the geology department, set up as a major curriculum on an experimental basis but then reduced to a service course by the Board of Education. Hultz attempted to do away with the department completely, along with the jobs of two teachers. Insistent questions on this led to the "troublemakers" accusation. The arguments spread to meetings of the college chapter of the American Association of University Professors. There Haver introduced, unsuccessfully, a resolution calling for Hultz's resignation because of his "public censure" of the faculty members. A substitute measure was passed, asking for an investigation of academic freedom and tenure, with emphasis on use of intimidation.

THE suspension last January came after the board had read a still-secret transcript of an "impartial hearing" hastily arranged after the A. A. U. P. call for an investigation. The professors pleaded their own cases before the lawyer retained to run the hearing. Most of the witnesses were businessmen, students, and state legislators, with observers, many of whom wondered if the administration had not done some hasty recruiting.

The public hearing demanded by the four was held in May. It lasted ten days and testimony covered 1,300 pages. The committee's decision for firing was by a large majority, ranging from 12-1 to 9-4 for different individuals.

The board reviewed the decision and upheld it by a 5-2 vote. A woman attorney and an implement dealer were the ones who voted in opposition. They also supported a move to fire Hultz and reinstate the four. In a statement later, the woman attorney declared the action made a mockery of the college constitution which now says faculty members with tenure can be dismissed "for sufficient cause." The number of "causes" now apparently includes "heckling."

What does it mean to the college? Possibly only the loss of four highly intelligent teachers and cold stares between opposing factions on the campus. It may be that future appointees to the staff will consider the academic climate too cool for their presence.

To the four it means a probable court battle as they seek to prove to a dubious public their reputations have been unjustly besmirched. Only Haver has moved elsewhere. He is at the University of Chicago on a temporary research grant. A possible "moral victory" may come if the A. A. U. P. national office decides to investigate and censure the school.

GERALD D. NELSON.

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POWER FOR ALL

The Meaning of Geneva . . *by Christopher Arnold*

Geneva

AMONG this city's uninterrupted series of international conferences, the atoms-for-peace gathering undoubtedly provided the most unusual experience to both participants and journalists. From the beginning, a sense of human destiny in the making, and a satisfaction over man's achievements pervaded the conference. In his presidential address, Dr. Bhabha set the tone, providing a masterly reinterpretation of mankind's history in terms of its capacity to produce energy. In an almost Promethean manner the Indian physicist predicted that within two decades man's power problems will forever be solved since he will succeed in liberating fusion energy in a controlled manner and thus tame the H-bomb.

As was expected, the papers presented have shown a great parallelism of research and results among the most advanced countries. It was a striking proof that the "international" of the scientists had been in existence throughout all the years of working in seclusion. Espionage had nothing to do with it. In an unequivocal statement to the press, a leading American physicist excluded spying as the explanation for the amazing similarity of nuclear measurements between America and Russia. After this conference Russian achievements can no longer be credited to American traitors or deported German scientists. On the other side, the various "Russia-invented-it-first" myths can hardly be revived for some time to come. The "decadent" West's achievements could not but impress the 150 Russians present.

A factual tone prevailed throughout the discussions. Nobody was out to score points. The published results are supposed to speak for themselves. The Russians expressed freely their admiration for the American test explosion of a boiling-water reactor and admitted that they never had dared to do that. Equally freely they expressed criticism and skepticism, as when they doubted the claim by Mr. Zinn, director of the Argonne National Laboratory, that the boiling-water reactor can be developed for huge kilowatt output. The British aligned themselves with the Russians on that point, and there was no talk of disruption of alliances.

The reality of continued political division appeared only on the sidelines. In their exhibition the Soviets put up a guest book soliciting visitors' opinions. A Viennese doctor wrote in it: "I am an anti-Communist, but I am for coexistence." Somebody else inquired whether state slaves were still used in uranium mines. The absence of Red Chinese delegates was widely regretted, and the presidential address gave expression to that feeling. The absence of Oppenheimer, Condon, Pauling, and Urey seemed to underscore the fact that Communist-approved Soviet delegates were less objectionable than domestic nonconformists. Two eminent West Germans paid tribute to Irene Joliot-Curie's work; she and her husband —the chairman of the World Peace Council—were not included in the French delegation. Pontecorvo was lauded by a Russian in the course of a strictly scientific discussion as the man who had developed a particular equation.

PUBLIC interest centered not only on the Soviet-Western relationship, but also on the British-American competition for the markets for the new products of nuclear development. Behind the scientists loomed the business men. It is significant that the first scientific international atomic conference coincided with the first international atomic trade fair. The fair is being held in the hall that houses Geneva's annual international automobile exhibition and where hardly six weeks ago Billy Graham preached to 25,000 people. The United States and Britain occupy more than two thirds of the area. The Soviet Union is not represented, a fact attributed to the priority it must give to the development of the countries allied with it.

The British surpass the United States in the variety of products displayed. Isotopes for agriculture, industry, and medicine, electronic equipment, control instruments, special metals, and even a "complete atomic power station under a single contract" can be ordered. Pounds of documentation are distributed. The American exhibition makes effective use of Ike's reassuring smile, of Einstein's moral and scientific prestige, and even of aptly chosen biblical citations.

However, to determine the actual market potential for nuclear power, one could get more information from the conference sessions devoted to the energy requirements of the future and to the economics of nuclear power. There the well known fact that the rate of increase of energy consumption will bring about exhaustion of the traditional energy resources within a century, was examined in considerable detail. For some countries the need of nuclear power will make itself felt sooner than for others. Numerous governments discussed their countries' situation in this respect in reports submitted to the conference. Such surveys are necessary preliminaries to buying power reactors. Also, many countries will have first to decide whether they want to purchase a reactor, construct one under license, or design and build their own. Finally a choice has to be made among the twenty different types of reactor systems tried out in the world.

The two exhibitions in Geneva provide prospective customers with their first opportunity to make useful and indispensable comparisons.

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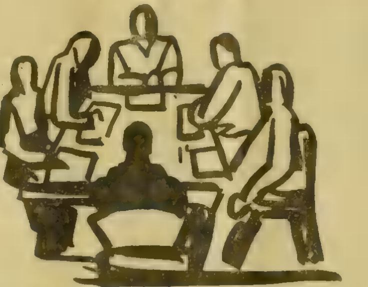
Countries poor in raw material, for example, will tend to wait till the breeding reactor is available commercially. Most countries will want to see an industrial reactor in operation before buying one for themselves. The papers presented indicate that the initial cost is likely to come down. Improvements are sure to be made. While British and American business men proclaim loudly that they are ready to take orders immediately, leading British and Indian scientists estimate it may be anywhere between two and five years before customers are prepared to buy.

The atomic trade fair aims, therefore, essentially at long-term advertising, in the field of power reactors at least. The two chief competitors, United States and United Kingdom, contend for international recognition of their respective leadership. While it is agreed that America's private and public capital resources have permitted it to work on a wider variety of reactors, the British are closer to completion of full-scale atomic power stations. By concentrating on fewer types, they have worked them out more thoroughly. Also the weapons' program has handicapped their effort to a lesser extent. Britain will be the first country in which a substantial portion of the electrical power requirements (40 per cent by 1975) will originate from nuclear fission. In the development of the breeding reactor Britain seems to be leading the United States.

HOWEVER, good cooperation in the United States between industry and government has offset, psychologically at least, any initial British advantage. The American offer to sell research reactors at half price has not been matched by Britain. Then, on the first day of the conference, Admiral Strauss announced that the United States was ready to sell heavy water at a price probably below the cost of production, and only one third the price of Norwegian heavy water, hitherto the only kind available on the market. The United States also offered to sell natural uranium and to lease uranium enriched to 20 per cent for use in research reactors. These announcements give the impression that only the United States provides a way around the heavy handicap to peacetime power development resulting from the absence of a free market in the necessary fuel. In British circles it is feared that the competitive advantage of the United States will increase when its growing plutonium reserves, hitherto stockpiled on account of their high military value, are offered at bargain prices to countries buying plants from American manufacturers. But by that time the development of sources of uranium and thorium within the Commonwealth may reestablish a certain balance. Many other countries also found consolation in a report by J C. Johnson, director of the United States Atomic Energy Commission's Division of Raw Materials, which declared that commercially workable deposits are now known to be widespread with quantities adequate for a long-term world nuclear-power program.



The implications of nuclear energy for the underdeveloped areas were well set forth in the paper of E. S. de Breuvery, a Jesuit father in charge of the research section of the U. N. Department of Economic and Social Affairs. He emphasized that small-scale power reactors producing between 500 and 3,000 kilowatts are likely to be rewarding both economically and socially.

Small package reactors could be shipped by air and would not require the elaborate transportation facilities needed for traditional power stations. The technical feasibility of small reactors is no longer in question; one such reactor has already been put to use in a submarine. But it would seem that the leading atomic nations are trying to develop ever bigger stations and that not enough thought is being given to the economic aspects of eventual mass production of small package reactors. To work along this line business would probably want to be sure that the underdeveloped countries could pay for it, and therefore the question naturally arose in the discussion as to whether international public funds could be used to reduce interest rates on nuclear power-plant costs.

The predominance of the United States, the U. S. S. R., and the Commonwealth in the nuclear-power race raises among smaller nations the question whether they will ever be able to catch up. Western Europe is a case in point. Except for some French achievements, these countries are in a comparatively early stage of nuclear development. Before the conference these were also countries where public interest was the least active. Yet, this is rapidly changing. The public is becoming more and more aware that a nuclear-development program requires funds of a magnitude unmatched in any previous phase of the industrial revolution. They can hardly be mobilized within a single country. The setting up of "nuclear-power groups" uniting various firms contributing to the building of an atomic power station, as in the United States and the United Kingdom, would also require, in Western Europe, closer cooperation across the borders.

THE "Six" of the European Coal and Steel Community, which were quite surprisingly joined by Britain, are working hard in Brussels to provide the political and economic conditions for at least a partly joint European nuclear program.

However, this necessary integration is likely to meet resistance in countries which for a number of reasons do not want to give up privileged situations, either with respect to the supply of raw material or to the relatively advanced status of their research. Such is the case in some French circles with respect to Germany. Germany is at the tail-end of the nuclear race because of restrictions imposed by the occupying powers and Mr. Adenauer's preference for preparing an army rather than a nuclear industry. German eagerness for close European integration in this field is thus understandable; as is—in a short-range perspective—the desire of other countries to have an edge on the Germans at least in one field.

Whatever form intra-European atomic cooperation may take, many participants in the conference agree that the costly installations required for fuel-element fabrication, for isotope separation (in order to get enriched uranium), and for fuel reprocessing (in the case of the use of natural uranium) must be established on a common European basis. The same is true for certain types of research reactors such as the material-testing plant. Anything else would mean a costly duplication of effort. The next ten years, it was said in the conference *couloirs,* will bring new recruits to the "European idea"—business men and scientists and those who want Europe to hold an intermediary but strong position between the United States and Russia.

In conclusion, it is clear that the conference has been a highly successful example of what "competitive coexistence" can yield to the peoples of the world. It provoked a chain reaction of declassification among the major powers. Every country wanted to show that it was ahead. While scientists envisage the future confidently and progressively lose the feeling of being mere sorcerer's apprentices, an Anglican bishop celebrates a special service in Calvin's cathedral and recalls that atomic energy is not a magical medicine for man's ills and that the church must study its social and moral consequences. And the city's Communist paper grinds its own ax, proclaiming that technical progress does not of itself change the human condition or suppress man's exploitation by man.

THE SOVIET THAW

Tactics or Policy? . . *by Kingsley Martin*

London

SINCE I came back from Moscow, I am constantly asked if the "thaw" —to use the symbolic title of Ehrenburg's controversial novel – represents a tactical or a real change in Soviet policy. After all, there have been other shifts and switches in the Kremlin's attitude to the West. Is this, for instance, essentially different from that temporary friendliness which broke out when we were all fighting Hitler? Will Western Socialists again suddenly become fascist beasts and will there be another purge of those who now talk very much as Litvinov and other Soviet "Westerners" did in the thirties?

No one in his senses would say dogmatically that Moscow may not again reverse its policy if the new line produces no dividends. An exchange of visits between Premiers does not mean that Communists no longer believe in the basic hostility of capitalism, or that they come to doubt Lenin's assurance of an ultimate clash. But all I have seen recently in Moscow, and all the conversations I have had with prominent writers and politicians have made me hope that the inevitable conflict has now become a matter of theory instead of an event that anyone expects to see in his own lifetime. Certainly now no one in Russia immediately expects the great American slump, so long and confidently prophesied; and even Molotov's remark that "all roads lead to communism" must seem dubious when thermonuclear weapons take the place of massed proletarian armies. Russia, I'm sure, now believes that, for a long time to come, their right policy is to work for a peaceful coexistence in which they can consolidate the vast area under Communist control, and prove that communism brings more prosperity than capitalism.

THIS external change is rooted in something more than a temporary "liberalization." The switch began with the death of Stalin which occurred, providentially—so much so that one American observer believes he was murdered – when his long reign of terror culminated in the fantastic charge against the twelve doctors. Malenkov (whom I met in Moscow at a party the other day, apparently entirely at his ease with Bulganin, Molotov, and other ministers) immediately reversed the policy of fear and war preparation. Even though he himself had to retire when his colleagues believed that he had gone to dangerous lengths in switching from the concentration on capital goods to an increase in consumers' goods, it was a sign of the new spirit in Russia that he was merely given another post and not accused of treachery and sabotage. The first thing I noticed was that his pictures remain on the walls, in many cases, side by side with Stalin's.

The second great improvement is that there is no effort to replace one dictator by another. Russia has something like a cabinet system, and the Cabinet is responsible to the Communist Party. Beria was got rid of because—so they say, and I see no reason for disbelieving them – he hoped, by his control of the Interior and of the security police, to seize power for himself. The result of his execution is that, for the first time, the political police no longer form a state within a state. Communists will freely tell you that they will never again allow a personal dictatorship; that the political police are controlled like other departments of state by a committee with a functionary as chairman.

THIS does not mean that Russia is a democracy in the Western sense, that there is *habeas corpus,* that people accused of political offenses can be sure of a fair trial, or that political prisoners now undergoing forced labor in the mines and timber camps will suddenly be released. But it does mean that such changes are at least conceivable. There are, in fact, some signs of a new respect for individual liberty. It is still a matter of speculation whether the recent release of 184 Austrian prisoners when the treaty was made with

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KINGSLEY MARTIN, editor of the English publication New Statesman and Nation, *recently returned from a trip to the Soviet Union.*

Vienna was an isolated act of grace or whether it is true that a lengthy process has now begun by which foreign prisoners of war are being sorted out for subsequent liberation.

A vivid picture of the change was given me by an astute and experienced observer. He mentioned by name well-known Russians who had recently been released from jail in Moscow. They had probably been chosen for arrest because they had Western affiliations. That would make it possible for the police to pretend that they were spies. The usual procedure was to tell such victims that their nefarious activities were already known; they would be leniently treated if they confessed. If they were cowardly they would mention the names of "accomplices" and then, having served their dirty purpose, would be sent to Siberia; if they were brave, they might long be held in Moscow. The object of the exercise, my friend said, was to keep alive the belief that only by the activity of the secret police is the country saved from the spies and saboteurs who beset it. Apparently, since the execution of Beria, the liquidators have been thinned out and shorn of much of their power. One informant told me that he knew of large country houses which were used by the security police; they served, he said, as centers from which the countryside was "terrorized." Today the houses are in some cases comfortable "motels" (as Americans would call them), where you can enjoy your stay in an atmosphere of tranquility. One could hardly discover, I thought, a more eloquent example of deliverance from evil.

TO HEAR such things from Communists in Russia itself was a remarkable experience. It was also encouraging to be told that many Soviet Communists have done what they could privately to work against this system. It might have made a difference if some of their comrades abroad had been willing to speak the truth and not to pretend to believe the official nonsense that has been constantly defended by Communist parties the world over. Today the pretenses are threadbare. It is not so much that a play like Korneichuk's "The Wings," recently to be seen in Moscow, openly attacks the political police and demands law and justice. Far more significant is the statement, made to me privately, that such restitution as is possible is to be made to the relatives of some of the innocent victims of the purges.

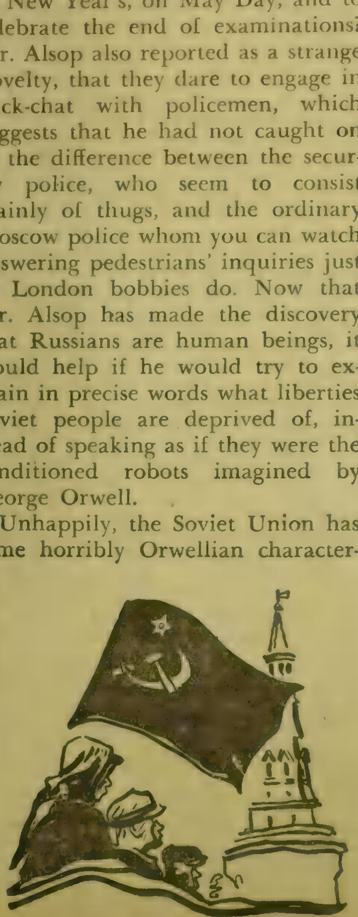
I cannot help regarding my own visit to Moscow as a surprising sign of change. I was last there twenty-three years ago in the heyday of "Intourism," before the facts about the *kulak* tragedy were known, before Hitler, before the murder of Kirov, before the Spanish war or the great Communist purges. Since then I have only once made inquiries—some three years ago—about the possibility of going to Russia or sending a correspondent. I was abruptly told at the Soviet Embassy in London that the politics of the *New Statesman and Nation* would make any of its representatives decidedly unwelcome. By way of contrast, two months ago I was sought out by a prominent Soviet journalist who suggested, when I had delivered myself of a long denunciation of Soviet policy, that I ought to make these criticisms in Moscow. I was well aware that this suggestion was part of the new party line, and I asked if I should really be given a chance to state my views in Moscow. When I was reassured on this point I felt that the challenge could not be neglected. It was surely significant that instead of being some sort of dangerous reptile, as I was after I criticized the Wroclaw conference in 1948, I was now regarded as the sort of person whom it was worth while for the newspaper *Trud* and the Soviet Writers Union to ask as a guest to Moscow.

The Russians were as good as their word. When I talked to Soviet writers and others about the way in which they had alienated Western Socialists, when I gave examples of friends in the Popular Front during the Spanish war or during the liberation movements in the fight against Hitler who had been murdered in the Soviet satellite states, I was not fobbed off with the traditional reply about the treatment of Negroes in America or about British imperialism in Kenya or Malaya. It may have been tactics that prevented my Soviet hosts showing signs of resentment, but if so, they went far beyond the demands of courtesy. They argued with me about the welfare state, but did not seem to think I was lying when I gave them facts and figures on the improvement in working-class conditions in the West which contradicted the propaganda of the *Daily Worker* and of *Pravda,* and more than one Communist explained to me that the party itself was immeasurably relieved by the new atmosphere of freedom. They did not say—at least not openly—that socialism in the West might be achieved without the dictatorship of the proletariat. But it is now official doctrine that countries must arrive at socialism by paths suited to their own conditions, and my hosts were ready enough to grant that the exploited proletariat in Western countries is now to be found primarily in the colonies.

THE truth is that the area of discussion is now widened in the U. S. S. R. Certainly, my hosts said emphatically, no book attempting to show that capitalism is better than communism could possibly be published in Soviet Russia. On the other hand, books and newspapers defending God are in fact published. The anti-God campaign had not been a success and, as I found when I visited the holy city of Zagorak, about fifty miles from Moscow, the number of pilgrims and worshippers has recently increased. When war demanded unity, Stalin took the church under his wing, and the hierarchy became an official institution, as it had been under Czardom. With this degree of tolerance, many young men and women do not accept the philosophy of Marx, basic though it is to all Soviet education. This, I gathered, was not considered important. God, unlike capitalism, is not dangerous. A young man to whom I spoke in an art gallery volunteered that he was one of many who had chosen to be a theological student, training for the priesthood. Writers in the new atmosphere of freedom are bringing out from their drawers manuscripts which could not have been published in the past.

STEWART Alsop, who was in Moscow at the same time as I was, has probably done a useful job in the United States by telling readers of the *Herald Tribune* not to think of Moscow "as a miserable collection of mud huts, filled with a strange and hardly human race of people," but as "a city like other big cities, with buses that run on schedule, and big buildings, and a good many automobiles, and a great many people of all sorts and kinds.' But who was it who gave Americans this fantastic notion of the Russians? How comes it, even now, that Mr. Alsop should write an article expressing surprise that Moscow students have a night of singing and dancing in the Red Square, as they usually do at New Year's, on May Day, and to celebrate the end of examinations? Mr. Alsop also reported as a strange novelty, that they dare to engage in back-chat with policemen, which suggests that he had not caught on to the difference between the security police, who seem to consist mainly of thugs, and the ordinary Moscow police whom you can watch answering pedestrians' inquiries just as London bobbies do. Now that Mr. Alsop has made the discovery that Russians are human beings, it would help if he would try to explain in precise words what liberties Soviet people are deprived of, instead of speaking as if they were the conditioned robots imagined by George Orwell.

Unhappily, the Soviet Union has some horribly Orwellian characteristics. The labor camps, the pervasive propaganda, the deliberate distortion of history, the purges of independent people—all these horrors, and others, still exist. But that is only part of the story. I have been shocked to hear highly sophisticated and, on other subjects, well-informed English and American people talk as if restrictions on personal and intellectual liberty justify calling the Russian people "slaves" or comparing Soviet society to an ant-heap. In fact, civil liberty, particularly intellectual liberty, is the fine flower of civilization, and its absence constitutes a grave indictment of Soviet rule. But how far that is from saying, as the *Daily Telegraph* did on July 11, that we are prepared to risk thermo-nuclear war, even though it should lead to the destruction of the human race, rather than to risk life under communism! I am sure that the writer of this article is completely sincere; he pictures Russia as a gigantic concentration camp, and forgets that political and civil liberties have to be won there, just as they must be won in Spain, and had to be fought for, not so many centuries ago, in other Western countries.



The only cure I know for such opinions is a visit to Moscow. The *Daily Telegraph* writer, like Stewart Alsop, will find it a shabby place, with everyone dressed and fed adequately but inelegantly. It is not restful, and everything in Moscow (except the beautifully restored and painted Kremlin) looks incomplete and run up in a hurry. The outskirts, with their giant cranes and ugly factories, look like a newly industrialized town in America. Everything expands so rapidly that there is no time, as yet, for anything to deepen. Moscow's art and architecture are predominantly Victorian, and rather bad Victorian at that. Its morals, too, are Victorian; divorce is difficult to obtain if there are children, and much frowned upon by public opinion. Young lovers walk through the trees and flowers in the Park of Culture and Rest; they hold hands, but seldom kiss in public. There is no titillation of sex; the products advertised by the state are ice cream, fruit juices, and beer, which the authorities hope will increasingly take the place of vodka. This may all seem rather drab and, in comparison with Western capitals, lacking in color and gaiety. And then it may occur to our observer that, though Russia lacks civil liberties and offers no way of getting rich quickly, it is not in fact a country of mental slavery. On the contrary, an astonishingly high proportion of Moscow's reputed eight million people, most of whom were the children of illiterate peasants fifty years ago, are now reading—reading in subways and buses, in parks, and even in the streets, not novelettes and picture papers, but much of the world's great literature. If he gets his own interpreter he will hear many of them discussing the merits of the latest ballerina to dance in "Swan Lake," the scenery in the opera, and the justification for the latest interpretation of Hamlet. This is not a slave population; it is a remarkably educated one which, however, unhappily suffers from illusions about the outside world, deliberately induced by the state.

REVIEWING this, my conclusion is that something more has happened than the deliberate change to a tactical liberalization to please the West and to deceive Western social democrats. Once the lid is lifted from a dictatorship, it is hard to put it back again. Nehru's visit to Moscow helped the thaw. He spoke in the big stadium where I saw the Italians beat the Dynamo at football, and his speech, which included a defense of Western democratic institutions, was broadcast to the Russian people. Side by side with Marshal Bulganin, he drove for miles through freely congregating crowds which had never before seen their leaders except in the safety of a distant rostrum outside the Kremlin. Everywhere Nehru was received by the almost frantically delighted public which saw in him the man who was bringing peace.

This demand is one which the Soviet leaders cannot neglect even if they wished to. A prominent Russian said to me that Soviet leaders do not make trips abroad without obtaining results. They have already achieved the "relaxation of tension" which was their first objective; they have the best of reasons for wanting at least a measure of disarmament and though they will not agree to a solution of the German problem which would allow a united Germany to become a heavily armed part of the Western anti-Soviet alliance, they may, I believe, be ready, even in this most difficult of issues, to listen to suggestions of compromise. It was not unimportant that at the Helsinki "peace conference," Pierre Cot and Ehrenburg (who is more than a private person on such occasions) agreed as a first step that the French and Russians ought to back a scheme of international control over German rearmament.

In one discussion of these matters with a Soviet leader I recalled the jest about the correlation between the foreign policies and the favorite games of nations. The Americans, I suggested, are fond of poker; Dulles has constantly tried to build up "strength" in his hand, but has in fact had his bluff called over Korea, Viet Nam, and the Chinese offshore islands. The British play cricket, rather hoping after many days of play for a draw, as Sir Anthony Eden has often shown. But at this point, the important Soviet personality remarked that in the Russians' favorite sport of chess too, it is sometimes necessary to play for a draw.

THE NARROWING GAP

Arms Cuts in Order . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

Geneva

THE Big Four agreed here that the United Nations subcommittee on disarmament should meet in New York next Monday, August 29. It was one of the clearest directives, as regards time and subject, given to the foreign ministers. And it was a logical one. The ideas which prevailed in the Big Four talks—that in nuclear war there can be no victor and that once war is excluded the problems of the world must be solved by peaceful discussion—forced the question of disarmament into the foreground. Without progress on disarmament we would have the paradox of a reduction of tension side by side with a strengthening of the military power of the two blocs. It is hardly conceivable that the United States can cling to its thesis that German rearmament is a "must" if Europe's unbalance in conventional arms is to be redressed, while Russia pushes the development of its new aircraft and its nuclear weapons in order to neutralize the nuclear superiority claimed by the West. Such a continuance of the status quo would be a curious kind of *detente.*

The subcommittee about to meet in New York has already accomplished good work. If some of the Western members, immersed in the psychology of the cold war, did not believe much in what they were doing, the French representative, Jules Moch, always maintained that by persistent effort the views of the West and of the Russians could be brought closer. The break came in the spring in London. New Soviet proposals submitted to the U. N. subcommittee on May 10 discarded the old Russian demand that all nations slash their conventional arms by a third, and took under consideration the Anglo-French proposal for the establishment of specific levels of armament for the various major powers. In his June 22 speech at the tenth-anniversary meeting of the U. N. in San Francisco, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov reaffirmed that position, thus narrowing the gap between Russia and the West.

The Big Four conference injected new ideas into the discussion. The four powers instructed their representatives on the subcommittee to take account of all the disarmament recommendations made at Geneva and told the foreign ministers to study the proceedings at the U. N. and consider whether the powers could take any further initiative.

AT Geneva President Eisenhower stole the show with his dramatic proposal for the opening of the skies to international reconnaissance and patrol. It made such an impression all over the world that the U. N. subcommittee will certainly give it extensive consideration. Its sensational side must be separated from its practical side. At least it touched an essential point. Regarding disarmament, the main question is how controls can be set up and supervised. The criticism of the Eisenhower proposal, even among Western experts, was that it depended on blueprints that could be incomplete, and that aerial reconnaissance could never successfully check. The original objection by Marshal Bulganin that the effect of such methods of exchanging and checking information on military preparations would be small because "anything can be hidden" in the vast expanse of Russia or America was generally shared by Western opinion. But Bulganin also saw the difficulty, from a political and psychological point of view, of rejecting an idea that had electrified public imagination, and in his speech before the Supreme Soviet he declared that Russia was ready to examine any proposal on disarmament, including President Eisenhower's. The subcommittee will therefore have to deal with the Eisenhower plan, as amplified in the program, still unpublished, to be submitted by Mr. Stassen. But it will also continue its previous efforts to arrive at a comprehensive and effective system of inspection and control.

In the final communique at Geneva no mention was made of the banning of atomic weapons. On the Russian side there is now less insistence on this demand, though it was and continues to be an appealing formula wherever pacifists and scientists, conscious of the irretrievable disaster involved in nuclear warfare, meet together. In view of Western adherence to the theory that the destruction of atomic stocks would not prevent the fabrication of new bombs, and that the formal banning of atomic weapons cannot be visualized until the other aspects of disarmament are faced, Russia has agreed to the idea of combining a substantial reduction of all armies with the outlawing of atomic weapons. Though the very complicated functions and operating methods of the atomic control agency are not yet solved in every detail, there has been substantial agreement on one important point: that the international control body will have the right to demand of every country *all* necessary information as to how the agreements reached on disarmament are being fulfilled. The Russians continue to argue that the best way to advance disarmament is to prove that one is ready to disarm, and consequently, "with the purpose of diminishing international tension," they have just announced that the effectives of the Soviet Union will be reduced by 640,000 men before December 15 of this year.

BUT OF course the problem of disarmament can never be separated from the problem of security. That is why the Big Four simultaneously instructed their Foreign Ministers to consider a security pact "for Europe or for a part of Europe." Bulganin presented his own all-Europe security plan, while Eden proposed, in turn, a five-power pact including the four powers represented at Geneva plus Germany. Recently Moscow suggested the possibility of a compromise between the two plans. An article in *Pravda* (August 12) on problems of European security says that Russia will not insist on an "immediate" incorporation of all European nations into its security system.

The question remains how much advance can be made in the direction of disarmament so long as the West persists in its plan to make a rearmed West Germany one of the main elements of the NATO military system. Disarmament and the rearmament of Germany go badly together. It is here that the positions continue to be so difficult to reconcile. The British idea tends to tie the four powers and Germany in a reciprocal obligation to come to the aid of any one of them that is attacked by any other. The original Russian plan is broader in the sense that it would bring together all the members of NATO and of the Warsaw security pact. The *Pravda* article suggests something in between. But while the British were thinking of a reunited Germany which would become a member of the new security system, the Russians were thinking, on the contrary, of the "two German states," each entitled to its place in the pact. The second difference is that the British – like the other Western powers—think in terms of the maintenance of NATO, whereas the Russians insist "that genuine security can be achieved only when all military groupings disappear"—to use Marshal Bulganin's words.

Nor are the Germans facilitating matters. They do not excel in discretion. Now quite recovered from the disappointment produced by the Russian-American fraternization during the Geneva talks, Chancellor Adenauer has been telling everyone worthy of his confidence who approaches him during his vacation in Muerren, that in three or four years, after a West German army is in being, Bonn will be able to negotiate "from strength" with the East. But it was evident long ago that no agreement on Germany could be made acceptable to the Russians which did not prohibit both the manufacture of atomic weapons by the Germans and their use of such weapons. Nevertheless during the atomic conference in Geneva it has been rumored that, in secret talks, American and German experts on atomic energy have been discussing the important role Germany could play in the production of atomic weapons if one day the "spirit of Geneva" were to give way to a new policy of "containment." The Brussels newspaper, *Le Soir* (July 25, 1955) headed a report on this subject: "L'Allemagne sera le laboratoire des armes secretes de l' O. T. A. N. (Germany will be the laboratory of the secret weapons of NATO.)"

The U. N. subcommittee is going to have only a few days for the consideration of the numerous questions mentioned in this article, and for the drafting of a report to be submitted to the other seven members which, with it, comprise the Committee of Twelve. Everything must be ready before September 20 when the Tenth Assembly of the United Nations will open. The most they can hope to do is to put together the points on which there is already agreement and to open the way for the future handling of those that are still in dispute. In terms of the United Nations the subcommittee will probably be thinking more about the Assembly of 1956 than the Assembly that starts in three weeks, though the press continues to say that disarmament will be the top feature this fall. But it will also have in mind that on October 27 the second phase of the great experiment in international collaboration and coexistence begins at Geneva with the meeting of the four foreign ministers. After the summit meeting hopes are high, the will to disarmament is stronger, and the idea of a European security pact is taking shape more clearly. So the committee members will doubtless ponder the words of President Eisenhower before he left for Geneva: "It is perfectly stupid to continue to put so much money and effort into nuclear weapons and armed forces in general." Of course that philosophy should be applied in the first instance to the case of Germany.

LOUISIANA'S GOOD STRIKE

Unity vs. Injunctions . . *by Alfred Maund*

New Orleans

THE first person I asked about the strike of 1,500 workers at two sugar refineries some forty miles from here was a staunch union supporter. He described the injunctions and contempt citations, the hostility of the press, and the evictions and other pressures the companies were exerting against the strikers. But after this doleful summary he concluded with heartfelt fervency: "It's a *good* strike."

He found its goodness, I think, in the fundamental issue involved, in the dramatic character of the disputants, and in the significance its outcome will have for the labor movement both in the South and in the country as a whole.

The United Packinghouse Workers of America (C. I. O.), which represents the strikers, is one of the most democratic and progressive unions. It has pioneered in the elimination of race and sex wage differentials and in securing a guaranteed annual wage for factory workers. The men and women of Locals 1124 and 1167 are typical of the group Southern chambers of commerce like to call "docile and cheap." The strike-bound refineries, Godchaux and Colonial, are two of the strongest and most reactionary employers in the region.

The sugar-cane industry in Louisiana has a long but hardly honorable history. Frederick Law Olmsted in "The Cotton Kingdom" gives a graphic picture of unrest on a "successful" ante-bellum sugar plantation, with its debt-haunted owner and its sullen, malingering slaves. The industry survived the early decades of the twentieth century only by grace of high tariffs on imports from areas where the climate is more favorable for the raising of cane, and production costs are even lower. This protectionist concern caused the sugar parishes to elect Republicans to Congress in the twenties.

The toll on the American consumer was justified "in the interests of national defense," according to the civics teacher I had when I was a schoolboy in that section of Louisiana. But that same teacher, member of a genteel, but dispossessed plantation family, also revealed the monopolistic trend that flowered behind the tariff wall.

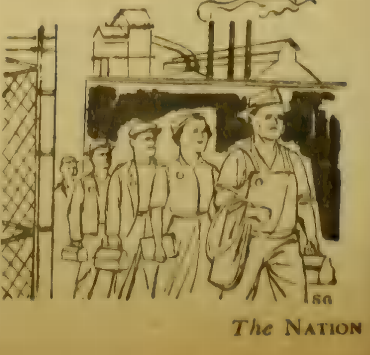
As modern markets made processing and marketing more complex, the sugar plantations generally lost their self-sufficiency. The raising and refining of cane became operations conducted by different managements. But not for long. Sugar cane is a highly perishable crop. Once it is cut it will not keep in storage; it cannot be allowed to grow in the fields indefinitely, because it is susceptible to frost. Soon the refiners came to realize that these aspects of the crop left the planters in no position to haggle about selling prices. And with a firm squeeze of this upper hand the refineries eventually took over the plantations, consolidating what had been numerous individual landholdings. As a logical next step, many of the sugar kings merged with their erstwhile foreign competitors — Colonial refinery, for example, is a subsidiary of the Cuban-American Sugar Company. All are members of the American Sugar Cane League, a lobbying and price-fixing group.

THE striking sugar workers live in the small towns of Gramercy and Reserve on the banks of the Mississippi River. Negroes make up a little more than half of the union membership. The whites are mainly French-speaking "Cajuns," whose forebears were driven from Acadia in Canada in 1755. Their history is similar to that of the mountaineers in other Southern states. They were caught in a squeeze between slave-labor New Orleans to the east and the large plantations to the west. Unable to find jobs in the city, or to buy decent land in the country, they settled in the bayou swamps and on the river banks to scratch out a living as fishermen, trappers, or roustabouts. With the end of the slave system they entered the labor market with hardly more status than the freed Negro.

The Negroes live in their separate sectors of the towns, attend their Baptist churches while the predominantly Catholic whites go to their own, and in general follow the Jim Crow pattern of life—except in the union. The executive boards of the locals are interracial; the only segregation at meetings is self-segregation, and this is breaking down as white and black grow more dependent on each other during the long test of strength.

That these people should have a union at all is itself a cause for wonder. Although close to metropolitan New Orleans geographically, St. John the Baptist Parish and St. James Parish are a century away in other respects. They are baronies, where not only the land, the stores, and the workers' houses are owned by the sugar companies, but the law and the commonest utilities are equally beholden. At Gramercy the town's water and power supply come from the Colonial refinery, and the town marshall was obliged to deputize a group of citizens to curb disorders caused by drunken strikebreakers. Reserve, although it has a population of some 3,000, is unincorporated and law enforcement rests in the hands of Godchaux guards.

In 1879 the Knights of Labor at-



tempted to organize the ex-slaves working on the plantations in these parishes. The state militia moved in and the leaders were sent to prison for trespassing on the planters' property. In 1953 the A. F. of L. Agricultural Workers Union received treatment only slightly less harsh when it led a strike of field workers, who earned—and still earn—forty-four cents an hour. A shower of injunctions and a flurry of blackjacks broke the strike within a month.

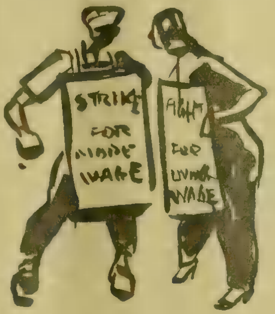
The U. P. W. A. locals are seeking a ten-cent-an-hour raise—an amount already granted by refineries in New Orleans and Texas. Godchaux and Colonial have offered a nickel. This resistance represents the refineries' attempt to stall U. P. W. A.'s systematic attack on North-South wage differentials — a gap that now amounts to forty-nine cents an hour. The companies balked where they thought they were the strongest—where the rout of the Agricultural Workers had proved they were the law.

This resistance did not come as a surprise to U. P. W. A. Last summer there was a brief attempt to create an "independent" union, accompanied by a red-baiting whispering campaign. At this time, as a counter, the Louisiana locals played host to a conference of refinery union leaders from along the Eastern seaboard, ranging as far north as Boston and including A. F. of L. affiliates and independents. The sessions stressed the importance of gaining a uniform industry-wide wage scale, and pledges of support toward this end were obtained.

AFTER the strike began on April 14, Godchaux went to 77-year-old Judge L. Robert Rivarde, who had served the company well during its dispute with its field workers. He issued an injunction limiting the union to two pickets at not more than four picket posts. These pickets were required to be "always and constantly moving" and were handed a catalog of activities in which they were forbidden to indulge, including "warning, threatening, or adjuring" persons not to enter the plant or hurling "abusive and offensive epithets." When Colonial went to the district judge of St. James Parish it fared even better. He forbade picketing entirely at that refinery.

The injunctions not only covered union members but "all persons acting for or on their behalf or under their influence, inducement, or persuasion or in concert with them," and thus the way was paved for prosecution of those who "conspired" to breach the peace within the jurisdiction of the court.

The first case to fall under this sweeping edict arose from the beating up of a strike-breaker by two men who had no connection with either the union or the refineries. They and five strikers who were present at the time were sentenced, without jury trial, to sixty days in jail for "contempt of court."



On June 15, thirty-one "conspirators," including the officers and executive board of Local 1124, were put on trial. Information was furnished by Godchaux lawyers and again there was no jury. The hearings are still going on. In the meantime, Local 1167 was fined $1,000 for violation of the no-picketing injunction and 35 of its members were fined and given jail sentences of three and five days in jail, with more time to be served if the fines weren't paid.

To cap this, Judge Walter B. Hamlin, acting as special judge in St. James, ordered Colonial's attorney's to cite Ralph Helstein, national president of U. P. W. A., and two other officials for being "an integral part of the conspiracy and scheme illegally to prevent the plaintiff [Colonial] from operating its sugar refinery." What particularly drew the Judge's wrath was the picketing conducted by Gramercy housewives, acting on their own initiative.

How can such judicial despotism prevail without check from higher courts? According to Benjamin E. Smith, the youthful-looking, sharply analytical counsel for the strikers, the situation is largely the product of a series of anti-labor decisions by state and federal judges. In the thirties Louisiana passed a replica of the federal Norris-LaGuardia Act that placed restrictions on the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes, provided for trial by jury in contempt cases, and demanded full proof in instances of alleged conspiracy. But in 1954, coincident with the passage of the state "right-to-work" law, the Louisiana supreme court declared the restraints on injunctions unconstitutional. This decision arose from the strike of sugar-plantation field workers. In the current strikes, district courts have invalidated the trial-by-jury proviso.

Efforts of the union to go beyond the state courts have been blocked by local federal courts that declare the mere allegation of strike violence by employers is sufficient to give state courts exclusive jurisdiction. These rulings also bar intervention by the National Labor Relations Board.

WHILE continuing to seek new avenues of relief in the legal battle, U. P. W. A. is pinning its hopes of ultimate victory on the stamina of the strikers and the force of public opinion. Fewer than forty strikers have given up and returned to work. Contributions have been coming in from U. P. W. A. locals over the nation and a referendum has been launched to permit raising of a strike fund. In Cuba, the maritime, railroad, and sugar workers have refused to handle raw sugar intended for the struck refineries. With the support of the national C. I. O. a buyers' boycott of Godchaux and Colonial products is under way.

Still, the scabs roll in every day and every day some striker's furniture is dumped in the street. To quote attorney Smith: "This is the front line of American labor. The colonized workers of a colonial area are being lifted out of their old status through unionism, and this process is being fought, with the aid and full knowledge of the courts, by the old, brutal Southern bourbons and their traditional allies, the Northern absentee-owners. They are reviving the old weapons of injunction, conspiracy, and contempt, and pushing to the limit the new 'right-to-work' laws inspired by Taft-Hartley."

MONSIGNOR AND MADAM

The World of Paperbacks . . *by Alex Rider*

ONLY in the American paperback book trade could a single publisher inform his publicity department that his (reprint) edition of Polly Adler's "A House Is Not a Home" had topped a million sales and that Monsignor Sheen's "The Eternal Galilean" was running a close second. Such can be the joys of soft-cover publishing and such is the happily eclectic fare served up for the paperback reader.

Until a year ago there was much heated talk, pro and con, about the cultural "revolution" wrought by these "books that sell as cheaply as a pack of cigarettes," as E. A. Lindeman once called them. Cultural claims aside, the "revolution" was, of course, not only production of 25-50 cent books on a mass basis but also the by-passing, in their distribution, of our shockingly meager (and precariously maintained) 1,200-odd bookshops the country over.

In the past year, however, the paperback business has taken a few new turns, moving sometimes in old directions. The biggest developments have been: the entry of hard-cover publishers into the soft-cover field; the increase in high-level, generally non-fiction titles; a return, in the case of such titles, to print orders more nearly of hard-cover proportions (10,000 as against a usual paperback run of 250,000); distribution again via the bookshop; and prices gradually spiraling to more nearly the cost of a whole carton of cigarettes. And once more there is talk of glut, which echoes earlier dire prophecies of collapse of the paperback "boom."

There have been crises in the past: overproduction, faulty distribution, and consequent dumping of titles. But no collapse. Chastened publishers did curtail the number of titles published and cut print orders; more important, on the positive side, they busied themselves to find fresh editorial and marketing approaches. Most of them survived handily, and some are now expanding or adding new lines. Glut or no glut, hard-cover houses continue to go into the paperback field: Viking, for example, started this spring to bring out its Portables in soft covers; Harcourt Brace has recently released its Harvest Books. These are only the latest ventures in an experiment piloted by Doubleday with Anchor Books, and in which Knopf's Vintage, Noonday's Meridian, and Grove's Evergreen lines, among others, are already established in terms of sales.

One small but firm token of the growing stability in paperback publishing is Bowker's decision to issue, every four months, a catalogue of "Paperbound Books in Print." This compendium lists some forty-five hundred titles regularly available from forty-four publishers. This is a far cry from the not-so-distant days of the "impulse item," when a book was considered dead after two weeks' exposure on the racks. Naturally, some publishers still operate on the basis of quick sales and for many titles that is entirely appropriate handling, but a substantial number of paperback titles are now of the long-selling variety.

It would be a great mistake, out of enthusiasm for the proliferating and truly admirable new *class* paperbacks, to overlook the older *mass* lines. The terms in themselves are misleading. *Class* commonly refers to paperbacks distributed only through bookshops and sold at prices ranging from 65 cents to $1.95; by *mass* is meant those books given magazine-type distribution in drugstores, supermarkets, rail terminals, etc., and sold for 25 to 50 cents. To assume that a mass paperback is, in content, necessarily inferior to its class cousin, is grossly erroneous. A nucleus of the early paperback houses has from the outset offered well balanced lists; hundreds of excellent fiction and non-fiction titles were available before publishers of the exclusively class lines were sufficiently encouraged to risk the plunge. The very existence of such lines as Anchor, Vintage, Meridian, and their peers must be partly attributed to pioneering by such houses as Pocket Book, New American Library (Signet and Mentor), and Bantam. These mass publishers were the first to demonstrate that a mass public will buy—and presumably also read—good books. They are also still the only publishers who make it possible to buy Homer in Podunk for 35 cents.

THE paperbacks have had another kind of impact on the book trade. The mass publishers have dramatically illustrated a correlation between the price of a book and size of its sales. They have thereby shaken some hidebound trade attitudes and practices. One manifestation of this is Knopf's recent publication of its first paperback original ("Mine Boy" by Abrahams) for $1.25 which, depending on sales, may or may not be issued subsequently in hard covers. Knopf describes this as an experiment and believes it may allow publishers to afford the risk of presenting new or still unestablished authors.

ALEX RIDER is the pseudonym of two New York reviewers who have developed a specialized research service for paperback publishers.

In a sense this is an experiment, but it is not wildly radical. By now, almost all soft-cover publishers do some originals. Nor is it infrequent for two publishers to cooperate and simultaneously to publish two separate editions one hard- the other soft-cover. In another variation, one house now produces small hard-cover runs of its titles and, using the same plates, issues a much larger soft-cover edition. But experimentation is done gingerly. For example, Ian Ballantine pioneered simultaneous publication in cooperation with well-known hard-cover houses. Yet he announced recently that he was withholding the scheduled soft-cover edition of a new book because he felt its "reputation" (and presumably its sales) could best be enhanced by launching it as a conventional hard-cover item. In other words, a lot of answers are still to be found. In the absence of adequate market research, flexibility is the order of the day.

IF A certain prestige is still reserved to the hard-cover book, it must not obscure the fact that soft-cover editors are functioning today more creatively than in the past. They cannot all be dismissed, as their hard-cover colleagues once inclined to do, as mere wizards with the sales charts. Many good originals come out of paperback houses, and a growing number of book ideas and manuscripts originating with soft-cover editors, appear first as hard-cover items, or simultaneously.

In all this lively ferment, there looms the still unanswered question: who reads paperbacks? Probably all the class publishers would agree with Jason Epstein, originator and editor of Anchor Books, who has said that his is largely a college reading public; together with him, they would immediately qualify this by noting that a considerable percentage of high-level paperbacks is bought outside university circles. Referring to the lack of firm data Charles Levy, Jr., reputedly the largest distributor of magazines and paperbacks in the country, has observed that unless market analysis is better developed, soft-cover lines will go into the red and adds that "selling quality merchandise of any kind is always easier than trying to impose second-rate stuff on the public." Pollster Gallup, on the other hand, who has foretold a serious decline in reading generally, questions the existence of a mass market and claims that 9 per cent of paperback readers account for 78 per cent of paperback sales. In contradiction to this, a prominent bookseller reports that soft-cover books attract particularly customers who are not already confirmed readers and buyers and lists his priority customers as young people, travelers, and adults interested in self-education.

If the bookseller were right, young readers would represent the expanding market. They have not been neglected. Whereas the general public got its first paperback book club only a few months ago, young readers have had a flourishing one for the past nine years. The Teen-Age Book Club, distributing only paperbacks, was sparked by Pocket Book but is now run by the *Scholastic* magazine group. Last year its membership—650,000 school-age children—bought close to 3,000,000 paperbacks. Not comics, but good books carefully selected by a board of teachers and librarians to appeal to a varied taste and reading capacity. The age range is wide, i.e., from sixth grade through high school. This potential audience is estimated at 7,000,000; currently, then, through this one club, one out of every ten children is buying paperbacks, at the rate of four or five a year. The club's "best-seller" list, compiled last year, is interesting: leading comfortably is "Boy Dates Girl" (185,000 copies); "Your Own Joke Book" and the "Merriam Webster Pocket Dictionary" rank side by side in the 100,000-and-better bracket. Dropping down to a mere 40-50,000 ("mere" only in the world of paperbacks), the teen-agers browse as happily through "The Great Houdini" as "The Scarlet Letter." Shakespeare, making the list handily, is still bettered, almost three to one, by "Dennis the Menace."

REPRESENTING no vast outlet, there is a small but growing market for paperbacks abroad, where the inexpensive book has such obvious economic advantages and where the good American book is so hard to come by. To this problem, a peripheral assist is being offered by CARE which, in cooperation with the United States Information Agency, has launched "The American Bookshelf." The Bookshelf, a collection of ninety-nine fairly diversified books "typical" of what Americans themselves are reading, costs only $30, delivery guaranteed. But here, too, the mass titles blazed the trail. As early as 1945, certain paperback houses (NAL, Fawcett, Pocket Books) were arranging for display and eventual sale of their wares through the kiosks along the Via Veneto and the Paris stationers' shops. Today trade is brisk in both cities and a score of lesser stations, even in second-hand paperbacks which are avidly snapped up at half the original price. Some distribution in Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America has been developed. The best overseas customer is Israel, where about 16 per cent of all United States books sold are paperbacks.

Outside the United States, of course, one does not meet with our stubborn notion that a book cannot really be a book unless it's conventionally packaged. But that prejudice, too, seems to be softening. Many now feel as did the prominent French editor who recently visited New York and was taken, as part of his tour, to see a quite comprehensive display of paperbacks in a local bookstore. Whether he was speaking as a publisher or reader may be a moot point, but he stared at the galaxy of titles and muttered, Lord, a gold mine!

[Brief reviews of recent paperback editions in various fields are presented on page 180.]

BOOKS

The Necessity of Love

THE GENIUS AND THE GODDESS. By Aldous Huxley. Harper and Brothers. $2.75.

By Carlos Baker

IN ALDOUS HUXLEY'S tenth novel, his first since 1948, one discovers again that odd blend of a semi-aggressive naturalism with a frequently explicit supernaturalism which, for some years now, has distinguished his work in fiction and belles-lettres. The area in which he operates stretches on the one side *ad majorem Dei gloriam,* and on the other *ad majorem hominis degradationem.* The trick is to make us simultaneously aware of men's capacity for self-degradation and of the glory of God's universe, and to show the means by which—on fleeting but memorable occasions—man may rise from the bed of Lazarus (one of the book's images) and walk transfigured.

What Huxley has told in "The Genius and The Goddess" is a not-very-extraordinary love story designed to show that love can make all things extraordinary. When John Rivers, the narrator, was in love with Katy Maartens, wife of his senior professor on a research job in physics, he "had at least ten times more life and energy than at ordinary times," and lived in a transfigured world. "I remember," Rivers reminisces, speaking of himself in the third person, "I remember how he looked at landscapes; and the colors were incomparably brighter, the patterns that things made in space unbelievably beautiful. I remember how he glanced around him in the streets, and St. Louis, believe it or not, was the most splendid city ever built. People, houses, trees, T-model Fords, dogs at lamp-posts—everything was more significant. Significant, you may ask, of what? And the answer is: themselves. . . . Why do you love the woman you're in love with? Because she *is.* And that, after all, is God's own definition of Himself: I am that I am. The girl is who she is. Some of her isness spills over and impregnates the entire universe. Objects and events cease to be mere representatives of classes and become their own uniqueness; cease to be illustrations of verbal abstractions and become fully concrete. Then you stop being in love, and the universe collapses, with an almost audible squeak of derision, into its normal insignificance. Could it ever *stay* transfigured? Maybe it could. Maybe it's just a question of being in love with God."

The foregoing is a fair sample of the mode of discourse followed by Huxley in the "philosophical" asides which punctuate his narrative. The book takes the form of a somewhat one-sided conversation between two old men, Rivers and an unnamed friend who is a novelist. The time is a recent Christmas Eve, but the period Rivers is recalling is that fifteen months in the early 1920's when he was a young physicist living in St. Louis, Missouri, in the household of a genius and—praise be!—a goddess.

GENIUS, goddess, young man: this is the triangle. Henry Maartens, scientific genius, Nobel Prize-winner, is a temperamental valetudinarian, a terror-baby round the house, small, thin, beak-nosed, asthmatic, white-haired, dependent, old enough to be the grandfather of his two children. Katy, his wife, a strong young matron, might be Demeter, might be Aphrodite, but is most like Hera come down to earth, rich in health, with an instinctive unverbalized wisdom, sure and independent in action, serene and untroubled in spirit, a man's dream of a wife. "For her, the supernatural was Nature; the divine was neither spiritual nor specifically human. . . . She was a kind of feminine Antaeus—invincible while her feet were on the ground, a goddess so long as she was in contact with the greater goddess within her, the universal Mother without." Without Katy, Henry withers and decays, descends to the moribundity of Lazarus, claws at the door of death. The young man, adopted into the household, worships the genius for his genius and the goddess for her goddesslike qualities. The situation awaits a precipitant.

It comes in the form of an illness which is fatal to Katy's mother. When the goddess leaves the Maartens house to go to the bedside of her mother, the genius swiftly decays, loses his center of gravity, slips towards death himself. When she returns, after a hopeless three-week contest with her mother's sickness, Katy is drained and empty, "a shell animated only by the will." She seems incapable of reviving her husband; she is caught, as it were, between two deaths, one actual, one imminent. "It's the virtue," cries Beulah, the aged family retainer. "The virtue's gone out of you. Like it went out of our dear Lord when all those sick people kept grabbing hold of him."

IN WHAT ironic manner Katy's "virtue" as healer is restored, in what way young John Rivers is born for the first time into the stream of life, readers will discover for themselves. In the process they will also recognize that Huxley has written one of those fictions which work also on the plane of the fable. The cold intellectuality of which Huxley has been too often accused is here more than adequately countermanded. There is room at the inner circle of his particular mystique for the sustaining power of a Demeter, a Hera, an Aphrodite. Without this power the higher mathematics of the soul will wither like plants cut off from their source of supply. "Earth's the right place for love," said Robert Frost. "I don't know where it's likely to go better." Huxley has here presented in a credible fiction a fable about the necessity of love.

CARLOS BAKER, chairman of the Department of English at Princeton University, is the author of "The American Looks at the World," "Hemingway, the Writer as Artist," "Shelley's Major Poetry," "Shelley's Poetry and Prose," and other books.

An American Tragedy

THE JUDGMENT OF JULIUS AND ETHEL ROSENBERG. By John Wexley. Cameron and Kahn. $6.

By Carey McWilliams

IT WAS the essential tragedy of the Rosenberg-Sobell case that the American public never received a clear and timely statement of the facts, that is, of the way in which the case began and the strange sequence of events that took place before the trial. This was not exclusively the fault of the press nor can it be entirely explained in terms of mass hysteria. The defense left a great deal to be desired. Then, too, some of the facts did not come to light until much later. The factual pattern, moreover, was inherently complex; it was not easy then—it is not easy today—to get a clear view of the case.

John Wexley, in this mammoth volume (673 pages), has tackled the problem in the right way, namely, by first giving the reader a skillfully constructed account of the events preceding the trial. In his view, the trial was an "empty ritual," the nub of the case consisting in the manner in which it unfolded. Part I, therefore, is devoted to lengthy accounts of the principal participants: Harry Gold, the Greenglasses, the Rosenbergs, Morton Sobell, Max Elitcher. These chapters make it much easier for the reader to understand what happened at the trial. As a further aid to understanding, Wexley has written an introductory chapter in which he explains — and most convincingly — why it is that tragedies like the Rosenberg-Sobell case are always compounded of many elements: tentative and reluctant half-lies; coincidences and tenuous circumstantial evidence; half-truths and full truths; elaboration and embroidery; nuances, insinuations, and innuendos; carefully dropped hints and suggestions; "piling it on" or the technique of adding glosses to the "story"; prolonged and exhaustive interrogations; self-entrapment; artful suggestion of "motive" and "intent"; and, finally, actual collusion. It is Wexley's careful analysis of the complex pre-trial factual situation, and of the trial itself in the light of this theory, that enables him to provide the reader with a clear and satisfactory account of the case. At the end the reader—somewhat exhausted, I must admit — puts the book down with the feeling that he has been exposed to the facts and circumstance of a grim and complex American tragedy.

MR. WEXLEY makes no pretense of being neutral or dispassionate. But one does not need to accept as valid all the inferences, theories, and conclusions which he urges in order to be convinced, in the end, that the conviction of the Rosenbergs and Sobell, in Harold Urey's phrase, failed to meet the standards of American justice. There are large recurrent doubts about aspects of the case which grow more disturbing with the passage of time and Mr. Wexley's shrewd reading of the testimony reawakens and confirms many of these doubts. I have not been able to check the author's references to the record against the actual transcript; it would take an entire summer to make the comparison. Two key phases of the testimony, however, suggest the nature of his analysis.

Consider, for example, the strange case of the self-confessed spy, Harry Gold. In the trial of a man named Brothman, who was convicted of conspiring to obstruct justice shortly prior to the Rosenberg trial, Gold was on the stand for nearly five days. Not only did he freely confess that he had lied but it was clearly established that he had fabricated a mythical or fantasy existence for himself which had no relation to reality. "I had become so tangled up in this web of lies," he said, "that it was easier to continue telling an occasional one than to try and straighten the whole hideous mess out . . . . It is a wonder that steam didn't come out of my ears at times." Yet, strange as it may seem, Gold was not cross-examined in the Rosenberg-Sobell case and the jury never learned of the pattern of pathological lying to which he had confessed, as a witness, in the Brothman case. Even stranger is the fact that the judge who presided at the Rosenberg trial and the prosecutor who conducted it had occupied the same roles in the Brothman trial and were familiar with Gold's testimony in that case. Incidentally there was about this Brothman case and everything connected with it a strange air of unreality. For example, it is doubtful if a crime was actually committed; Brothman's conviction would appear to have been based on a series of delusions which Gold skilfully projected and artfully maintained. Even more interesting is the circumstance that the judge who sentenced Gold, in the case based on his voluntary confession of espionage, had obvious misgivings about the confession. Mr Wexley's account of what happened in court when Judge James P. McGranery, who later became Attorney General, passed sentence on Gold (pp. 72-77), makes interesting reading.

Even more convincing than his analysis of Gold's testimony is Mr. Wexley's account of the testimony of Max Elitcher. It will be recalled that the direct evidence against Morton Sobell derived solely from the testimony of Elitcher. Apart from the fact that Elitcher was "on the hook," for having previously falsified an affidavit, his testimony is inherently incredible. Elitcher we are told, was a member of a group of conspirators engaged in espionage. But a more futile conspiracy it would be difficult to imagine. The conspirators may have conspired but what they did in furtherance of the conspiracy is not clear. Four years elapsed from Elitcher's initial recruitment and still nothing happened. No documents were stolen or photographed, no files were rifled, no plans were purloined. Moreover, we are asked to believe that Elitcher was induced to enter this dangerous conspiracy after only five or six minutes conversation with a man that he had not seen for six years.

THE testimony of both Gold and Elitcher is vital to the structure of the story upon which the guilt of the Rosenbergs and Sobell depends. But the more one ponders their testimony, the more one is impressed by Mr. Wexley's statement that the trial was a political prosecution, staged in a fear-ridden atmosphere in which the guilt of the defendants was taken for granted from the moment they were arrested.

In a recently published study, Nicholas Halasz points out that the Dreyfus case was "a nightmare dreamed during a nightmare." The

Rosenberg-Sobell case has the same quality.

There is little reason to believe that this book, which is not likely to be widely reviewed although it should be, will produce any immediate change in American opinion on the case; the national verdict remains the same. But the popular verdict of the future may not be the same as the popular verdict of the cold-war years. Recognition that the handling of the Rosenberg-Sobell case, from its inception to the unseeming haste with which the final motions were disposed of, did not measure up to the standards of American justice will come slowly, painfully, one phase at a time, as the nightmare of fear and suspicion out of which it emerged is finally dispelled. "The sense of right," India's philosopher-statesman C. R. Rajagopalachari has written, "is the most prominent thing that marks America's history."

Current Books in Soft Covers

[*These brief reviews, covering a number of recent paperback releases, supplement and illustrate the article, Monsignor and Madam, on page 176.*]

THE OFFICE ENCYCLOPEDIA. Edited by H. and S. K. Mager. Pocket Books. 50 cents.

For office worker and boss alike, a handy but comprehensive bible of "do's" and "dont's." Touches on everything from correct English usage to good telephone manners, on the secrets of efficient office records, and effective working relationships.

YOUR GUIDE TO FINANCIAL SECURITY. By Sidney Margolius. Signet Key. 35 cents.

The information is specific and the advice down-to-earth in this guide for moderate-income families. Discusses consumer budget problems—food, clothing, housing—and perhaps even more helpfully, social security, comparative advantages of various types of insurance, and investments.

THE BASEBALL ALMANAC, 1955. Edited by Hy Turkin. Pocket Books. 35 cents.

Casey Stengel says this one's "really on the ball," so who should argue? In 290 pages, it provides everything but a weather forecast for the World Series.

PORTABLE GREEK READER. Selected by W. H. Auden. Viking. $1.45.

What makes this an outstanding success is the arrangement which Auden, with sensitivity, knowledge, and care, has given this body of frequently miscellaneous material. Part I, containing selections from Hesiod, Sophocles, Empedocles, Heraclitus, Plato, and Aristotle, among others, is related to cosmogonies and cosmologies; Part II, drawing heavily on Homer, Aristotle, and Pindar, concerns the hero; Part III, with Euclid, Galen, Hippocrates, and Cleomenendes added to Aristotle, treats of nature; IV, of man (and here there is an important sub-section on literary forms); while the final part, V, concerns society. Auden's foreword is clear, penetrating, and provocative. He says, "If a civilization be judged by [the] double standard of the degree of diversity attained and the degree of unity retained, then it is hardly too much to say that the Athenians of the Fifth Century B. C. were the most civilized people who have so far existed." After working your way through the "Portable Greek Reader," you will probably agree.

COMPLETE BOOK OF GARDENING. Dell. 50 cents.

Well named, for this compact package contains seven individual garden books from the Rinehart Garden Library and will do handsomely for anyone who cultivates his own.

JAPANESE LITERATURE. By Donald Keene. Evergreen. $1.

This brief critical study surveys the major forms of Japanese literature, poetry, drama, and the novel, and discusses Western influence on the Japanese writer. There is literally nothing available in English to compare with it. Remarkably selective, the book manages to convey the spirit of a whole literature whi for us, has been remote and from which relatively few adequate translations have been made. Mr. Keene's "Anthology of Japanese Literature" is scheduled for fall publication by Evergreen. As an introduction, "Japanese Literature" is altogether adroit and perceptive.

NEW WORLD WRITING NO. 7. Mentor. 50 cents.

This earliest of paperback anthologies continues to lead the field. The current issue contains a straight-thinking article by Charles Fenton, The Writer as Professor, and two able stories of the American scene, Something in His Nature by Gina Berriault and The Real Train by Evelyn Thompson Riesman. The Dylan Thomas cult is well served with the reprint of two very short stories previously published in England, several letters to Oscar Williams which add little to the reader's respect for Mr. Williams's taste in permitting their publication but which confirm the picture of the perpetual pecuniary harassment of the poet, *and,* as a bonus of sorts, a portrait of Thomas by Williams's wife, Gene Derwood, a tip-in in full color. As readers of NWW have come to expect, the poetry sections are of high caliber. Harriet de Onis offers an excellent selection of Brazilian poets, the whole ably introduced and translated by herself. In addition, there are ten new British poets, selected and introduced by the Scots poet and critic, G. S. Fraser. Those who have been following the snatches of autobiography John Lehmann has published in an earlier NWW will not want to miss the current passages which contain sharp reflections of the ideological conflicts set in motion by the depression and the Spanish war. And there is much more of merit, including a hilarious section of Leydenfrost cartoons.

IMMORTALITY. By Ashley Montagu. Evergreen. $1.

A series of three lectures on a subject of endless fascination. Montagu, known in this country especially for "The Natural Superiority of Women," is an anthropologist and social thinker of penetration, personal honesty, and wit. He discusses man's need for a sense of life-continuity, from earliest recorded times to the present, and concludes that the need is ineluctable, offering what is obviously his own preferred answer to the riddle of man's desire to outlast himself: "For twenty-five centuries," he says, "the Chinese have believed . . . in the imortality of virtue or character, in the immortality of achievement or worth, and in the immortality of the spoken word. But [this conception] is too aristocratic, too exclusive . . . . What we need is not an aristocratic but a democratic conception of immortality, a belief in the truth that everyone is immortal in the sense that whatever men do lives on somehow, somewhere, somewhen. That there is an immortality of the evil that men do as well as of . . . the sublime, of the ugly as well as of the beautiful, of stupidity as well as of wisdom, of selfishness as well as of service, the immortality, in short, of what one *is*."

THE MODERN THEATRE. Edited by Eric Bentley. Anchor Original. Three volumes. 95 cents each.

By way of theater books, Eric Bentley seems to have pretty well blanketed the market. Each volume of this edition ranges over the past 100 years and draws from various nations both well and little known works, such as Brecht's "The Threepenny Opera" and de Musset's "Fantasio." The selections neatly illustrate the editor's very decided views on the theater, for an explicit statement of which one can turn to two reprints, his "The Playwright as Thinker" (Meridian, $1.25) and "In Search of Theater" (Vintage, 95 cents). The first of these is a provocative study of the modern theater in which ideas, techniques, styles, authors, producers, and publics are examined by a widely informed and experienced theater practitioner and critic, whose wit and taste (including a taste for a lively scrap) are welcome spice to his abiding, serious concern with the drama. "In Search of Theater," a survey of theatrical developments in the West since World War II, is a virtuoso combination of reportage and appraisal.

Frances Fergusson's "The Idea of a Theater" (Anchor, 75 cents) examines ten plays, from Sophocles to T. S. Eliot and, with philosophical comprehensiveness, seeks to trace the changing art of the drama. Lastly, "Six Plays of Strindberg" (Anchor Original, $1.25) is a happy offering not only because the package contains the major plays but chiefly, perhaps, because Elizabeth Sprigge's translations open the way for the first time to a direct appreciation of Strindberg's genius by English-language readers. There is a short prefatory note on the Swedish playwright by (guess who) Mr. E. B.

THE COMPLETE STORIES OF ERSKINE CALDWELL. Signet. 50 cents.

These stories range from *Redbook* to *Southways*, from *Esquire* to *Story Magazine*. In Caldwell's autobiography, "Call It Experience," he said: "Many years ago, I divided the population into two parts: those who read and those who write. I wished to be in the latter category." He has been. The present collection once more attests Caldwell's honesty, competence, and originality with the short-story form, and his unremitting productivity. There are a good many favorites in the collection. The Sunfield and The Mating of Marjorie, both on the theme of women's frustration, should lay the ghost that men cannot write with true understanding of women. The long, fine story Kneel to the Rising Sun closes these more than seventy tales which, without the sweep the novel permits Caldwell, still give an unbeatable picture of American life.

CULTURAL PATTERNS AND TECHNICAL CHANGE. Edited by Margaret Mead. Mentor. 50 cents.

This book gives in manual form the work of the World Federation for Mental Health. It contains essential material on the field tasks of UNESCO's staff of sociologists as they have operated in such areas as Nigeria, Burma, and New Mexico. For the reader interested in technology's and medicine's battle with ignorance, prejudice, and superstition, as well as in the more positive aspects of the U. N.'s worldwide health campaign, "Cultural Patterns" is basic reading. Its vital content is hampered by a style which is, unfortunately and perhaps inevitably, in the jargon of the trade: the cultural interchange, "feed-back" verbiage of the professional public-health official or social worker.

ALEX RIDER

The Shape of Death

What does love look like? We know the shape of death:
death is a cloud, immense and awesome.
At first a lid is lifted from the eye of light;
there is a clap of sound; a white blossom
belches from the jaw of fright;
a pillared cloud churns from white to gray,
like a monstrous brain that bursts and burns,
then turns sickly black, spilling and spewing away,
filling the whole sky with ashes of dread.
Thickly it wraps, between the clean seas and the moon,
the earth's green head. Trapped in its cocoon,
its choking breath, we know the shape of death.
Death is a cloud.

What does love look like? Is it a particle, a star,
invisible entirely, beyond the microscope and Palomar;
a dimension unimagined, past the stretch of hope?
Is it a climate far and fair, that we shall never dare
discover? What is its color, and its alchemy?
Is it a jewel in the earth; can it be dug?
or dredged from the sea? Can it be bought?
Can it be sown and harvested? Is it a shy beast to be caught?

Death is a cloud, immense, a clap of sound.
Love is little, and not loud.
It nests within each cell, and it
cannot be split.
It is a ray, a seed, a note, a word,
a secret motion of our air and blood.
It is not alien; it is near;
it is our very skin,
a sheathe that keeps us pure of fear.

MAY SWENSON

Theater

Harold Clurman

I AM glad Mr. Kirstein saw fit to call our readers' attention to certain aspects of the American Shakespeare Festival Theater's endeavor — the school or academy directed by John Burrell, etc., (*The Nation*: August 20)—which I omitted in my discussion of their first production, "Julius Caesar" (August 6).

Mr. Kirstein's statement is a respectable one, but it overlooks, I am afraid, the point of my argument, and indirectly emphasizes the fault of which I complained. I wrote "I shall not review the production, because what is significant about it is not its badness, but the reason why it was doomed before its first rehearsal was called. The flaws were in thinking and theory — in approach."

My piece was, as noted, not a "review"—if it had been, I should probably have referred to the better performances, those of Christopher Plummer and Fritz Weaver, for example—but an essay on theater esthetics, more particularly as they relate to the production of Shakespeare. I shall reiterate my point, not because there was any ambiguity about it in the first place, but because it involves a conception of theater production in general.

Mr. Kirstein tells us that I am in error in having written that the production "aims to reproduce the Elizabethan picture of Rome as the historians and artists of that period conceived it. Why was this approach chosen?" Mr. Kirstein informs us that the costumes were not Elizabethan: "they strive to fulfill what was in Shakespeare's own eye when he thought of Rome." The armor in the Connecticut production, Mr. Kirstein goes on to say, "was the sort of fanciful parade-armor imagined by Piero della Francesca and Paolo Ucello."

I will not dispute this because, for one thing, Mr. Kirstein is a knowledgeable art critic. But I still ask what has this bit of information to do with the production of "Caesar"? How do we know what was in Shakespeare's eye? We do not attempt to reproduce the acting of Shakespeare's day even though that was certainly in his eye. If we did, we should probably find altogether intolerable any production which tried it—despite anything we may surmise to the contrary from Hamlet's speech to the Players.

The production of a play signifies the projection of the playwright's idea in terms that are intelligible, vivid, and stirring to the audience to whom it is addressed. The purpose of a Shakespearean production today—as of all production—is to convey in theater terms (acting, design, movement, color), the emotional, intellectual, dramatic essence of the play—its body and spirit. What is finally conveyed depends to a great extent on the intention and talent of the actors and their director. My criticism of the Connecticut "Caesar" is not that there was "nothing good in it," but that the approach was basically unrelated to the theater—Shakespeare's or ours—because it was concerned with matters incidental to the problem of any sort of theatrical production.

In Orson Welles's "Caesar" (for all its limitations) the actual brick stage back wall, painted or lit a reddish hue, was seen thoughout. Its use was justified because it was organic to the entire conception of the production, which was inspired by the atmosphere of the thirties. What is crucial in this respect is not what was in Shakespeare's eye, but in ours.

I am perfectly prepared to accept Piero della Francesca or anyone else as a visual model for a Shakespearean play if such a visual style is needed to render its content and impact complete. I may later find fault with the content or declare the style inappropriate, but in the case of the "Caesar" in question I feel that the attempt to produce the play as a theater piece was never truly begun.

This is not a demand for an "experimental" or "revolutionary" production—these words in this connection are almost meaningless—just as the word "straightforward" employed by Mr. Kirstein in connection with his associates' production is meaningless, for the only thing that could be called that at all in rela-

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tion to Shakespeare is a simple reading of the text. As I pointed out in my first piece, the recent Old Vic production of "Henry IV" was in no way original in conception but it had immense vigor and gusto which were sufficient to make it enjoyable.

But perhaps I can make my point even clearer by dropping the Shakespeare issue for a moment. When an Odets writes a play which takes place in the milieu of the boxing business, the director does not necessarily try to mirror that environment naturalistically: he tries to communicate a sense of Odets's feeling in regard to certain basic preoccupations in which the fight ring, gymnasium, and dressing room have only a secondary relation.

The playwright's world (Shakespeare's or anyone else's) is not primarily a historical one, but is the spiritual world of his own psychology, temperament, dramatic style—all of which are revealed by the nature of his writing. The job of the director and his company is to convey that world, according to their own lights, to their own kind of audience. This means that every production must possess its own quality and emphasis, not because anyone wishes to distort the playwright's meaning or "star" himself, but because actors, directors, and audience are human beings who are different in every theatrical circumstance.

The Moscow Art Theatre's production of "Caesar" was wrong because it tried to reproduce the Rome of Caesar's time. But we do not get closer to Shakespeare by reproducing what he literally saw in his day —even if we were sure we knew. Only by creative interpretation, that is, by discovering the stage equivalent for what we feel is Shakespeare's impulse, his total artistic personality, can Shakespeare come alive for us in the theater: We must seek Shakespeare's world in his texts, not in the pictures of his period.

CORRECTION:

In the review of "The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient" and "Sculpture in Britain: The Middle Ages" in the issue of August 13, the price of each volume was given erroneously as $2.50. The correct price is $8.50 each.

Record Notes

By Robert E. Garis

Bartok: 14 Bagatelles, Op. 6; Roumanian Folk Dances; Roumanian Christmas Carols; Kozma (Bartok); agreeable pieces, fine performances.

"The Wooden Prince"; Susskind with New Symphony Orchestra of London (Bartok); diffuse picturesque music; well played; superbly recorded.

Beethoven: Piano Concerto No. 1; Serkin with Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy (Columbia); Serkin trivial and shallow, orchestra heavy.

Piano Concerto No. 4; Curzon with Vienna Philharmonic under Knappertsbusch (London); even, sensitive playing by Curzon without sufficient power where necessary, orchestra stodgy.

Sonatas for piano, Op. 2, Nos. 1 & 2; Gulda (London); fine performances.

Symphony No. 4; Krips with Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam (London); fine performance.

Bizet: Orchestra Suite from "Carmen," "L'Arlesienne" Suite No. 1; Rossi with Vienna State Opera Orchestra (Vanguard); fair performances.

Brahms: Complete Orchestral Music; Walter with N. Y. Philharmonic (Columbia); these performances are honorable for their warmth and their solid musical understanding, but lack any higher distinction of clarity and force.

Violin Concerto; Ferras with Vienna Philharmonic under Schuricht (London); fair performance.

Sonatas No. 1 & 2 for clarinet and piano; Lancelot and D'Arco (London-L'Oiseau-Lyre); clarinet poor, piano sensitive and mild; clarinet sound consistently blurred.

Symphony No. 2; Van Beinum with Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam (Epic); fine performance; sound cold and thin.

Debussy: Fetes Galantes (First Series), Ballades de Villon; Danco with Agosti (London); fine performances.

Prose Lyriques, Chansons de Bilitis, Ballades de Villon; Wend with Gartenlaub (Haydn Society); fine in lighter songs, not powerful enough for Ballades 1 & 2.

Delius: "Appalachia" and Closing Scene from "Koanga"; Beecham with Royal Philharmonic Orchestra and Chorus (Columbia); uninterestingly sumptuous music in a fine performance.

Faure: Ballade for piano and orchestra; Long with London Philharmonic under Martinon (London); fair performance. (With 4 Faure Nocturnes and a good performance of Francaix's chic Concertino for Piano and Orchestra.)

Franck: Symphony in D Minor; Furtwangler with Vienna Philharmonic (London); Ormandy with Philadelphia Orchestra (Columbia); Furtwangler plays superbly, Ormandy very badly, both in a rhetorically inflated style.

Gluck: Overture to "Alceste"; Munchinger with L'Orchestre de la Suisse Romande (London); stodgy performance. (With a poor performance of Schumann's "Manfred.")

Handel: "Water Music" complete; Boyd Neel Orchestra (London); good performance.

Haydn: Cello Concerto (original version); Fournier with Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra under Munchinger (London); elegantly polished performance. (With the fake Boccherini Cello Concerto).

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Letters

Post-Geneva Proposal

Dear Sirs: I trust it will now be recognized both by Congress and the Department of Justice that the Smith Act and the Attorney General's subversive list belong to the "pre-Geneva" era.

At Geneva our President engendered a magnificent spirit of understanding and laid the foundations for genuine coexistence — a spirit which alone holds out hope for our survival, East and West, in a world of nuclear weapons. We cannot be sincere about coexistence and at the same time regard the Russians (equivalent, Communists) as wicked enemies.

Is it not clear then that we flagrantly violate that spirit of understanding every time we prosecute people for words—not deeds — under the Smith Act or deprive anyone of his job for having been a member of an organization on the subversive list?

We must rethink our domestic as well as our foreign policy.

ALBERT TURNER

Mohonk Lake, N. Y.

A Reader Since 1897

Dear Sirs: Shortly after arriving in the United States in 1897 I found the Evening Post and The Nation to be the papers that suited my tastes best. For several years I bought both at the newsstand, but later became and since remained a regular subscriber to The Nation.

I am pleased to note in your Special Supplement of July 9 the many expressions of interest by prominent readers, and heartily join them in their tributes and good wishes, so as to show that also among the lowly and unknown the great qualities of your weekly are properly appraised.

A. VAN OSS

Plainfield, N. J.

Author's Rebuttal

Dear Sirs: It is seldom, I suppose, that a writer finds himself reading a review of his book which, on many points, criticizes him for not writing the very book he has written. I allude to Jacob Korg's account of my recently published volume, "The Psychological Novel, 1900-1950," in The Nation of July 16, in which he accuses me of a whole series of omissions—which simply were not omitted—as well as acts of commission I didn't commit.

In essence, my book discusses the "inward-turning" in the novel since 1900. I show the difference between the "inwardness" of Dostoievsky, or Shakespeare's soliloquies, or introspective passages in the old novels, and the aims of the so-called "stream of consciousness" writers of our time. I suggest the contemporary movement has taken two forms: one led from Bergson, the French Symbolists, Dujardin, to Proust—and to Joyce and his attempt to give the illusion of the actual flow of thought in the minds of the characters. The other began with the "point of view" techniques of Henry James, which inspired Dorothy Richardson and resulted in the modern forms of "internal monologue." And I devote an entire chapter to explaining that this "monologue" differs from "stream of consciousness" in being an edited and filtered portrayal of the "center of thought," with the flotsam and jetsam of the "stream" left out.

Mr. Korg, however, accuses me of failure to distinguish between "internal monologue" and "stream of consciousness" and also of seeking to convey the impression that "the founder of the new technique was Henry James." And he imputes to me a series of conclusions on the autobiographical character of this type of fiction which are not mine, while adopting my conclusions as his own. Moreover, he attributes to me reflections such as that symbolism is "arty" and that psychological fiction is a form of "homely naturalism"—perish the thought!

As a reviewer of books myself, I am the last person to argue with reviewers of my own books. But it seems to me that there is such a wide difference between the book I've written and the one Mr. Korg seems to have read that I feel obligated to make your readers aware of this difference.

LEON EDEL

Honolulu, Hawaii

No "Alibi for Crawling"

Dear Sirs: Professor Loomer's review of William A. Reuben's "The Atom Spy Hoax," which appeared in your May 28th issue, was an excellent piece of analytical writing. I wish to salute both Professor Loomer and The Nation for having the courage to speak the truth at a time when cowards and sycophants find so many ingenious alibis for crawling.

MORRIS KOMINSKY

Los Angeles, Calif.

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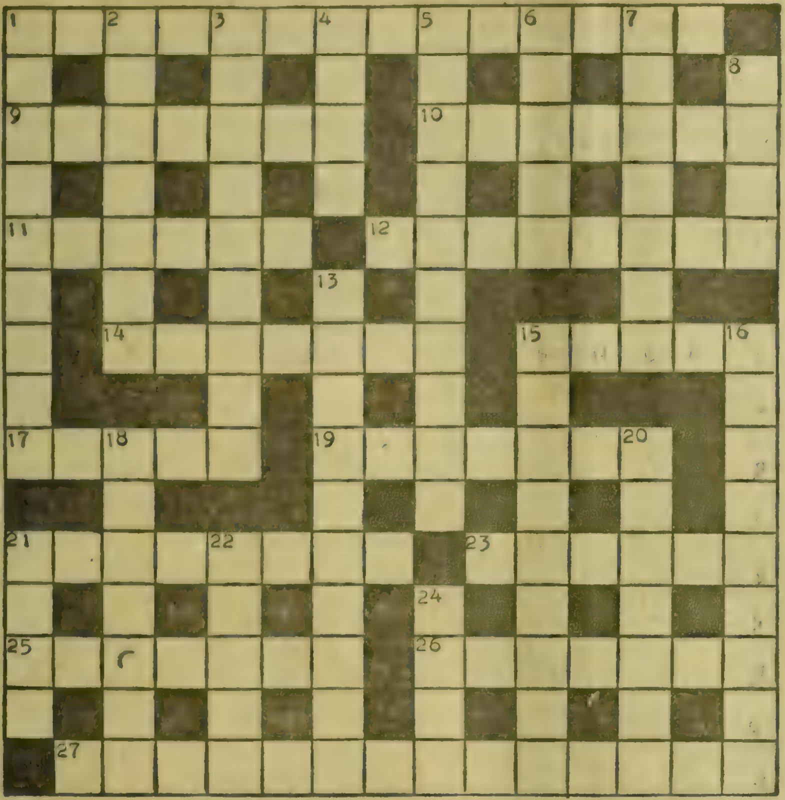
Crossword Puzzle No. 634

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The things of Ben which were slithy (8,6)

9 Comes down to pay the bets. (7)

10 Bill, perhaps, has a unique position. (3-4)

11 SA, SA, SA (6)

12 Concluded with [illegible] red nose. (8)

14 Irritate, and make certain it's about all right. (7)

15 She will have something to listen to on shore. (5)

17 and 19 Tellers (5,7)

21 How to tie up things for other people. (4-4)

23 The spirit of a religious man, in [illegible] way. (6)

25 It's still fun to, even though not so blessed. (7)

26 Weathered (like a cowboy). (7)

27 Is the correct article expensive in Old Nelly? (6,3,5)

DOWN

1 Snaps, perhaps. (9)

2 Pre-prandial? (Gets in 10 without one's being there.) (5,2)

3 Game where the Irish might be in the swim? (5,4)

4 and 21 down Announcing one's in the pink! (3,1,4)

5 He gets none in England. (10)

6 Starts [illegible] little work to type. (5)

7 Some travelers try and get rich on this account. (7)

8 This like everything else, will turn to dust. (4)

13 A sort of clean foreign title around makes for easy-going. (10)

15 In the money? Win out, and get them disordered. (9)

16 The time the weaker ones come and say "Al died!" (6,3)

18 Stars and bars are his extreme symbols. (7)

20 But he probably makes others hop on board! (7)

21 See 4 down.

22 One way to dehydrate. (5)

24 How a Swede might start to look. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 633

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Readers [illegible] invited to send for [illegible] free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests [illegible] Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York

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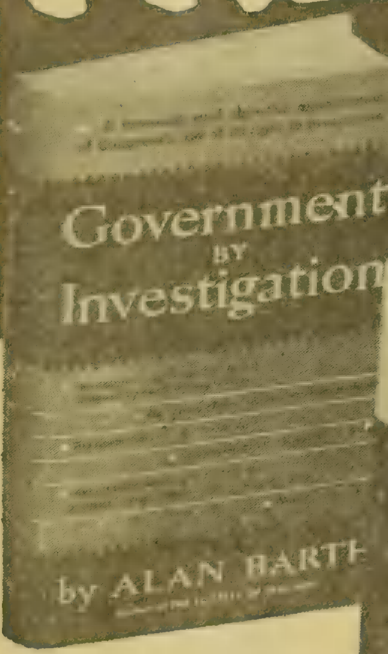

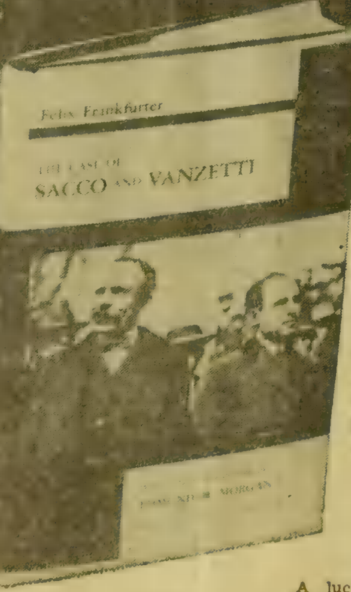

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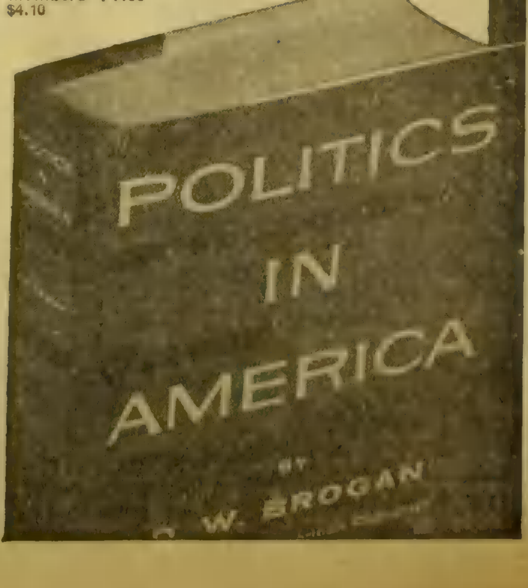

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UNHOLY ALLIANCE

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by Jay Nelson Tuck

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OFF THE EDITORS' SPIKE

● WALDO FRANK, whose article appears on page 196 of this issue, has been invited by the Department of Foreign Cultural Relations of the Peking government to lecture at Chinese universities and before other groups on Walt Whitman and aspects of American literature, and also to take part in ceremonies in Peking this October celebrating the anniversaries of great Western writers, among them (besides Whitman), Montesquieu, Schiller, and Cervantes. But the Chief of the Passport Division has refused Mr. Frank a passport on the grounds that the Department of State is unwilling to grant passports for travel in Communist China in any case and that it is unable to protect American citizens in China. Both grounds are specious. As the guest of the Chinese government, Mr. Frank would not need the protection of Mr. Dulles. As to the other point, surely anything that can be done today to prepare good future relations with the Chinese people is in the interest of the United States.

There are special reasons for believing that Waldo Frank would make an admirable spokesman in China for certain aspects of American culture and values. His lectures in South America, in 1942, undertaken with the active support and approval of the State Department, were not only received with great enthusiasm but were an important influence in countering anti-American propaganda. Throughout Latin America, Frank is considered so [illegible] a representative of all that is worth while in this country that the regular series of articles he writes for a Spanish-language news syndicate is carried under the caption "Voz de America." By denying Mr. Frank a passport, the State Department is missing an unusual opportunity to send a distinguished American writer, of non-Communist background, with a long record of active and successful cultural relations with Latin America and Europe, to explain some of the major spiritual and cultural values of the United States to Chinese intellectuals. This doesn't sound like the "spirit of Geneva."

● From Harry I. Lewis, a Nation reader in Fresno, we received the following comment on the visit of the Russian farm delegation to California's San Joaquin Valley.

"The special bus carrying the Russians," writes Mr. Lewis, "came to Fresno from San Francisco via Tracy and Patterson, visiting a sugar-beet plantation, tomato and cantaloupe farms, grape vineyards, and peach orchards, arriving in Fresno early in the evening. After checking in at the hotel, the group got back in the bus and left for the Lone Star schoolhouse where a real surprise awaited them. There were about three hundred people seated at the rows of tables when the Russians arrived. Lone Star is a railroad stop about ten miles southeast of Fresno, in the heart of the lush fruit-growing region, where many Armenians live. A shish-kebab dinner was served by the Lone Star Community Center, and the entertainment was local talent, mostly Armenian-American. Fresno, the richest agricultural county in the United States, has a population which is a mixture of nationalities, races, and peoples from every country in the world. A local fruit grower, former head of the Fresno County Farm Bureau, sounded like an ordained minister as he pleaded for a better understanding among all nations and for world peace. Once the party was over, the people stood around, shaking hands with the visitors, getting autographs, laughing, joking, behaving like a big family, like citizens of a new world."

● The Economist, in a recent issue, explained how the London office discovered that copies mailed to subscribers in the United States were being held up by the Post Office authorities here. "It appears," said the statement, "that all foreign publications are forwarded to the Bureau of Customs for review under the Customs Tariff Act of 1930 as possible propaganda matter." There the volume of mail to be "processed" is so great that a large backlog has accumulated and delivery of many magazines has been delayed. Adds the Economist: "We feel that comment by us on this state of affairs might be in bad taste, and is certainly superfluous."

That the delivery of this distinguished journal to its American readers should be delayed while platoons of inspectors scrutinize every issue for possible propaganda, might have been justified during the thirties as a "make-work" project. But with full employment, one would think more productive use might be made of federal personnel.

Incidentally, the Fund for the Republic is sponsoring a $35,000 study of Post Office interference with all aspects of the printed word—an important project. Also the Fund has just announced a grant of $25,000 to the School of Law at Stanford University for a thorough-going study of the testimony of leading government witnesses on communism. No list of the witnesses has been released but a study of this kind would hardly be complete if it failed to analyze the testimony of Louis Budenz, Whitaker Chambers, Manning Johnson, Paul Crouch, and Elizabeth Bentley, who has just joined the staff of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Quite recently the New York Herald-Tribune (August 21) carried a story by Herbert A. Philbrick in which the Fund was taken to task because it had made a grant of $5,000 to the Plymouth Monthly Meeting "for courageous and effective defense of democratic principles" in having refused, under pressure and threats, to discharge Mary Knowles as librarian of the Williams Jeanes Memorial Library. Prior to this employment, Mrs. Knowles had invoked the protection of the Fifth Amendment when questioned about political activities. Nowhere in the story is it made clear that Mrs. Knowles was originally denounced by Philbrick or that the agitation to force the Plymouth Monthly Meeting to discharge her was launched by the "Citizens for Philbrick" campaign, an "alerted American group."

Speaking of mail inspection, Mrs. Margaret Ballinger, a Liberal Party member of the House of Assembly in the Union of South Africa, has made formal complaint against the Criminal Investigation Department, a special branch of the South African police, for prying into the mail of the Liberal Party and its members. More recently, the Stridjom government has smugly replied to critics of its severe passport policies that these policies are substantially the same as those followed by the Department of State under Mr. Dulles. No doubt the comparison is just, but it should shame Mr. Dulles.

● Any doubt about the significance of the Federal Power Commission's decision to license the Idaho Power Company to develop power projects in Hell's Canyon (see comments in The Nation (August 13, 1955, p. 126) should be removed by Business Week's characterization of the decision as "a monumental victory for private power, a staggering defeat for the public-power forces." This hardly squares with the Administration's defense of the decision as "a boon to the taxpayer" and an example of the benign public-private partnership for the development of new power projects.—C. McW.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1955
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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Morocco and the Cold War . . *by Freda Kirchwey*

IN SPITE OF continued dangerous tension in Morocco, the faint outlines of a peaceful settlement begin to take shape. The August 20 massacres, to be sure, hardened the resistance of the French settlers and their political allies in Paris against any substantial change. The irreconcilables among them are still calling, not only for the head of Gilbert Grandval, French Rresident General, who is accused of favoring the nationalists and encouraging rebellion, but for all-out military repression of the Istiqlal and the whole nationalist movement. The extremists on the nationalist side are prepared to reject any settlement which does not include return of the deposed Sultan, Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef, to his throne and a firm promise of ultimate complete independence.

At the same time, however, events move toward a compromise. During the past week Premier Faure and several ministers meeting at Aix-Les-Bains with representatives of the French and native populations of Morocco were painfully hammering out terms that might be accepted by the Istiqlal leaders and yet not go far enough to invite overthrow of the Faure Cabinet by French reactionaries in and out of the government coalition. As the week began, the situation was precarious, but not hopeless as it had seemed a few days earlier.

By an irony all too common in politics, a peaceful solution, if reached, will almost certainly include the sacrifice of the man who devised and fought for it—M. Grandval. French rightists cynically blame him for the explosion of riots, raids, and killings that began on the anniversary of the former Sultan's deposition; whereas the courageous Resident General had been desperately pressing for a French offer which could be announced in time to prevent the very horrors which took place. Now, it seems, he must withdraw as a sop to those who ignored his warnings and wrecked his efforts. As a balance, the Arab leaders, while clamoring for the restoration of ben Youssef, will probably be appeased for the time being with his return to France from exile in Madagascar.

In addition to these preliminary *quids* and *quos*, the suggested settlement would include resignation of the French-imposed Sultan ben Moulay Arafa; creation of a "council of the throne" to act in the absence of a Sultan; establishment of a government representing the chief elements in Morocco, but almost certain to be dominated by the Istiqlal; and negotiation of drastic reforms and possibly revisions of the Treaty of 1912 which established the protectorate.

The New York *Times* correspondent in Rabat on Sunday listed several factors which stood in the way of a solution along such lines: [1] growing reluctance of ben Moulay Arafa to resign; [2] refusal of the Istiqlal to enter any government until ben Youssef actually returned to France; [3] the tendency of terrorist groups to break loose in defiance of party discipline. These factors, he believed, might produce new serious riots if the resignation of Resident General Grandval should be announced. An additional source of possible trouble is the known presence in Morocco of agents sent from Cairo to keep the nationalist pot boiling. Other reports indicate that they are particularly active in Spanish Morocco, where Franco's proconsuls give them shelter and encouragement—not out of love for Arab nationalism but further to damage the French position in North Africa.

BUT against these immediate obstacles, the more profound facts of the situation seem to weigh on the side of peace. As the *Times* correspondent also recalled, French rule in Morocco has depended on an order which was established by Marshal Lyautey, an order resting on the loyalty and authority of the powerful Berber tribes. This system had begun to crumble long before World War II, both as a result of French inroads into the native organs of authority—"tentacular" administration, the *Times* article called it—and modern economic development which enriched the country, and French interests there, but in the process produced nationalist opposition and an impoverished urban proletariat susceptible to incitements of almost any kind. By the end of the war the feudal system, as a stabilizing force usable by the French for purposes of administration and control, was done for. This was true not only in Morocco, but in Algiers and Tunisia and the Middle East as well. But while the French were pushed out of Syria and Lebanon with a minimum of bloodshed, their position in the North African dependencies is very different. French settlers number around 1,500,000, many of them being ordinary farmers—not great landholders, though there are plenty such too—with roots several generations deep. And the dominant civilization of French North Africa is Mediterranean rather than Arab. No comparable colonization took place in the French-controlled areas of the Levant, and consequently

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there was nowhere near as great an economic and emotional investment in the perpetuation of empire.

But the end of empire in Morocco is, none the less, in sight. Behind the rebellion is the massive anti-imperialist, anti-colonial sentiment of Asia. Every element represented at Bandung is today mobilized to force a settlement. If the United States is equivocal in its support of France, it is not merely because Washington learned a lesson at Dienbienphu or because it favors national independence as a general policy, though both are factors. But what the Administration wants and needs at this moment of emerging "cold peace" is to avoid alienating further the free Asian nations and particularly the much-courted Arab states.

Besides which, the changed order in Tunisia, almost next door, is a clear sign that Morocco cannot be forced to accept much longer its assignment to inferiority. Last Saturday the Bey, amid great popular enthusiasm, signed and sealed the new conventions with France granting Tunisia internal autonomy. The peaceful settlement there grew out of Premier Mendes-France's bold promise of home rule made in July 1954. It is significant that just the other day, M. Mendes-France, commenting on the Moroccan situation again said that France could not maintain its "presence" in North Africa by armed force alone, and that "the disorders . . . come from the miserable living conditions . . . there."

One is tempted to dwell on the better state of things that might exist in Morocco today if Mendes-France had retained the power which he lost largely because of his advanced policy in North Africa. But more important is for the French people to see to it that the same fate does not overtake the ministers now working for a decent agreement in Morocco; and for French politicians to recognize the truth the rejected Premier has again proclaimed. The old order, good or bad, has gone and the institutions based on it must go too, or else be drastically reformed. Otherwise North Africa will become the battlefield in a new and terrible colonial war which neither France nor its allies can afford. Underneath all the political pulling and conniving most responsible French leaders know this. And so in spite of still numerous obstacles and delays a settlement is likely to be reached—if only because the alternative is intolerable.

The Shape of Things

House of Cards

V. Lewis Bassie's comments on the stock market in the current issue of the *Illinois Business Review* merit more attention than they have received. A distinguished economist with an exceptionally wide and varied experience in government, Mr. Bassie's is a voice that should be heard above the noise and furor of the Great Boom. As he sees it there are numerous signs that the market may be topping out: divided yields have been declining steadily; the margin between stocks and high-grade bonds is low and that between common stocks and high-grade preferred stocks has been wiped out; the proportion of common stocks in new issues has been rising; and the credit situation is deteriorating.

True, these and other symptoms cited are not conclusive but according to Mr. Bassie, "The market has been able to get where it is only because of an atmosphere of all-embracing optimism. . . . The boom is supporting the market, and the market is supporting the boom. The upward spiral of booming business, high earnings, high stock prices, easy spending, and unrestrained optimism builds on itself round by round, though none of these elements can be depended upon to sustain itself very long. All together, it resembles a house of cards, cleverly balanced for the time being, but ready to fall apart when any portion fails to hold up." The economic situation is as unstable as the stock market; they are, indeed, "mutually supporting instabilities." The prevalent optimism stems in part from the facts of the boom but it also feeds on the rise in stock prices. "It is a typical state of mind at the end of a long prosperity. All the declines in those years of prosperity have been minor. Therefore, it seems that all future declines must be minor, too." *Business Week,* it might be noted, takes much the same view. In the past two months, the market "plainly has been ailing, . . . it lacks the basic strength to keep driving ahead—and a market that can't go up is more likely to go down."

A Case for Compassion

The Department of Justice has refused to sever the case of Mrs. Marion Bachrach from that of three other "second-string" Communist leaders charged with violating the Smith Act who are to be retried in New York sometime this month. Mrs. Bachrach became a victim of cancer during the original trial and her case was then severed from the others since her condition required major surgery which took the form of a colostomy. A court-appointed physician has reported that there is "no evidence of residual disability"; nevertheless a severance of her case in the coming trial would seem warranted on strictly humanitarian grounds. Mrs. Bachrach's affidavit and that of her physician describe a condition which, while it may not constitute "residual disability," involves extreme pain and inconvenience, and requires close care.

UNHOLY ALLIANCE

AFTRA and the Blacklist . . *by Jay Nelson Tuck*

A COUPLE of weeks ago a subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities came to New York on full safari. Equipped with a complete entourage of native bearers and beaters, the committee members ranged the primitive jungle of the entertainment industry, fired their elephant guns, and brought down a mouse.

The stated purpose of the committee's efforts was to explore the extent of Communist infiltration of the entertainment industry. A number of witnesses shouted that the committee's real aim was to attack the theater and television, a statement which demonstrated again a point that needs no demonstration—that actors by and large are political idiots. There wasn't a shred of evidence to indicate that the committee members had the faintest interest in the theater. It seemed patent that they'd have been just as happy investigating the plumbing industry if only it had promised an equally satisfactory harvest of headlines.

As far as the stated purpose was concerned, the committee's four days of hearings were a spectacular failure. A single "friendly" witness recounted a brief experience in the Communist Party and named a few names. Neither he nor any of twenty-two "unfriendly" witnesses reported any Communist attempts to influence the content or presentation of shows on the air or in the legitimate theater. If Joshua Shelley slipped any Red propaganda into "This Is Your F. B. I." or Stanley Prager subverted "The Jackie Gleason Show" there was no evidence of it at the hearings.

But it seems clear that the committee did accomplish one thing besides fattening the press books of its members: it gave renewed strength to the faltering hands of the blacklisters in broadcasting and it reinforced their allies who control AFTRA, the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists.

Blacklisting in the broadcasting industry is not very old. It had its real beginning about five years ago with the publication of "Red Channels," and exploded into wide public notice with the Jean Muir case. "Red Channels" was a list of actors and other people in broadcasting, together with references to them by such bodies as the Un-American Activities Committee and favorable mentions in the *Daily Worker.*

A listing in "Red Channels" very soon proved to be an economic death sentence, at least as far as broadcasting was concerned. Pert Kelton, who preceded Audrey Meadows as the Alice Kramden of "The Jackie Gleason Show," has not worked since. Gertrude Berg kept "The Goldbergs" off the air a full year rather than put it on without Philip Loeb, but finally had to surrender.

It soon became clear that an actor

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need not be guilty of anything to be blacklisted; it was enough to be "controversial." Sponsors would explain apologetically that while *they* might not have anything against an individual, they were, after all, in business to sell corn flakes and could not afford to offend anyone who might be a customer for their crispy, crunchy goodness. And there were always at least a few people willing to let it be known that they were offended. As one director put it, three dirty postcards from a vacant lot were often enough.

The industry fell into utter disorganization. C. B. S., alone among the networks, set up a system of loyalty oaths for all its employees and designated a vice-president whose chief duty was said to be guarding the network's political purity. "Talent consultants" came into the business, selling reports on actors, directors, and writers for from five to seven dollars a name. Advertising agencies retained the consultants or hired them full time.

In the cases of some individuals blacklisting was complete and final, but in other cases there was only the craziest of patterns. Some actors could work in Hollywood, but not in New York; some on one network, but not another; some on show A but not on show B, though both were on the same network; some on one agency's programs, but not another's.

ON SOME programs the blacklist soon gave way to a "whitelist." It had become standard practice to check the political past of every actor before he was hired, and to simplify matters a casting director would be asked at the beginning of a season to submit a list of every one he might want to use. After whatever laundering was deemed necessary, the list was returned to him and thereafter special permission was required for him to hire anyone who was not on it. It was not surprising that the actors, in the hope of finding relief, turned to AFTRA.

New York AFTRA, the union's dominant local, set up a committee on the blacklist headed by Vinton Hayworth, who was then the local president and who has held a variety of local and national offices for many years. The months went by without visible positive action from the committee. Actors who took complaints to its members reported they had received unsympathetic treatment. What was more, actors who opposed Hayworth and his allies in AFTRA elections began to find themselves losing work, including actors who had never given a dollar to Russian War Relief. There were whispered reports that on te day after the opposition ticket had been published certain directors received new lists of actors who might not be hired and that those lists were identical with the ticket.

Something very like a state of terror spread through the union. Actors who might have sought AFTRA office were afraid to do so. Many members have told me that they were afraid to speak at AFTRA meetings for fear that their names would be noted and their opportunities for work would diminish. Several have told me they were afraid even to attend meetings. To do so was to risk the temptation of speaking or the necessity of voting openly.

Were those fears justified? Consider Philip Pine, an established actor who had worked steadily for some years. Pine ran for AFTRA office in opposition to the administration. Last spring he told an AFTRA meeting what had happened to him. Suddenly, he said, he was no longer being hired. Jobs which he once would have gotten with ease were no longer available. Eventually, Pine told the meeting, he went to the F. B. I. to find out if they had any information which might conceivably have caused his blacklisting. (He recalled nothing in his record that might have been considered pro-Communist.) The F. B. I. told him they knew nothing about it. He went to broadcasters and to the publishers of "Red Channels." Nothing. Finally, he said, he went to Hayworth. He said Hayworth showed him the opposition ticket bearing his name and suggested that was the reason for the blacklisting. Hayworth, who was present at the meeting as Pine spoke, arose and blandly explained that he had simply been trying to help the actor find "the source of his infection."

Meanwhile another force had entered the situation. This was an organization known as Aware, Inc., which was formed late in 1953 and took up where "Red Channels" had left off. Its stated purpose was to oppose and expose Communists in the entertainment world.

The president of Aware is Godfrey Schmidt, a professor of law at Fordham University and an associate member of AFTRA by virtue of having once had a radio discussion program. Vincent Hartnett, a professional "talent consultant" formerly associated with "Red Channels," is a director. The directorate of Aware also includes seven AFTRA members besides Schmidt, among them Hayworth and two others who hold AFTRA offices or board memberships.

Aware's activities were relatively quiet until last fall. At that time there was an election in New York AFTRA. After the voting had been concluded (and the administration ticket reelected), Aware published a bulletin listing sixteen members of the defeated slate and carrying allegedly pro-Communist references in the "Red Channels" manner. Some of those references appeared to be valid links to Communist-front groups; some were as tenuous as marriage to a man who had been linked to Communist fronts or praise from the *Daily Worker's* dramatic critic for a performance in an ordinary Broadway play. The bulletin also demanded an investigation by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

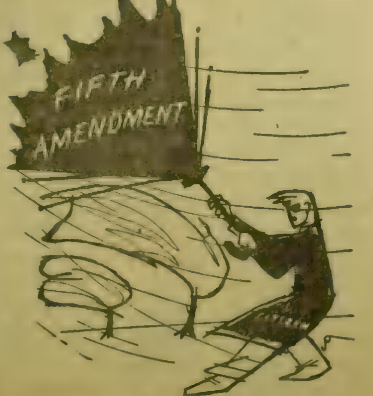
OPEN rebellion broke out in AFTRA. The small group which had continued to fight blacklisting from the beginning found wide new support. A resolution was drawn up to condemn Aware for interfering in the internal affairs of the union and for causing the blacklisting of actors. It also condemned the AFTRA members who were Aware directors, but this clause had to be deleted under a ruling of the New York AFTRA board.

The resolution was fiercely debated at an AFTRA meeting last winter, but under the board's ruling it could not then be voted upon. It came to a vote at the following meeting in the spring and, to widespread surprise, passed by 197 to 149. Since the administration had a long record of victories in referenda, it put the question up for vote of the entire local by mail. Again the resolution passed, this time by 982 to 514, or almost 2 to 1.

At the same time, however, administration supporters won the elections for convention delegates and for the national executive board. And when the board met during the convention, it lit the fuse of a time-bomb.

A couple of weeks later members received by mail a ballot on a referendum proposition that any member who refused to tell a Congressional committee whether or not he was then or had ever been a Communist was subject to punishment by his local, including possible fine, suspension, or expulsion. Since AFTRA operates under a union-shop contract, expulsion would mean the member could never work again in broadcasting.

There had been no advance discussion of the proposal. The members had not known of it until they received the ballot. There was no opportunity whatever for opponents to make themselves heard. A small group of them hastily passed the hat and inserted a trade-paper advertisement, hoping to influence any members they could reach who had not yet returned their ballots. Frank Nelson, national AFTRA president, signed an ad in rebuttal, and reprints of it were mailed to the membership. Both the insertion and the mailing costs of that ad were paid for from the union treasury. Under the circumstances, it was small wonder that the proposal was approved by a vote of 4 to 1.



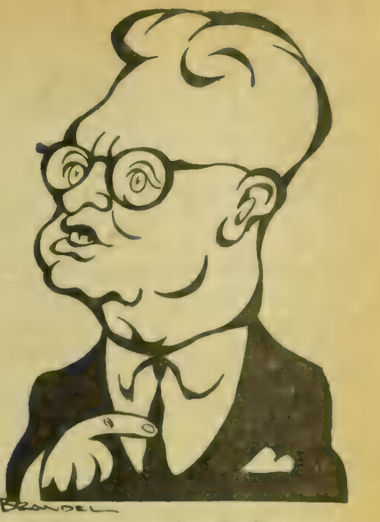
AFTRA had long barred Communists from office and from membership. Under the new ruling it is no longer necessary to be a Communist to be barred. It is now enough to assert a right guaranteed by the Constitution for an actor to risk losing his livelihood forever.

An interesting thing about the new ruling was its timing. The ballot itself referred to "reports" of a forthcoming investigation. It was mailed before the House Committee had publicly announced that it would hold the New York hearings. Deadline for return of ballots was August 8, exactly a week before the hearings opened.

Aware, it will be remembered, had called for just such an investigation. At the hearings themselves, anti-blacklist actors, who waited hours on line to get into the small and crowded courtroom, said Aware sympathizers arrived at any hour and got in on passes. On a television program after the hearings, Schmidt was introduced as the president of the organization "which played such a prominent part in the recent investigation," and did not challenge the introduction. Outsiders may perhaps be forgiven for wanting to know more precisely just what part it did play.

WHAT of the blacklist all this while? For a brief time after the membership of New York AFTRA began to fight back there had been some encouraging signs. There had been cases of an occasional actor coming back, as Judy Holliday had done when N. B. C.'s Fred Coe broke the barrier by giving her a part on "Television Playhouse" a year and a half ago. For a while last spring some people believed the situation was easing. Here and there an actor would appear after a long absence. It may not have been a trend, but it did seem to be an improvement, if a barely perceptible one, and there was hope for more.

Today the blacklisters are certainly stronger. Whether or not AFTRA will choose to expel the members who refused to answer the House Committee's questions remains to be seen. In the long run it is highly doubtful that it could make expulsion stick. Lawyers to whom I have talked believe the AFTRA rule to be illegal, but upsetting it in the courts will take time and money which may not be readily available to unemployed actors.



Representative Walter

Whether or not the union acts against these members, their careers in broadcasting are surely over. It is safe to say that sponsors and networks will refuse to hire them now. Moreover, their usefulness in open union politics is also at an end. Among their ranks are some who have been active leaders in the fight against the blacklist within AFTRA but from here on in they would be handicaps to a cause, rather than of help to it. Whatever their political affiliations may be or may have been, however noble or ignoble their motives in refusing to answer the well-known question, they have been destroyed.

The completeness of that destruction can only be a source of great encouragement to Aware and its allies; it is also sure to discourage and intimidate some of blacklisting's opponents. Whatever hope there is for improvement must lie with the great middle group. The big majority in AFTRA and outside it in the broadcasting industry are not witchhunters nor are they pro-Communists. Informed and aroused they and they alone could restore to broadcasting some reasonable measure of sanity and human decency.

DRAGON'S TEETH IN KOREA

Rhee Dreams of War . . *by O. Edmund Clubb*

PRESIDENT Syngman Rhee's recent private war against the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission did not achieve its immediate objective—the August 13 deadline passed, and the Czech and Polish members of the commission remain in South Korea. American troops suffered an assortment of bruises and indignities, but none was killed. It still remains to be seen whether by his latest tactics Rhee has furthered his real aim—war.

Syngman Rhee's martial alarums and excursions are hardly news; even the attack on the Supervisory Commission lacked the virtue of novelty. More than a year ago—July 30, 1954—Lt. General Won Yong Duk, Provost General of the Republic of Korea (ROK) Army, warned the Czech and Polish members of the commission to leave Korea "immediately" or suffer the "inevitable consequences." On March 19 of this year, the ROK Foreign Minister asked the United States to give Seoul a free hand in ousting the Communist members. It was only another move in a long campaign when the ROK Chiefs of Staff on July 26, the eve of the second anniversary of the Korean truce, threatened independent action unless the United States and the United Nations immediately got the Czechs and Poles out of the country.

The political "build-up" followed rapidly. Midnight of August 13 was fixed as the deadline date for the Czech-Pole departure. On August 2 Seoul demanded Communist withdrawal from the area south of the 38th Parallel allocated to North Korea under the truce agreement of July 27, 1953. South Korea has a much larger area north of the line than North Korea has on the south.) On August 9, the chairman of the ROK Joint Chiefs of Staff and the army Chief of Staff called upon the United States "to recognize that the truce has ended and to resume the fighting for our unification before we are left alone." The so-called "popular" demonstrations reached their peak with the stoning of American forces guarding the Supervisory Commission. It was just two hours before midnight of August 13 that Rhee announced a postponement of the deadline "for a few days more."

Taking General Won's 1954 argument as typical, the South Korean position is that "the movements of those [Czech and Polish] members under the guise of the commission are very undesirable for military reasons and eventually would endanger the security of our country." Rhee's primary concern is obviously not with the Czechs and Poles per se. They are mere symbols of a situation to which he objects fundamentally, forcefully, and consistently. When the U. N. Command in October 1950 decided to cross the 38th Parallel to achieve the unification of Korea by force of arms, it sowed a crop of dragon's teeth that are now sprouting to harass American policy in northeast Asia. Rhee was then given a glimpse of the Promised Land—all Korea, under his rule. So he bitterly opposed the truce in the first instance, believing that his ambition could be achieved only by military means, and he has since steadily maneuvered to cause the United States to resume the war.

Rhee was bound by the truce and related agreements to keep the peace but he has levied heavy tribute. He accepted the truce only after being promised a mutual-defense pact with the United States and after wide agreement regarding "collaboration along political, economic, and defense lines"—in the words of the Rhee-Robertson communique of July 12, 1955. The United States promised him a billion-dollar rehabilitation program, $200,000,000 available at once. American aid to the little country in fiscal year 1955 totalled $700,000,000—$250,000,000 for the ROK economy and $450,000,000 for the military program. Earmarked for South Korea in 1956 is $628,000,000 more. The U. N. to date has allocated $120,000,000 (65 per cent of it American money) to ROK economic rehabilitation. South Korea enjoys the biggest individual aid program in the world today. And always the Seoul government demands more.

The American effort in the military area has been costly but effective. Article 13(d) of the armistice agreement provided that the two sides should "cease the introduction into Korea of reinforcing combat aircraft, armored vehicles, weapons, and ammunition," except on a piece-for-piece replacement basis. President Rhee complains often—and no doubt correctly—that the North Korean army is being substantially strengthened; he warns darkly that South Korea is in deadly peril. As for the ROK forces, the New York *Times* of June 10 reported that since the armistice the United States had contributed $720,000,000 in military aid to South Korea. 'For its part, the Republic of Korea has raised an army of 661,000 well-trained, well-armed [men] . . . a small air force that will soon be armed with jet fighters, and a navy of 13,000 men and forty ships that is taking over from United Nations' naval forces the task of patrolling Korea's long coastline." On June 20, it was reported that the United States had delivered to the ROK air force its first jet planes—Sabrejets—and that by an agreement signed the same day South Korea would receive at least three squadrons of American fighters in the coming year. The North Korean army may be a menace, but the ROK army is rated as the fourth largest in the world.

South Korea is in reality a minnow among leviathans. It has a population of about 19,000,000, as compared with Japan's 88,000,000, the

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O. EDMUND CLUBB, a retired American Foreign Service Officer, spent twenty years in Far Eastern posts.

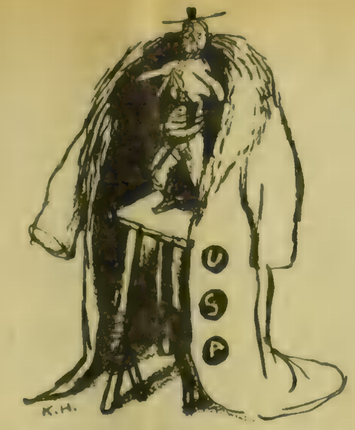
U. S. S. R.'s 200,000,000, and China's 600,000,000. It cannot in practical terms justify the maintenance of an army of 661,000 men. Rhee's army and his policies are geared to a war that failed to come off. Short of a war in partnership with the United States which would, by hypothesis, leave a Greater Korea dominant among the smoking ruins of China, Russia, and Japan, Rhee's regime has no great future.

The United States cannot choose South Korea in preference to Japan and India, both regarded with implacable hostility by Syngman Rhee; it cannot abandon its coalition with the British Commonwealth and France to take up Seoul's torch of "liberation."

On August 15, after Peking had already condemned the demonstrations against the Supervisory Commission, both the Chinese and North Korean premiers addressed themselves to the overall Korean problem. Chou En-lai called for an international conference to seek a "peaceful solution," and Kim Il Sung urged that one conference be held between the North and South Korean governments while another, with "broad participation of Asian countries," should "seek the peaceful unification of Korea."

THE SEOUL government immediately manifested serious apprehensions. ROK government spokesman Dr. Hongkee Karl said that "Any discussion with [the] puppet regime in North Korea is out of question until the Chinese Reds have withdrawn from this country." Syngman Rhee on August 15 hit at people who ask "not how to deal with Communist aggression but how to preserve peace." He proposed that the free world abandon its drift toward new relations with the Communist bloc and "immediately" roll the Iron Curtain back from the areas overrun by communism, and—to make certain that there be no misunderstanding—he demanded that the Chinese withdraw from North Korea and the North Korean army be disbanded.

Secretary of State Dulles, in his news conference of August 16, disregarded Seoul's bellicosity but "noted with interest" that the North Korean and Chinese premiers had apparently taken up the idea that unification of Korea should be sought only by peaceful means. He



added that there seemed as yet no indication that those leaders were prepared "to do the one thing which seems necessary to unite Korea peacefully: that is, to have a nation-wide election which would be supervised by the United Nations. . . . That is a very simple thing that they could say. Then the unification of Korea could, I think, rather readily be brought about."

Mr. Dulles expressed doubt that the Supervisory Commission as at present constituted serves "any useful purpose" in North or South Korea, and reported that there had been recent discussions with the Swiss and Swedes "and also with the other sixteen members of the United Nations Command who are interested in the topic." The indications are that when the U. N. General Assembly opens its September session, Washington, heedful of Seoul's desires, will make an issue of North Korean truce violations, point to the alleged ineffectiveness of the Supervisory Commission, and call for its reconstitution or abolition.

But it is possible that the Communists plan further moves of their own. Pyongyang, Peking, and Moscow are surely not unmindful that the 1954 Geneva talks broke down on the issue of U. N. supervision of elections in Korea. The North Korean position at Geneva was that new elections should be held throughout the country under supervision of a neutral commission; it objected to U. N. supervision. Seoul's position was more radical: it proposed the holding of free elections, under U. N. supervision, *in North Korea only,* to fill 100 seats reputedly waiting for North Korean representation in the ROK Assembly. Only the United States supported this position at the conference. In the end the conference deadlocked on the ambiguous proposition that "genuinely free elections should be held under United Nations supervision." The phrase "United Nations supervision" was enough to stop the North Koreans. The "nation-wide election . . . supervised by the United Nations" now stipulated by Dulles takes in territory where Rhee has not heretofore permitted challenge to his mandate.

Seoul's own recent maneuver poses basic questions. If the Supervisory Commission were to depart, who would then be responsible for preserving the peace? Would our U. N. allies (not to mention the North Koreans and Chinese) be willing to have their responsibility delegated to the U. N. Command (in effect, to the United States) without their own participation in decision-making? Would the U. N.'s treasured peace be exposed at last to the dictate of Syngman Rhee, with his warlike aims and incessant saber-rattling? Any proposal to abolish the Supervisory Commission, which at this moment has a counterpart at work in Indo-China, would not go unchallenged by Asian and Arab states if that move threatened to enhance the danger of war. Agreed reorganization is one thing; "unilateral measures to terminate an international contract" as demanded by Rhee, would be quite another.

IT IS quite possible that, when the U. N. Assembly meets this month, some Asian proposition in the spirit of the Bandung conference will be introduced to counter Rhee's moves toward war. Also, the Communist attitude toward the U. N. has changed radically in the past year. Instead of stressing the former theme that the U. N. acted in Korea as a "belligerent," the Communist states will now support the bid of additional Asian states for U. N. membership. And here history is suggestive: Chou En-lai in March 1953 shifted a previous Communist position, thereby making possible a resumption of truce negotiations; and in January 1954, after a breakdown at Panmunjom in December, the Communists made the move that revived negotiations for the Korean political conference.

It must be considered possible, then, that a new Communist concession lies ready behind their present *demarche.* The Communists are in no especial hurry in Korea, but perhaps they now consider the situation in Asia to have shifted in their favor. If their present move turns out to be a gambit to introduce their acceptance of U. N.-supervised elections for all Korea, or if they were to counter an American proposal to dump the Supervisory Commission overboard with a plan to give the commission a more Asian complexion, the United States might once more find itself in an awkward position in Asia. For all the sweetness and light that have entered into world relations since April of this year, the Communists remain quite ready to trip up the United States—especially in northeast Asia. President Syngman Rhee, by continuing to beat his war-drums, is giving them a valuable assist.

THOMAS MANN RODE FORTH

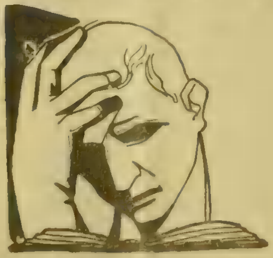
The Cost of Greatness . . *by Lion Feuchtwanger*

IN THE first year of this century Thomas Mann sprang into German literature, completely matured, as Minerva did from the brow of Jupiter. At the age of twenty-two he had started on his great novel, "Buddenbrooks"; at twenty-five he published it.

There is scarcely a book among the early works of any great writer that shows so much maturity and detachment. The gift of observation is astounding, and the mastery of the artistic medium is of a perfection usually attained only after decades. The basic attitude of the book, too, is rather that of an older man. It describes the decline of a family; the older generation is still sturdy and stands unequivocally by tested principles. The younger generation is weak and unstable, poetically inclined, meditative, and susceptible to intellectual and artistic influences. Viewed as a whole, "Buddenbrooks" is a parable of vast dimensions illustrating the wisdom of Goethe's words: "He who acts is always without conscience; conscience is only for the contemplative spirit."

To contemplate and to meditate is better than to act: this was Thomas Mann's *weltanschauung,* and he voiced his skepticism of the uncompromising man of action. He still held this principle in "The Magic Mountain." In his essay on Schopenhauer he gave it theoretical form.

Gradually, however, after Germany's defeat in World War I and during the years of the Weimar Republic, Mann's attitude changed. Most men are radicals when young, and turn conservative with age. With Thomas Mann, the more he experienced, the younger he became, and as his age increased, so did his desire for action. He, of all people, would have had the right to point to his previous political credo and to withdraw from the confusion of the time into the ivory tower of his art and his contemplation. This he did not do. He rejected the practical but unprincipled attitude which would have assured him a quiet life and a rich harvest. He stepped out of his ivory tower. And, whereas the world of the youthful Thomas Mann was the idyllic, patrician Luebeck of the nineteenth century, he now selected as the setting for his last major work, "Doctor Faustus," the inferno that was Europe of World War II, and analyzed in an audacious and sometimes reckless manner all the events of his time.



He did not confine himself to the medium of his own art to express what he had to say. The aging Thomas Mann strode out into the market places and spoke up. He fought actively for his heretical opinions: with lectures, with challenging pronouncements, with the electrifying effect of his personal participation.

It cost him many an inner struggle to decide upon this course of action. He had always been preoccupied with the problem of the writer and his attitude toward everyday politics. For a long time he even nursed the idea of writing a novel about Erasmus of Rotterdam, the great scholar of the Reformation, who all his life had anxiously avoided taking an unequivocal stand either for the Pope or for Luther.

Thomas Mann had grown up in the *l'art pour art* philosophy of the late nineteenth century. He had been spoiled at an early age by world-wide fame and was not impervious to criticism. In America after World War II anyone who expressed unpopular political opinions had to expect violent abuse. But Mann, like his friend Albert Einstein, considered it his duty to speak up clearly whenever his world, our world—the free world of thought and imagination—appeared to be threatened. He spoke for peace and humanity. With a smile he would quote the words that Albrecht Duerer had called out to Erasmus: "Ride forth, Erasmus. You are a decrepit old man. I know you, because I painted you. For God' sake, ride forth!"

Thomas Mann rode forth and he had to pay the price. It is true that many people in America appreciated his stand. The young intellectuals looked up to him, and leading universities showered him with honors. But the demagogues mounted "smear attacks" against him, and his

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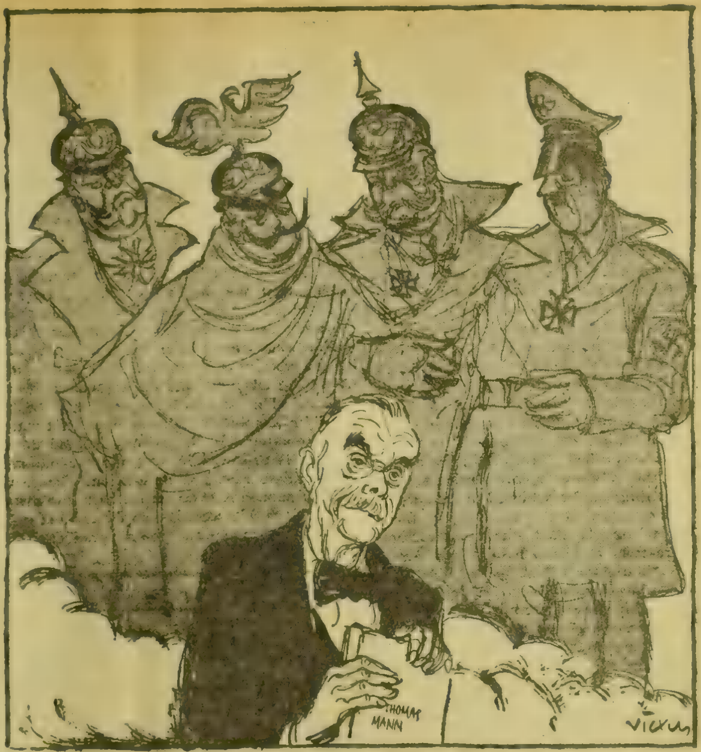
LION FEUCHTWANGER, famous novelist and, like Thomas Mann, an exile from Hitler's Germany, now lives in California.

"creative mood was oppressed by the political atmosphere of the country." He loved California, its people, and the house he had built there, and he knew how good California's climate was for his health. But the sensitive artist could not bear the political climate of the McCarthy years. He fled to Europe to resume his productive work. He frequently wrote me how much he missed California's climate.

In Europe he was revered as an elder statesman. Peoples and governments regarded him as the ambassador of literature. He assumed this role with a degree of reluctance; one might say it was imposed upon him by people, by events, by his own conscience. He, who was first and foremost an artist, came to recognize as he grew older what his brother Heinrich had proclaimed decades earlier: human relationships are drenched with politics, and the writer cannot depict a truthful picture of the world if he ignores the troubled waters of politics.



Vicky in The New Statesman and Nation (London)

The Other Germans

IT IS astounding—and, for the friends of Thomas Mann, a source of happiness—that in aging not only his awareness but also his creative power continued to grow. The Thomas Mann of exile and eventual return was more productive than the earlier Thomas Mann in his homeland. During these last twenty years, apart from numerous works, he wrote the playfully serene legend of the holy sinner Gregorius, and the cheerfully meditative picaresque novel about Krull, the confidence man. Above all, however, he created the four great "Joseph" novels and the epic parable, "Doctor Faustus."

The creative change in Thomas Mann occurred at a time when, after a long life of stability, he was thrown into the turbulence of exile. Two qualities then appeared that made him stronger and greater, even though he had been uprooted: one, his poetic excitement over any change—even toward evil; and, two, his inner consistency at every stage of the change.

One is astonished to see how much even the first of the great works written in exile, the monumental tetralogy of "Joseph," resembles the early "Buddenbrooks," and yet how different it is. The tone of the four "Joseph" novels and of "The Buddenbrooks" is the same: gentle, mildly ironic, tenderly balanced. But just as Joseph in Egypt is different from Joseph in the desert, and yet remains the same—just as he enriched his knowledge, absorbing it without changing himself—Thomas Mann's diction in exile became vaster, more ramified, and more subtly expressive. In spite of its wealth of imagery, the language of "Buddenbrooks" would assuredly have been inadequate to transpose the Bible story into Thomas Mann's narrative, which in all its simplicity can be read on many levels, illumining all recesses of the human soul. The vocabulary of "Joseph" is vastly richer than that of the earlier masterpiece. The constant contact with a foreign language has influenced the writer's diction, but the tone in which these events are presented—the final inner reserves with which this immense material has been mastered—has remained the same.

From behind the features of Joseph, as from behind those of Consul Buddenbrook and Hans Castorp, appears the face of the writer himself. He presents himself, both inwardly and outwardly, with compelling honesty and charm through the medium of his characters. He presents himself with his great gifts, his happiness, and his amiable weaknesses, on which to some extent he prides himself. To allow one's own ego to flow so spontaneously into an imaginary character—this could be done only by someone who had to assimilate ever-new faces and happenings in a foreign environment, a man who by the "cruel grace of destiny" was constantly forced to regard himself in the strange and gigantic mirror of an unfamiliar world.

One of the wonderful things about Mann at the age of seventy-six was that he was able to elaborate on his "Krull" in a manner that was fresher, younger, and more meaningful than the original work.

WE have heard admiring—and, on the other hand, sometimes carping—comparisons between the diction of Thomas Mann and the aging Goethe. Needless to say, there are superficial similarities. The perplexing fact, however, is that the style of the young Thomas Mann is far more closely related to the older Goethe than it is to the language of the older Thomas Mann. The language of the "Joseph" tetralogy shows far more originality than any of Mann's earlier works, and the verbal artistry of "Doctor Faustus" belongs to Thomas Mann alone.

The writing of this novel is the ultimate in subtlety. Thomas Mann uses different styles, carefully justified both inwardly and outwardly, spreading shadow and light over the events—a creative twilight. Writing a prose subtler than that of any other German, he makes events and human beings real and surreal by the very sound of his words. Thomas Mann's ability to make one hear the unique and nonexistent music of his hero is a triumph of creative writing. Provocative discussions of musical theory, brilliant use of Duerer's Apocalypse, poetical description of the sounds themselves as well as of their effect—all this makes the reader feel and hear the fictitious oratorio as if he were sitting in the concert hall.

THOMAS MANN, the man and the poet, had a rich, fulfilled, and happy life. After his return he was permitted to see that the two hostile German camps were unanimous in their understanding and praise of his work, recognizing him as the *praeceptor Germaniae*.

The last thing he wrote—the beautiful inner-depth-ring of his Schiller speech—was the crowning of his life's work. West Germany, where Schiller was born, had called on him to celebrate the poet's anniversary. The East, where Schiller had lived, did the same. Thomas Mann, the octogenarian, responded to both calls. It was his last privilege: to do something for the unification of Germany, in the name of the great liberal poet, Schiller.

SOVIET PLAYWRIGHTS

A Burst of Candor . . *by Alexander Werth*

Paris

AMONG Soviet playwrights the handsome Alexander Korneichuk holds an exceptional place. His latest play, "The Wings," which has been playing in hundreds of Soviet theaters during the last few months and which was attended, at its first performance at the Maly Theater, by the major leaders of party and government, is certainly a landmark in the recent evolution of the Soviet Union. Korneichuk is no great writer but he has a keen feel for "topicality," a gift of lively dialogue, and a nice—typically Ukrainian—sense of humor. What is still more important, he has his moments of "non-conformism." And this is what makes the case of Korneichuk exceptionally interesting, for the Soviet leaders have, time and again, made use of him for legitimizing, as it were, a variety of "dangerous thoughts," and for starting public discussions on subjects until then considered taboo.

The most famous case was that of the Korneichuk wartime play, "The Front." Suddenly, in September 1942, just before the battle of Stalingrad, and while the whole of Russia was anxiously watching the German armies penetrating deeper and deeper into the Caucasus and toward the Lower Volga and the Caspian, *Pravda* proceeded to publish, day after day, the complete text (this had never happened before) of a play by Korneichuk called "The Front." Shortly afterwards, in hundreds of theaters, including the Moscow Art Theater with the great Moskvin in the principal role, Korneichuk's drama was presented to the public.

The play depicted the conflict between two types of Russian generals—General Gorlov, the old "war horse," a hero of the Civil War of 1918-19, speaking of the Russian soldier's bravery as the supreme guarantee of final victory but understanding practically nothing about modern warfare, and young General Ognyov, a highly skilled modern soldier, unwilling to undertake any military operation without having first employed careful reconnaissance to find out all about the enemy's strategy, equipment, and effectives. It was said in Moscow at the time that the theme of the play had been suggested to Korneichuk by Stalin himself, and that Gorlov (depicted without much malice) was intended as a caricature of Timoshenko, Budyenny, and Voroshilov, who had all done badly in the campaign of 1941 and might be partly responsible for the latest setbacks. General Ognyov represented the "new" type of Soviet General—the future victors of Stalingrad—Zhukov, Vassilevsky, Rokossovsky, and so forth.

Now again Korneichuk has been allowed to exercise his *enfant terrible* qualities in "The Wings." Unlike "The Front," the chief conflict in the new work is commonplace and has been the subject of dozens of other plays and novels in recent years. "The Wings" presents the clash between Dremluga, head of the Regional Executive Committee, a lazy and incapable bureaucrat under whose management the agriculture of the area goes to pieces, and the energetic, capable new regional party chief, Romodan, whose technical skill and administrative ability triumph in the end over the obsolete methods, or lack of method, of Dremluga. (Dremluga, by the way, is also an important personage in the Communist regime, a member of the Ukrainian Central Committee.)

Some of the dialogue between the vague, happy-go-lucky Dremluga and the precise and methodical Romodan in "The Wings":

> ROMODAN: War, war. You keep talking about the consequences of war, as if they were responsible for all the mess around. Hadn't you

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> better tell me how many cows died of hunger in the last year?
>
> DREMLUGA: About 4,500.
>
> ROMODAN: Don't say "about." Give me the exact figures.
>
> DREMLUGA (calling his assistant): Philip! Philip, you've got a good memory for figures. Tell us how many cows died of hunger in the last year.
>
> PHILIP: 5,410 cows, 6,520 pigs, as for sheep . . .
>
> DREMLUGA: That'll do, Philip. I only asked you about the cows . . .

Like General Gorlov in the wartime play, Dremluga, the big party chief, is surrounded by boot-lickers who never dare contradict him. But this part of Korneichuk's new play is the least interesting, if only because the much vaunted agricultural reforms, which are loudly praised by Romodan, already belong to the "Malenkov era" and have proved inadequate.

The chief interest of the play is not in the main theme, but in some of the secondary dialogues. These contain wisecracks of a sort inconceivable in any Soviet play two years ago. For instance, the fun Korneichuk makes of the Marxist mumbo-jumbo of officially sponsored lectures; and, more important still, the bitter comments on the manner in which the police system under the Stalin regime has poisoned so many personal relations. Here, to illustrate the first point, is a conversation between Romodan, the go-ahead modern leader, and Ovcharenko, the third secretary of the regional party committee, who prefers to keep "on the safe side."

> ROMODAN: Why are the cows yielding so little milk?
>
> OVCHARENKO: As regards the sterility of cows, it must be observed that, according to Pavlov, our great Soviet scientist . . . .
>
> ROMODAN: Yes, that's fine. We all know that Pavlov was a great scientist and all that; but believe me, dear comrade, it is really no use crawling on your belly in front of Pavlov whenever a cow is mentioned. Also if, on every slightest occasion, you bang your head against the floor out of respect for Pavlov, you'll end by cracking your skull. It would be much wiser to call together the women working on the dairy farm, and ask for some information . . . .

Then, in the third act, there is a lecture given by the same Ovcharenko to the staff of the machine-tractor station.

> OVCHARENKO: Under communism there will be a distribution of labor. In his standard work, "The Fundamental Characteristics of Communism," Comrade Nudnik [the name means something like "crashing bore"] has made a profound analysis of the principles discovered by that clear-sighted genius, the creator of Marxism, Karl Marx. (He reads) "Under communism, man will not suffer from the warts of capitalism . . ."
>
> AN OLD WOMAN: Warts? What causes warts, did you say?
>
> OVCHARENKO: You will ask your questions later . . . . Under communism, we shall be rid of all of the vices of the past—jealousy, envy, avarice, profit. There will be no trade based on money. There will be no state. There will be no armies. There will be no more . . .
>
> KOROVAI (a peasant): Comrade lecturer, excuse me for interrupting you; but what will there be under communism?
>
> OVCHARENKO: I don't understand the point of your question.
>
> KOROVAI: What about work days?
>
> THE OLD WOMAN: That's right. And how much will they pay?
>
> OVHARENKO: There will be no work days under communism.
>
> KOROVAI: But what will there be?
>
> OVCHARENKO: There will be a special form for satisfying the needs of the population.
>
> KOROVAI: But this special form, will it be paid in kilos or in money?
>
> A YOUNG TRACTOR DRIVER: Will there be plenty of suits of navy-blue cheviot under communism?
>
> A PEASANT WOMAN: And what will you do with the drunks?
>
> A VOICE: They'll be getting free vodka.

Still more surprising are the passages in the play denouncing the police terror of the past. The question is directly related to the principal character in the play, Romodan. In the area to which he has been appointed as party secretary, he meets his former wife, a woman doctor, and his 18-year-old daughter. He had abandoned his wife when she was arrested by the police just after the war for having allegedly collaborated with the Germans. In reality, she was completely innocent and was, indeed, released in six months, after her friends had intervened on her behalf on many occasions. Nevertheless, Romodan found the whole business highly awkward for himself, and he did not return to his wife. Here then is the crucial dialogue between him and his newly rediscovered wife:

> ANNA: Yes, I was in prison for six months. You knew it. After that I was released. Why talk about it? It's all over. . . . Truth triumphed in the end. Even the man who threatened me with a concentration camp, the regional chief of the MVD, is now in jail. The day after the arrest of Beria, they arrested him and, I am told, took him by plane all the way to Moscow.
>
> ROMODAN: Yes, he belonged to the same gang.
>
> ANNA: Need we talk about it at all? When you returned from the front, and when the head of the MVD showed you the anonymous letters denouncing me as a German collaborator, you did not intervene. You merely asked them to "make quite sure" and then you went off to Kiev. . . . Fortunately, there were some other people who weren't afraid, and they intervened in my behalf. They found masses of people whom I had saved from deportation. The Germans compelled me to work not only at the hospital, but also at the labor exchange . . . .
>
> ROMODAN: Yes, I know. For my own part, I went and humiliated myself before the Secretary of the Central Committee. I wept. In my presence he phoned up the gangster . . . .
>
> ANNA: And what did that one say?
>
> ROMODAN: He said it was a very confused case, and would require a lengthy inquiry. . . . Anna, I suffered a great deal. My faith in you had been shaken. Those were hard times. Not that that is an excuse for me. . . . But just think for how much evil, for how much suffering, for how many tears that gang was responsible. But they put sticking-plaster on our eyes. And we firmly believed every word they said.
>
> ANNA: Yes, they hurt—hurt the big, and hurt the small. Let's thank the Central Committee with all our hearts. . . . Never, never shall this nightmare come back.
>
> ROMODAN: No, never.

Needless to say, there follows the "happy ending": Anna forgives Romodan, and Lydia, the daughter, "recognizes" her father, having refused to have anything to do with him after he had deserted her mother through the fault of the "gangsters." A play like this is a good sign, to say the least.

TOWARD A NEW RADICALISM

The Will to Change . . *by Waldo Frank*

The Nation of June 19, 1954, carried an article by Waldo Frank on The Anti-Communist Peril which aroused as much interest and discussion among our readers as any article of the last few years. Many readers wrote to us, and to Mr. Frank, urging that he write a sequel in which he would describe the attitudes that should shape and underline modern-day politics. Toward a New Radicalism is the result. In a later issue, David Thomson, Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, England, under the title Is Democracy Scientific? will consider another set of basic political attitudes.

THE physical threat to our world we are not likely to ignore. Frailty, fear, and pride, fermenting to the angers of Russia, America, and China, might suddenly rise to a heat beyond endurance—and the bombs burst. Our physical peril is even more immense, for no one knows what mutants the radiation in the air might bring into the exquisite genetic harmonies of man. But we live in subtler perils; and in order not to see them we stare at the obvious with hysterical relief, arguing about "fall-out" and the evacuation of cities. Preparedness for a war too dread to be started by either side may deter war—although history makes this doubtful. Let us grant it: let us say there will be no all-out war. We live already in an obsession of preparedness for war which is a state of siege, a shut magnetic field to which every resource, economic, intellectual, moral, and aesthetic, must conform or vanish. By melodramatizing this condition and dating it "1984" we blind ourselves to its immediate presence.

Scholars are puzzled by the swift decay, from within, of the Maya culture; one cause is thought to have been the need of this profound and peaceful nation, blooming in the jungle, to defend itself against warlike neighbors. In militarization, long before actual assault, the values, the personality, of the Maya may have atrophied and died. The militarization of the United States has become a permanent trend. But if the American qualities we have most treasured are symbolized by such heroes as Jefferson and Lincoln, Thoreau and Whitman, it becomes clear that a basic change had begun within us long before a genocidal weapon and a rival made us afraid.

The thermonuclear bomb did not "just happen"; world communism did not "just happen." Our Western civilization collaborated to produce them, as it produced the science and the machine which created the new nature in which we live—a nature which is our *will* objectified, and which threatens by subtler means than bombs to overwhelm us. Therefore what we fear, and feel the desperate need of defending ourselves from, is a complex result of drives within us. But if this is true, the *enemy* is within us; and any military or political method which ignores this premise cannot possibly bring the right conclusion.

OUR cities are not yet rubble; we can still parley with the Russians and Chinese. But what of our capacity to *identify our inward peril?* We observe already the decay in the American people of that metaphysical impulse "to know" which Aristotle found to be the essential human trait; the reign of mediocrity in every realm from politics to education; the regimentation of ethic and opinion without need of the police; the prostitution of our folk arts, less to commercialism than to license and the anesthesias of self-indulgence; the shrinkage of the experience, even of the concept, of the self to fractional, functional figments—"economic man," "societal man," "ego-id man," and the like. Since man is still man, this alienation unconsciously frustrates him. Impotence spurs the destructive, inspires the masked masochist, the less well-hidden sadist. We are appalled by the rise of hoodlumism and juvenile delinquency, by the cult of horror "comics"; but we do not see their relation to a foreign policy based on "foreign devils" and to an ethic of exhortation that runs counter to our way of life.

Politics is always a fruit of the condition of the people, registered no less sensitively in its psychology than in its economics. To be creative, politics must move by insights which, as Plato knew, are closer to the folk's "music"—he meant religion—than to its laws. Obviously, if our politics has become the indulger, the abettor, the apologist, of the shrinkage of the American spirit, it cannot save us. Obviously, the politics we need is one that will know the causes of our perilous ebb.

A World That Is Dying

THE first fact for it to know is that the world in which we were all born is dying. Dying in its ancient Eastern phases over which the Vedantists and Buddha, Confucius and Lao Tzu presided. Dying in its modern Western phase of individualist faith and will. The Communists know this, and it is a source of their strength—although much of their values and methods belongs to the world they condemn. But American statesmen spend their energies and voices, saving their minds, to deny it. A world dies because it has begun to live in values—*values produced by it*—which demand a much different structure. "The barbarian invasions," writes R. H. Barrow in "The Romans," "were neither catastrophic and sudden nor destructive and disruptive. Rome never fell; she turned into something else. . . ."—something integrally related, despite Spengler and Arnold Toynbee, his Sunday school revisionist, to what Rome had been.

You will find the sources of the attitudes which led to the atom bomb, to the nation as arbiter and regimented defender of truth, in the theological battles of the Council of Nicaea (*A. D.* 325). You will find there also the seeds of human freedom which were to move men, centuries later, to master the external world through science and to propose democratic liberty on earth. What you will not find in the age of the Council of Nicaea is a world where the machine could be actualized, a world where the conditions existed for transporting democracy to earth from heaven. Wherefore, the world of Nicaea, having flourished and borne fruit, *because of its fruit* needed to disappear.

THE process of machine production, under any creed or system, creates collectivism. Who will control the collectivism? How can the control be brought to gear with the freedom of groups, with the fulness of man? These, not the vain beating back of the tide, are the kinds of questions for which we must find political answers. Not our two parties, nor the First or the Second or the Third or the Fourth International, dreamed of asking them. Obviously, the answers cannot be valid, the questions cannot even be put, unless our political methods are formed by inquiries into man's nature, his emotional and intellectual nutrition, into the character of the world's majority hemisphere, and so on. These are subjects transcending American politics? Subjects for psychology, esthetics, history, religion? They must *subsume* our politics if politics means action and if we are to act against our clear and present danger.

If this claim scares us we have another sign of our shrinkage. For every political system in history has been based squarely upon the world view of a religion. Consider, as one example, our own state. Its premise of the democratic faith, voiced in the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, derives, indirectly, from the religion of Christ and the Hebrew prophets, from their concept of man, of his worth, of his responsibility to his brothers and his relation with God; above all, from their concept of *self* as potentially more than ego. From the standpoint of the practical citizen, the precepts of Jesus and Isaiah are "impossible." Yet this "impossibilism" energized and illumined the rise of the European cities, Magna Charta, the Federalist and Jeffersonian parties. (Of course there are other factors which had bearing on this complex process—notably, the science and economics of the epoch.) Christian doctrine, interpreted in Greek terms, also inspired the politics of feudalism, with its Aristotelian premise that some men by nature are slaves and with its neo-Platonic thesis that freedom could be achieved only in "heaven" and by denial of the earth. This merely stresses the one point I make here, which is that the vital power of politics, "good" or "bad," issues from insights and evaluations within the province of religious psychology and philosophy. In the case of a democratic doctrine these insights seem "impossible" against the background of conditions which the politics aims to alter; this "impossibilism" demands of its protagonists, today as yesterday, the passionate devotion we ascribe to saints and heroes.

NOW, a crucial distinction. The personal ethic of Jesus (or of Buddha), the social ethic of the Prophets (or of Solon), were "impossible" from the standpoint of "the old Adam"; but they were consonant with the cosmology, the philosophy, the social economy, and the anguish of their times. The current myths sustained them; the current needs cried out for them. They were impossible only in the sense of an infinite limit to a strict mathematical series. But new myths have superseded—the kind physicists compose into equations to measure galaxies and atoms. They have created a new chaos whose powers will destroy man unless he learns to make them serve him. Thus far they serve, not his self, but the lusts and fears of his ego.

In all earlier ages man possessed empirical technics safe in the hands of the child he was. His only technics for spiritual maturity were esoteric, not for the masses; but since his empirical technics were childlike he was safe. The situation has changed. We are still children, but in our infant hands are mature weapons—with no wisdom, shaped to our present circumstance, to teach us how to use them. We require for our crisis a set of "impossibles," harmonious with and responsive to our condition. Thus our public action, to have us, must be nourished by deep insights apposite and timely in form, and we cannot hope to find them directly in the forms of the conventional religions.

It is true none the less that the neo-orthodoxies have contributed much to reviving man's awareness of self—after two centuries of incredibly shallow psychology based on the almost universal creed that the lesser explains the greater. Kierkegaard and Dostoevsky, conformists in theology, radicals in psychology, with whom the professionals have not yet caught up, knew that the nature of man was being ignored by the planners of social revolution. Similar is the value of such moderns as Barth, Niebuhr, Tillich among the Protestants, Maritain and Mauriac in Catholicism, Rosenzweig and Buber among the Jews. (Probably the Eastern religions have analogous innovators; perhaps D. T. Suzuki, a Japanese disciple of Zen Buddhism, is among them.) These are men who recognize the intuitive treasure in the symbols—the permanent myths, to use Niebuhr's phrase, of classical religion. They are virtuosi at so adapting this treasure that it reveals insights for our age of science. But their methods can succeed only with the mentally agile —the simple neither know nor need them.

Ever more of the people will demand, as they awaken to their crisis, that their experience of relation with the universal take forms consonant with the symbols and products of science in which they pass their lives, and with the perspectives science has opened in history and cosmology. Fortunate are those who can transpose and live within the ancient myths, but their

field is shrinking. Our crisis has produced devoted men. But their devotion must lead them, not merely to be prepared to die, but *to know*—to know in terms of our present civilization.

THIS seems for politics an impossible requirement? Infinitely complex are the departments of our world, unwieldy even to the expert, even to the intellectual athlete. And political action in our day must be the people's. If, then, it must be based on expert knowledge of history, psychology, esthetics, and cosmology, what hope is there? None—unless the people become sensitized to basic facts, to underlying trends, within the bewildering scene. And this is not hopeless. One need not be a histologist to perceive the growth and pattern of a tree, or a chemist to fight or light a fire. What one needs is coordinated senses. To realize the causes and directions of our age, in forms true and dramatic, is still within our scope—and will be unless American imagination, fed on bad art, atrophy altogether. In every group there are imaginative minorities, and they are in touch with millions.

Let us take an example. N. Berdyaev, a Russian philosopher to whom softness toward the Bolsheviks cannot be ascribed, writes: "The Russian people are informed by an instinctive tendency to collectivism . . . which should not be understood primarily in political or sociological terms. It would be more accurate to speak of a tendency toward communism . . . implying . . . not a collection of people but their communion with one another." And he continues, "the social revolution . . . developed . . . under a world view primitive and obsolete." To understand this intellectually one would need to be versed in the mysticisms and messianisms of Hegel, Marx, and the Slav; in the mechanolatry induced by the successes of the physical scientists since Newton; in the Christian concept of the person and its corruption to the depersonalized will-drive of the modern West with its effect on the East; in the romantic psychology of Rousseau and its incidence, both good and baneful, on socialism; and finally, of course, in the history of Russia. An absurd assignment for the hurried voter, even if his attention were not debauched and benumbed by the hucksterings of his paper and TV.

Yet a certain intuitive, emotional knowledge of this complex situation can be awakened in him. He can know that communism from the Danube to the Pacific has become related to the oppressed peoples' thirst for social justice and *is related to his own religion.* He can know that an ideal he implicitly shares is betrayed by a police state, but that *betrayal is not the same as absence.* He can know that a people like his own, who have come to their present institutions through the Humanism, Renaissance, and Enlightenment of Europe, must not expect other peoples with other patterns of growth to conduct their political rebirth in the same forms. He can learn to understand the economic and political crudities of communism through the crushing need of overpopulous peoples for industrialization, lest they starve, and not to judge it within his own background of the American continent as it was two hundred years ago, vast in resources, almost empty of people, when the American process started. From such simple receptivity to facts would come a compassionate knowledge to transfigure the American's attitude and prepare him for good relations with Russia.

CHINA presents still more complexities beyond our average grasp: for instance, the convergence of the depersonalization implicit in Buddhism toward that of communism, the relation of the paternalistic ethic of the old Confucian empire to Soviet dogma. But any man can readily learn to feel the Asian scene as a vast war of independence, in which a Western doctrine is supported by ancient attitudes of mind and modern hungers. Then he will understand the outrage and fury with which the Chinese observe an American fleet in Formosan waters, and perhaps even learn to hear the laughter of the Chinese when we call their vast world "a satellite of Moscow." As to the alleged aggressiveness of Chinese and Russians, the wrong way to allay it, he can surely see, is to provoke it. And does history reveal facts more egregiously provocative than America's present policy in China (the Democrats share the sin of it with the Republicans), and that of the whole West, almost constantly since 1917 except for a brief interlude, toward Russia? A few facts about the huge populations of Asia and their vast need of machinery for the production of food and housing will teach him that in his lurid image of them as world aggressors he has become the dupe of his own fears, his own acquisitive lusts, and his bad conscience.

IT should be normal for the common intelligence of our country to remember that men need bread but do not live by bread alone; that their bodily hungers gather them into groups of which the nation is the most inclusive but that their need is also to establish their place in life itself—whence their religions and their arts; and that if conditions change the ancestral forms of this synthesis they will generate ideas to replace it. Any intelligent American can know this and apply it to half the world's population. But the acquisitive will of our culture, for purposes of its own, has set up an aggressive system which speaks to him every hour—his own aggressive will responding—to dull this knowledge and destroy it with legends of "satanism." The system, then, must be contravened by another. This is the main business—because the *beginning* business—of politics today in our country if politics is to be other than the submission it is now to the destructive forces almost unchallenged within us.

It is not an easy business. It means a change of attitude so fundamental that we shall look inward upon our egocentric relations in foreign policy, in arts, *mores*, and politics, with a shock of recognition. The Hindus said wisely, "Magic is a change of attitude." The possibility of health for us in the perils America confronts within its own life and the world's, hinges on this kind of "impossibility" and "magic."

The Immediate Imperatives

THE "magic" of a changed attitude is not to be won cheaply. There must be both the method and the will to achieve it, and the will of the American people is strongly set against it. Indeed, the idea of revolution, once our sacramental bread, has become our poison; and our tolerance of change goes only so far as we conceive it to be "more of the same."

There are very good reasons for this, which we can also understand. Both our institutions and our tastes developed without catastrophe within the culture we brought from Western Europe; corruption has been so inperceptibly mixed with values, so gradually benumbing and transforming, that we remain unaware of it within us. The "backward" peoples are more fortunate, for they see objectively what the egoisms of the machine age have wrought in its masters and upon themselves and are psychologically prepared for revolution. And Europe is better prepared, because its rubbled towns are a symbol of the necessity of change.

THE will to change in the United States must begin with the more sensitive and integrated among us. This term by no means includes most of the intellectuals whose complacence or masochist defeatism, whose escapism into a romanticized past or apologetics for the present dished up in pedantic terms that sound new, are quite the fashion. It by no means includes most of the democratic Socialists or ex-Socialists, passionately anti-Communist, who have not learned, even now, that their revolutionary movements collapsed, principally, because their concept of man as a mere social product could not win the devotion of living men and women. On the other hand, our term by no means excludes all men of what we call "the right." Among them are some certainly more receptive of the idea of basic change—perhaps they would call it conversion—than many liberals and radicals whose rigid and defunct psychology and basic values are products of the "bourgeois" world they condemn. The sensitive and sound must be prepared to meet the hostility of the sensitive and unsound, who are legion; to be alone—until they find each other, and until they have won allegiance and leadership among simple men and women unscathed by the latest styles. But we Americans are an ethical people, although now blinded by love of our ethic from seeing how it is being stultified. We are an idealistic people, although we have not learned how ideals and faith when divorced from the actual way we live become destructive. If we awake to our own facts, what is now energy for delusion will be capacity for creation.

The immediate imperative is that there be persons and groups of persons who see the facts, love life, and are methodically prepared to recreate their lives as prototypes for a nation, and a world, in which humane values can flourish. Whether such men regard themselves as political or religious is an option for the semanticist. They will clarify for themselves certain axioms which, beneath differences, unite them. When their *works* bring them into conscious relations with the public need, there will be action. It will not be a utopian end; it will be mere continuance of a beginning.

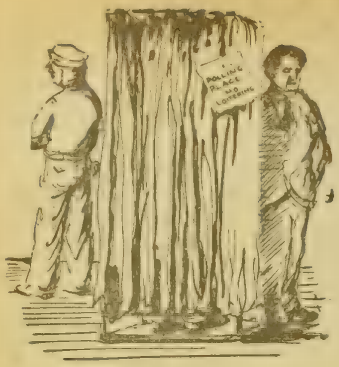
Here are some of the axioms:

a. There must be an end of our "ptolemaic" nationalism. By this term I mean the emotional behavior of every state as if it were the universe's center; as if all nations revolved around it; and as if its one absolute duty were to survive. America acts from this premise—and Russia and China—and Paraguay and Sweden, although of course none of them admit it. Its equivalent is the egocentricity, the egomania, of the child. At least in theory, individual man has outgrown it. It is axiomatic in every culture that a man risk his life, even give it up, when certain values demand it. One who is not prepared for this we call craven and despise. Certain absolute standards of conduct are expected of me and neither the vileness of others nor self-defense permits me to betray them. My failure to reach a "contract" with others for the abolition of vileness, with guaranties, does not excuse *my* vileness. And if my fear, which may be justified, moves me to endanger the community or to destroy a value in myself, I am a criminal and a coward. These norms have never been applied to nations, and we have survived for better or for worse. Today the nation which imperils the world because "the other fellow" is doing likewise or because it is afraid, or because no general pact against genocide is signed, is guilty without pardon. The world can no longer afford it.

WE reject Decatur's famous toast: "Our country! . . . may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong." We demand the unconditional conversion of our genocidal stockpiles. We believe that such action would cause an irresistible wind of health and hope to sweep through the whole world. But even if our decency be abused, we demand it. For we say bluntly that "life at any price" is as foul a principle for a people as for a person. With our genocidal preparations we are committing a crime that no caution and no crime by another, can condone.

b. There must be an end to the division of politics into left and right, false antitheses that hide the true lines of choice before us. And there must be an end to judging capitalism and the several forms of socialism primarily as economic systems. Economic collectivism is here; production, communication, consumption by the machine indifferently compel it—in capitalist America, in socialist Burma, in semi-socialist India and Britain, in communist Russia, in fascist Spain. The man who today conceives of "individual enterprise" and "rugged individualism" in economic terms is as cut off from the world as if stripped of his five senses. Capitalism must be judged primarily as an ethic and a culture. Yet this essence of capitalism is almost never named, even by its foes.

Capitalism stratifies, and glorifies, the ideal of competition within the somatic organs of society. It saturates the physiology of a nation's production, consumption, communication, with ego drives and with individuals and classes that represent these egos, endowing them with the whole weight and prestige of the social organism. This is the equivalent of an individual man whose organs—heart, lungs, metabolism, etc.—were in such constant conflict that he needed all his conscious



mind continuously to hold each to its duties. Such a man's brain would be enslaved to his somatic functions, would be so busy solving problems of digestion, circulation, elimination that he could never think, never create. All his conscious mind would be preoccupied with processes that should be autonomous and unconscious. The essence of socialist theory is to free the actual work of the social organs from the energies of strife and to release these energies for imaginative, creative action beyond the organic and in objective guidance of them as a whole. Socialist theory does not abolish competition or strife among men differing in talent and energy. It sublimates their rivalries by shifting the centers of value they strive for to service of the common need.

If the theory of socialist ethics is abstractly compared with the capitalist theory it is simple to call the first superior. And mere abuse of an ethic does not bar its presence. When Constantine's Rome became officially Christian, the fact that the emperor, who was a murderer, stultified Christian ethic did not prevent its spread within the people. We know, however, that under state communism or state socialism the people can be brutally tyrannized by a secular priesthood controlling every social organ, and that by exploitation of the values of socialism as the goal of a "crusade," the people can be launched into aggressive war. Militarization is one face of the constant danger of any collectivized economy; bureaucracy is the other. Both can appear in any system ruled by egocentric men. Both are as possible in a socialist as in a fascist or democratic state. Indeed, the danger becomes magnified as the society becomes more strictly integrated in its economic levels—which means that bureaucracy and militarization are more accessible in the socialized system than in capitalism simply because in capitalism the planned integration is bound to be less perfect. The potential evil of bureaucracy might destroy culture, even if militarization were abolished.

This is a problem not imagined by Marx and Lenin. The approach to it, which we must make in a hurry, is through methodic technics of education and through some of the solutions hinted at by anarcho-syndicalism. A new type of society administered by old types of egocentric men and groups would merely variate old dangers—in more virulent form. Syndicalism is the most neglected of the socialist theories. But here too we find the curse of Rousseauist psychology, which gave Marx the naive faith that when collectivism came, as he knew it must, it would be "good" because the people are "good." Socialism in all its aboriginal forms—of which communism is the crudest and syndicalism the most potential—must be transfigured by a dimension of depth. Like liberalism it can solve no problem of the corruption of power while it remains in bond to the false empiric rationalism which denies the insights of both the common man and of the high religions.

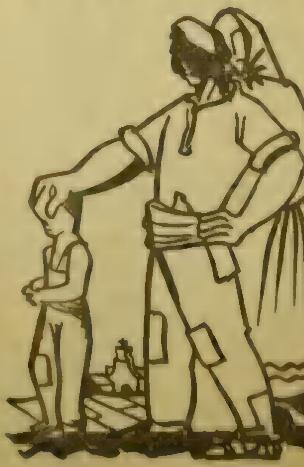
c. That hell is paved with good intentions is an old platitude—of which the apologists of both the capitalist and the Communist worlds seem never to have heard. Of course aspiration is not enough. Of course it must have method. Psychology and politics must come together to re-employ our culture's religious intuitions. This will mean no apocalyptic "end of days" but merely a continuance of life now threatened. To reach it, we must overcome our tradition of reliance on faith and exhortation. In medieval Europe and the early Reformation, faith unfortified by organic knowledge brought complacence and indifference concerning social injustice. "Justice is not of this earth, so why struggle toward it? Let a man have faith to save himself." In modern times faith has brought the illusion that natural man could achieve justice by exhorting love for his brother or by changing institutions. The whole story of the modern West—its reign has been brief—is that of a hypertrophy of technics applied to physical nature and the social forces of men, together with neglect of technics for the maturation and knowledge of man.

OF course it is impossible here to describe, even summarily, this central problem of re-creative technics. We come together through a shared, urgent attitude toward life and toward our country's role in it. But this attitude can be sustained and can grow only if it is constantly nourished by our specific conduct in personal and social relations. What we do will be determined by our place in the complex social structure and by our seeking to relate it and our infinitely more complex organisms as men and women—with life itself. Each of us, according to opportunity and taste, will choose among actions which we might classify roughly:

(1) Organized actions for peace, for changing our foreign policy, for refusal of military service, for disarmament and abolition of genocidal weapons, for world federations, and so on. This is the periphery of our effort—the nearest to mere exhortation, yet useful as propaganda.

(2) Organized actions for exposing and expounding the basic evils of our capitalist ethos as they appear daily in its cultural and personal fruits—which we are inclined to take for granted.

(3) Minority actions by members within their unions, churches, and other functional groups. Of course labor unions should protect the interests of members; scientists should exchange knowledge and clarify standards; Greeks and Jews should



defend their rights, nourish their traditions; villagers should form orchestras and produce plays; congregations should worship God in their individual idioms. But the consciousness of all such groups is the defensive and excluding one of our ethos, based on the rivalry of egos. Each group, as now psychologically set, ignores the nature of itself, hence ignores the nature of other groups, toward which it now looks in opposition, falsely. This cripples when it does not destroy the group's legitimate achievement. Perhaps this was what Whitman meant, in his line: "Only themselves understand themselves and the like of themselves." If the group where we work is intimate, a few lives within it, articulating the changed attitude, may subtly transform it. If the group is large and committed to a program of power, the task is more arduous.

(4) Detailed, positive criticism of our present education, now a hodgepodge of informations-*cum*-exhortation. In democratic school boards, library committees, and the like which still exist throughout the land, much may be done by individuals and small groups to make education a *Gestalt* within which the informations take their organic place—and must, for conscious persons to be nurtured.

(5) As the selective consumers of our arts and letters we decide indirectly what they shall be. Today we decide that they be soporifics, deodorants, titillators of surface sense, and feeders of neurosis. As consumers and critics we must consciously and aggressively revive the almost lost function of the arts as nurture for emotion and mind, as discovery of the experience of the real, as organisms for cognition. There are many creative artists in America. The chief bankruptcy is in the criticism, which lacks—almost unanimously—the axioms for judgment.

(6) The tacit, causal metaphysical assumptions in modern science have been noted by Whitehead and many others. The central science for our political purposes is psychology. And Western psychology continues to be framed by an anti-metaphysical dogma which makes it sterile. How can the science of psychology bring forth the facts of man's nature if it accepts a premise, slavishly borrowed from nineteenth-century positivism, which excludes whole dimensions of that nature? If seventeenth-century physicists had accepted the equally rigid positivism of the medieval Schoolmen they would not have begun their work. Psychology more than any other discipline can help to develop technics for man's liberation. But first psychology must be liberated.*

(7) All the great cultures have practiced personal technics for the discovery and mastery of the self. For example, the 606 commandments of the Jews were a methodology for making Jehovah the constant presence of every intimate moment of every Jew's waking hours; the Indian technics—Yoga, Buddhism, Tantra, and rest—on the other hand are esoteric methods for destroying the person and transcending the Maya in which the individual is submerged. Every methodic psychological technic is formed by the purpose to which men put it: which is to say that the technics of the East, serving the purposes of the East, cannot be adequate for our different world. But personal psychological technics, *in our terms*, are compulsory for us. Only by them can the true contents of the self be known and activated against the egoism which is the source of all evil, the evil end of all undirected good. For us theology becomes methodology. This is certain: the old words, such as God, self, state, revelation, knowledge, faith, must be redefined if we retain them.

If tomorrow morning we find ourselves blown up we have the comfort of knowing that our problems vanish. We must support every effort against war and for survival. But if we survive, the suggestions of such a long-range program as I have ventured to sketch—a program of "impossibles" to create a world in which man may live and grow, a program of the "magic" of changed attitude to humanize our machine jungle—will, in our pursuit of it, be the sole basis for human survival.

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*It is only just to point out that there are exceptions to this summation—psychologists such as C. J. Jung, the Catholic Michotte, and in our own country Gordon Allport, J. B. Rhine, Gardner Murphy, George S. Klein, and doubtless others with whose work I am not familiar.

Dialectic of Love

Amor sementa in voi d'ogni virtute
E d'ogni operazion che merta pene.
(Love that is seed in you of every good
And of every action which merits blame.)
"Purgatorio"

Home to the bed of youth and manhood's returns,
By the river of my birth, passions and times
Come back upon me, dreams subdued and worn
To the solemn frames of a great paradigm:—
The poles of being interpenetrate and breed

As man breeds on woman; all things reveal
The mingled essence: Night wears a starry braid
Of broken day cut out in little beads
By which her beauty goes more darkly veiled;
And day by the grace of shadow rescues form

From the vacancies of light, recurrent waves
Of breath and passing, man mother, shape and void.
Two loves have called us, change and yet return
In age as in childhood, rich with shade or stars,
But still themselves, not merging, the dark and fair.

Your name I think was Angela. It is long past
A schoolboy brought your books and loved the face
Of the frank smile, grey eyes, and gentleness,
With soft, light hair, wide forehead, widow's peak,
To be treasured again and again under many names.

Then the night hayride by the river, star-strewn fall,
When the nameless dark newcomer, whose breasts grew firm
With budding nature, and whose eyes were lures
Of the purple sea, shook down ship-launching hair,
Deep current of black night in which hearts drown.

CHARLES G. BELL

CHILD OF GOD

Ameur of the Arcades . . *by Mouloud Mammeri*

[*This short story by an Algerian writer, dealing with the revolt of a ten-year-old Algerian boy against the French-established order, brings into sharp focus the conflicts there. It first appeared in* La Table Ronde, *a French literary magazine, and was translated for* The Nation *by Eleanor G. Knight.*—THE EDITORS.]

HE WAS called Ameur of the Arcades because it was hard to find any other name for him. He had no home, which is not unusual, and no father. As far as anyone knew, he had no mother either. He was Ameur and that was all. Because every night that God sent, blustery or moonlit, stormy or clear, he slept under the arcades of the market square, he was called Ameur of the Arcades to distinguish him from all the other little Ameurs in the village of St. Ferdinand, in Algeria. He was about ten years old.

People knew him because often at night they stumbled over him. He went to bed early, Ameur did. He didn't go to school, obviously. Who would have sent him? But he talked French better than all the pupils of Mr. Bourdais, for the good reason that it was neither an accomplishment nor a chore for him, but a necessity. One must know how to find bread and money, and how to get out of all kinds of scrapes—and for these one must talk, talk, talk. One had to live somehow.

Ameur had first learned to shine shoes. But almost immediately he saw that it was a mug's game. "You don't make any money, and it's bad for your eyes always to be looking down at people's shoes." For a while he used his shoeshine box as a drum and beat out military marches with the brush. Then one day he gave his whole kit to a newcomer to the Arcades, a timid youngster whose eyes were always downcast. "Looking down won't bother him," he said.

Ameur also tried working as a porter, for he knew everything and everybody in the village. He bought himself a magnificent shopping bag as big as he was, and each morning he would stand at the entrance of the market square where he could watch for the fattest housewives who came to shop and who were unable to carry their own purchases. "No wonder," he said. "They probably eat every day, maybe several times. Imagine!"

He would offer his services, then follow the lady while she dropped her purchases into his bag. "Be careful, Ameur, put the tomatoes on top of the melon. Don't squash them." But that job didn't last either. He could hear his spine crackle to the rhythm of the fat housewife's gait as he walked behind her to her house, lugging his full-to-bursting sack. Besides, there was too much competition. All the children of the Arcades had bags, and sometimes when they were very hungry they would offer to work for almost nothing.

FINALLY there was begging. Ameur tried that too, but, as he said, it was truly a dog's life. It was as fatiguing as any other work and you made almost nothing, and it was disagreeable to tug at people's sleeves and make your voice into a whine. When they make up their minds to beg, it is because they have run out of ideas, these children of God.

Children of God? It was Ameur who had coined that name. One night, around a fire of stolen planks, they were counting up all the children who lived under the Arcades. They found that most didn't know who their parents were. To make everybody feel better, Ameur had said that having a mother and father didn't matter because, in reality, were they not all children of God?

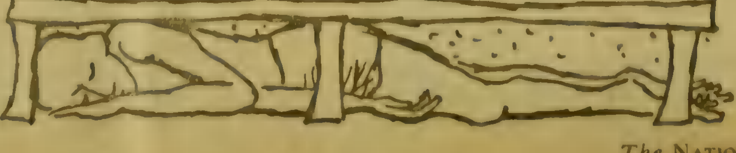
But life was becoming more and more difficult and uncertain. September was coming to an end, bringing storms, the end of the fruit, and the first frosts. Soon they would all be shivering again under the Arcades. They must eat, because a person is less cold when he eats. Ameur hit upon a solution. They would eat every day and it wouldn't cost a penny. As everybody knew, at Monsieur Bourdais' school there was a canteen. All they had to do was to get themselves enrolled in school.

Ameur's proposal was greeted with shouts of laughter. "School? Us? What a joke! School is for rich kids."

"We are all children of God," Ameur had answered, and in the end he convinced them.

Now it was necessary to organize his project. First, Ali, Kouider, Mourad, and all the others over twelve were out. It was useless for them to apply at school. They were too old. They would have to look for work on farms, on construction jobs, or go to Algiers. As for the rest, Monsieur Bourdais would certainly not accept them as dirty as they were. Thus the day before registration a wholesale laundering was decreed at the fountain in the market square after dark. Some of their clothes were so old that they would doubtless go to pieces when they met the water, and so it would be necessary to steal a few shirts and pants from the shops nearby. And they must comb their hair. Mourad would gladly lend anybody his big comb.

The hardest thing was the business of names. Ameur knew that the teacher always asked for two names. Since most of the children of God had only one, they decided that everybody must invent a second



name. This was harder than you might imagine. Either you think of a name that somebody has already, or you pick one which sounds ridiculous. Finally you have to be very careful to remember which name you finally choose.

The first day of school came at last. The children of God, washed, combed, even perfumed—for one, in the course of stealing a shirt, had accidentally snatched up a bottle of eau de cologne with it—took their places in front of the schoolhouse well before dawn. Nobody else, of course, was up at that hour. Long after sunrise, ladies dressed in their best appeared, dragging by the hand youngsters also all dressed up and as handsome as sultans. The children of God marveled at their clothes. The ladies stood in a line and the children of God waited quietly against the wall behind them.

Ameur had to wait two hours before his turn came. He stepped into Monsieur Bourdais' office proudly, and almost at once he came out again shouting, "You are a dog, the nastiest dog of all the dogs in St. Ferdinand, a bastard, and the son of a bastard." His repertoire was abundant and perfectly familiar to all the children of God. Monsieur Bourdais, in a fury, came tearing out after Ameur, who turned just before passing through the gate and spat in his direction. The other children of God gathered behind Ameur and joined in insults to the schoolmaster, although they had no idea what had happened.

When they had all returned to the Arcades, Ameur summed up the situation. "We'll have to find something else."

"What did he say to you?"

"He was going to let me come to school."

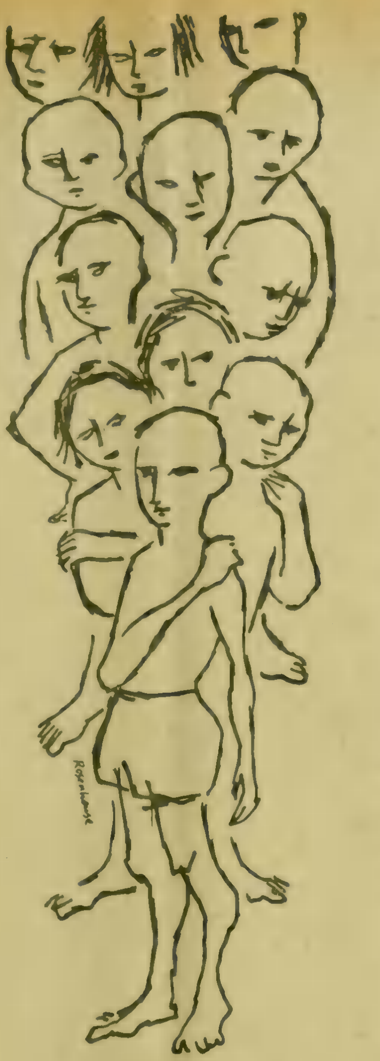
There was a surprised outcry. "Then what?"

"I said he would have to let you come too—let all the children of God come."

"What did he say?"

"He whistled and called you dirty Arabs. He's a dog."

Just then the garbage truck passed by and half the crowd ran and climbed on the back of it. Life began once more as before. It was necessary to struggle with cold, with hunger, with men, with one's comrades, to help the day get born—for the children were always up before dawn—and later to watch it die, without regret and without hope. "We've had this one. Now the night. Tomorrow will bring what it brings."



MONSIEUR Bourdais, the schoolmaster, however, was remorseful. To see these lost children, with no parents and unprotected from the winter, compared to those who came to their desks every morning with pink cheeks and full stomachs, made him regret not having taken at least one. He decided to talk to Madame Bourdais about it. "This Ameur—after all—intelligent, energetic, really quite handsome, etc., etc.—if he were taken in hand, perhaps some day, one never knows—later we would have the satisfaction like saving a man from drowning." The Bourdais' had no children of their own. Madame Bourdais did not say no. Then suddenly one fine day she had bathed, scrubbed, combed, and perfumed Ameur, who appeared to accept it all as an everyday occurrence.

What the Bourdais' had imagined would be a most difficult task turned out to be extremely easy. In two months Ameur learned to read and write without any mistakes. But some difficulties did arise which the Bourdais' had not foreseen. Ameur's old friends came to see him—the more timid under the pretext of saying hello, a few just to see, and the majority to ask for a piece of bread or a few pennies. Madame Bourdais was in no uncertain mind about this. Ameur must be isolated from the whole gang or the experiment would be doomed. Monsieur Bourdais had qualms. There was some injustice in saving only one out of the flock, and it was all the greater when that one seemed to be the best able to look after himself. The children of God kept coming. Finally Madame Bourdais chased them away with her broom.

Meanwhile Ameur was learning fast. He didn't put his elbows on the table any more, didn't talk with his mouth full, didn't use the word "lousy" in every sentence. But there was still much to learn. He had no feeling for social rank or position, for what is termed the hierarchy. His relations with Madame Pillot demonstrated this.

Madame Pillot was the wife of the mayor. Before that, she had been a schoolteacher. She believed that it was her duty to distribute salve for eyes inflamed by trachoma, and lotions for bodies covered with sores. She didn't take care of empty stomachs, naturally. That was impossible, except on great holidays when she distributed platters of *couscous,* at the expense of the municipality, of course. This she called "alleviating poverty."

Alleviating poverty was Madame Pillot's profession. Some people are shoemakers or druggists or stenographers. She was the wife of the mayor, the most important official in the village. At Normal School they had taught her that the wife of an official has a role to play, and she had patterned herself accordingly. She found hers a very pleasant role, all the more satisfactory because it was guaranteed to last. Poverty can always be alleviated, never abolished. It was impossible-unthinkable—that the children of God should ever cease to be poor.

The mayor used to joke in public about his wife's activities. "It will pass with age," he told people, and, in truth, her good works did involve some risk to his advancement. To notice the poverty of the poor, even as a distraction, is to put the wealth of others in question, and it was, unfortunately, on these others that the mayor's future depended. But Madame Pillot was dedicated to her profession and it seemed the better part of wisdom to wait for her mania to pass.

Ameur understood the situation perfectly and had always realized what could be gained from it. Earlier, when he was still only Ameur of the Arcades, it had been his custom to call on the mayor's wife at mealtimes—the only times when Monsieur Pillot answered the door himself. At other hours, an employee of the village served as a doorman and would have kicked Ameur out unceremoniously. Even though now he no longer needed anything, Ameur continued his deplorable custom of calling at the mayor's house. Monsieur Pillot would come to the door and Ameur, extending his hand as to an old acquaintance, would say, "How do you do, Monsieur Pillot? Madame Pillot is well, I hope? May I see her?"

Impossible to put him out. He would have let loose the most horrible shower of abuse that the ear of man ever heard. And it would be lucky indeed if he didn't come back the same night with his whole gang and bombard the windows with stones. What could be done? A child couldn't be put in prison, without cause, like a grown person. And Madame Pillot spouted the words of the Normal School—humanity, dignity, freedom, respect for this, and respect for that.

But the whole thing was really quite simple if you thought about it a little. There is an immutable order in all things here below, Monsieur Pillot knew. The mayor directs; the gendarmes put people in jail; the winegrowers make large profits and lodge complaints; the children of God sleep under the Arcades. What would happen if we should scramble the ranks and even suggest that the children of God have as much right to the sun as the others? I ask you, what would happen? Everyone must understand what his place is in the order of things and act accordingly.

The "Jackals"

By the time French Legionnaires had arrived, the Berbers were gone. The Legionnaires wreaked vengeance on the local Arabs, blasting their huts and shops with cannon. They took after the Smala tribesmen. . . . Their villages surrounded and with planes menacing them from overhead, the Smala warriors surrendered. "You have behaved like jackals," the French conmander said. "If France did not have a heart you would all be dead." As it was, the dead in Morocco numbered over 700 including General Arymond Duval, commander of French forces in Morocco, who was killed in a plane crash.

The New York Times, August 28.

The order of things? That is exactly what Madame Bourdais, the schoolmaster's wife, was trying to teach Ameur in order to complete his education. He must understand that the same rules do not apply to the children of God as to society in general. Men are differentiated according to what rung on the ladder they happen to occupy. For there *is* a ladder.

Ameur listened attentively to the lessons. "One must never—courtesy requires—when a subordinate — the mayor of the village, that is to say the master of all of us . . . ." Ameur took large mouthfuls of food. That must mean he was hungry, because for some time now his table manners had been improving. He had been eating less like the children of God, more like a child of the world. Now he gobbled, but he listened, which was a good sign. The order of things, the sense of the sacrosanct order, was sinking slowly into this unruly little mind. For at least three months his behavior had been greatly improved. Madame Bourdais was gaining confidence. Her gospel was bearing fruit.

And then one evening it happened. Could the half inch of red wine in the big tumbler of water have made Ameur tipsy, or was the gospel repeated once too often? Ameur picked up his bowl of custard and with the force of rage, hate, and exasperation threw it at the stern and solemn features of morality and order. Madame Bourdais had barely time to duck. The dish fell in a thousand gleaming pieces beside the fireplace and the custard spattered over the tiled floor.

The boy grabbed a half-dozen bananas from the table, bit savagely at them, and made for the door. He was wearing his good blue shirt. It was the last thing they saw as he vanished in a torrent of words.

Weeks later, near the market square, I came upon Ameur. His bones were sticking out as before under his chapped skin. And as before, he asked me for ten francs and I gave them to him. He was about to move away, watchful as ever, when I said, "Is that all you have to say, Ameur? Let's talk a bit."

I didn't have to coax him. After all, I didn't represent order. He told me everything, bit by bit but quite clearly, in a straightforward manner: "I don't like traitors, you know. This ladder of Madame Bourdais'—the mayor was always at the top, and at the bottom, clear down at the very bottom, were the children of God. Good-for-nothings, your friend called them, as if they didn't have names, and even good names. I found out that I couldn't belong to God and the devil at the same time. I chose God." The muscles of the little face worked, and the bones showed under the skin grown sallow from hunger.

"That's fine, Ameur," I said, "you made your choice and you won."

"Yes, I made my choice. I wasn't hungry at the time and so it was easier, but I don't know for certain that I won."

"Oh? What do you mean?" I asked.

"Because now I'm hungry again, and to be certain, when you're hungry . . ." He didn't finish.

"You can hunt up Madame Bourdais and ask her to excuse you," I said. "Tell her—tell her that you didn't know what you were doing. How about it?"

Ameur was staring at his toes.

"It's too late," he answered. "I've lost."

"But no, Ameur, it's never too late. Would you like me to take a message for you to Madame Bourdais?"

For another moment there was silence. Then Ameur said, although these were not his exact words, "Yes. Tell her that I spit on her order and spit on her hierarchy."

BOOKS

Mandarin and Slang

By Kathleen Nott

I KNEW a writer, a very small man, who went to Australia, the largest continent then available to him, fell in love with it and wrote an enormous book about it. Much imaginative thinking is based on an attitude, conscious or unconscious, toward continents, and also, I should guess, much thinking which passes as political or even scientific. (Russia is after all a near-continent.) The attitude to which I refer looks like ordinary romanticism, which has been defined as the pursuit of the infinite in emotion and in space-time, but should not be confused with it.

Romantic emotion about space and time may well associate itself with the idea of continents, but their cultural effect depends much more on the fact that the mind can isolate them, that they are self-contained. We can collect the imaginative advantages quite as well, if not better, by not going there. D. H. Lawrence illustrated this fact by sitting down and writing about a new continent as soon as he landed in his first hotel. He could presumably have done this just as well if he had stayed at home.

Not having yet been in America, I have amused myself recently by wondering how American I am, in the same way that being a European one is Greek, Roman, French, and German. I can see from the outset that America does more to Europeans than we do to America. And, in the long run, I think we shall find that America has permanently altered our imaginations in the matter of language and poetry.

In my childhood, the distinction between American and English writing hardly existed. Fenimore Cooper, Hawthorne, Poe, Mark Twain, even Whitman, were part of the new and developing world of imagination and their different continent and different society might have been their own free invention, much as Gulliver's world was Swift's. In undergraduate days as far as American writers with a primarily American content were concerned — Dreiser, Sinclair Lewis, Scott Fitzgerald—it was their expression of common or universal problems which counted.

American scholarship distracted from concentration on America, since it was so much concerned with us English. Much of it seemed to combine romantic peregrination with a kind of spring cleaning which implied a moral judgment on our untidiness, a puritanical discomfort at our neglect of our own literary history. The great literary expatriates from Henry James to T. S. Eliot have also been misleading because of their natural preoccupation with Europe as an entity. We did not realize that each was dominated by the usual imaginative attitude towards another continent. In fact these two not only imaginatively discovered us but even, especially in the case of Eliot, to some extent invented us, complete with past and traditions. But by coming over and telling us about ourselves they confused the matter.

What a writer seems to succeed in saying is important. But with creative literature (and possibly criticism) we never get at this except by concentrating on how he is saying it and on the difficulties he seems to have surmounted. Mr. Eliot has told us about the "intolerable wrestle with words and their meaning" and Henry James's Laocoon-like struggle with the serpent of language is obvious. I remember, quite early, getting esthetic excitement out of the mere fight and wondering which would win.

The serpent of course has to be not only tamed but trained to do its job of digesting the objects of experience. The convolutions of James's later style may be partially psychopathological but what is important about them is that they result from trying to lasso and absorb the objects and relations of a new and alien experience for which the author could not call on the unconscious preparation of childhood and early life, as writers who remain at home can do. Perhaps, paradoxically, if James had not been diverted from the American to the international scene by American dislike of the satire of "The Bostonians," among other causes, we might never have noticed how much he is an American writer.

The language of writers who remain at home, among the experiences which have formed them before adult and critical consciousness, can remain relatively passive and secondary, content with receiving and rendering experience as simply and directly as possible. James's language was an attempt to master and transform experience. In this it resembles poetic activity. And the fact that it reveals itself as peculiarly American in some of its qualities, strengthens this opinion. For now that the one-way cultural traffic from England to America has been over for some time, we can see that Europe is being linguistically colonized by America.

WHEN I suggested that James's language is both poetic and specifically American, I referred not only to its essentially active nature, its sometimes exaggerated vigor, but to its balance of Mandarin and slang. By Mandarin here, I mean a certain suavity, even an exaggerated politeness or formality which comes from using large, sometimes vague words often of Latin origin, in the attempt to classify experience. On the other hand, James's use of slang, though it often appears arch and old-maidish was, in intention, vivid, concrete and particular. A successful combination of Mandarin and slang may make American our *dolce stil nuovo*. One may draw a parallel with the development of English, which successfully combined Romance and Teutonic elements. This was what made it supremely poetical among European tongues until Milton upset the balance and it fell apart with the Augustans.

This undesirable split can occur again. To an English ear there is a certain orotundity and ponderousness about the style of some American scholars which sound ominous. But the linguistic colonization is

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not mainly literary. It comes to us mostly in the vivid, pithy, and concrete vernacular and above all in American humor, so dry and laconic that it reaches its highest expression in the captionless silence of some *New Yorker* cartoons.

The danger of Mandarin excess probably comes from too much concern with the old continent and its literary and cultural problems. One wonders whether the comparatively recent exchange of distinguished expatriates might not be looked at in linguistic terms; whether Auden, driven by Anglo-Saxon associations, wants the stimulus of slang, of living with a lively poetic speech which is always grappling with its experiences, while Eliot wants the literally Old World charm and solace of Mandarin. Obviously they are both partial romantics in the sense defined at the beginning but since they are both considerable poets and innovators, language must surely have something to do with it. Certainly Eliot's language has become increasingly gentlemanly and abstract since he left his natural poetic objects behind. Perhaps if both Auden and Eliot had stayed in their respective homes they would have won the cultural and imaginative advantages of contemplating the admired continent at a distance, and also helped to form a unified and poetic American-English tongue.

Man's Future on Earth

THE PREVALENCE OF PEOPLE. By Marston Bates. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.95.

By Kirtley F. Mather

THE ATTENTION now being given to population problems in many academic and political circles is an indication of both the intellectual maturity and the fundamental humaneness of mid-twentieth-century mankind. In certain overcrowded regions these problems are acute. In less fully populated areas there is increasing awareness of the fact that the world is now a neighborhood. Peace and prosperity—they go together—can be realized only if there is effective adjustment between people and resources in all parts of the inhabited earth. The unprecedented increase in world population during the last fifty years raises serious doubts whether such adjustment is possible. Although I can cite no statistics, I would guess that more of the printed pages dealing with man's future as an inhabitant of the earth are pessimistic than optimistic.

Certainly the stimuli that impelled Marston Bates to write this commendably readable book are obvious and compelling. The seriousness with which he tackles the subject, precisely indicated by its title, cannot be concealed by the casual, offhand manner in which he woos the reader. His technique is definitely that of the scientist rather than of the prophet. Quite evidently, he believes that to solve the population problems of the future, it is necessary to understand how we arrived at the present.

Therefore he leads the reader on far-reaching excursions into many fields of investigation that impinge in one way or another upon human reproductivity, morality, migration—in short upon the diverse factors that determine how many people will be living in a given place at a given time. Significant data are drawn from disciplines as widely separated as Pleistocene anthropology and modern epidemiology, or Polynesian sociology and urban economics. Repeatedly, the idea develops that the population problem is a cultural problem rather than a biological problem.

Warfare, for example, seems to have been important in shaping population developments for a very long time in the past. But "war, as we know it, is a product of cultural evolution, not of biological evolution. Therein lies our hope, because biological changes take place in the time scale of geological history, whereas cultural changes involve the very different scale of human history."

"Groping toward a theory of population behavior," Dr. Bates is wisely cautious. As a result of cultural evolution, the relations between man and environment are undergoing drastic changes. Cultural changes affect human ecology rather than human physiology. The latter remains purely a product of the slow process of organic evolution. But the ecological changes have had and will continue to have a profound influence on population adjustments. The unanswerable question at the moment is whether impersonal cultural forces are giving way to self-conscious, or socially-conscious, cultural development. Can cultural development be self-conscious and guided, without destroying those very elements of human nature that make man the uniquely valuable creature that in our moments of high inspiration many of us hope he is, or might be?

There is, of course, no neat and obvious solution to the population problem. Dr. Bates agrees with many other serious students of the current situation that there must be changes in the birth rate to compensate for the increased "ecological longevity" which in the Western world is approaching the "physiological longevity" of man as a biological creature. As he states, "It has been a very long time since the birth rate of any human population has been a product of purely biological factors, and there is evidence from many cultures of the development of practices more or less deliberately aimed at lowering birth rates." It is indeed possible that within Western culture the problem may solve itself, though there is considerable question as to how rapidly the solution may be achieved. For other cultures the timing factor makes the problem acute. "We have rightly tried to share the Western techniques of controlling ecological death with all of the other people of the planet. Doesn't this carry with it a corresponding need for sharing our knowledge of techniques for the ecological control of birth?"

BY and large, I would rate this book as optimistic. It puts the emphasis not so much on the possible "perfectibility of man" as on the "improvability of culture." The great plasticity of culture is demonstrated again and again in the records of historians and anthropologists. Changes in culture have occurred, and are even now occurring, with great rapidity. To say the least, there is justification for the hope that man will successfully meet the challenge of the future.

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The Issue That Cannot Wait

FORBIDDEN NEIGHBORS. A Study of Race Prejudice in Housing. By Charles Abrams. Harper and Brothers. $5.

By Catherine Bauer

THIS BOOK is as timely in 1955 as "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was in 1852. With the rapid urbanization and northward migration of Negroes, their improved economic and political status, and the recent school decision, the chief frontier for race relations is now the neighborhood and the whole field of housing policy and practice.

The barriers to free residential movement create a chronic and potentially explosive housing shortage for all non-whites, in most American cities. This problem is sharpened by wholesale clearance operations in the central blighted areas where Negroes frequently predominate, and it is dramatized by their virtual exclusion from the new private housing which many of them could now afford. In the ever-expanding belt of postwar suburbs, the lily-white color line is more effectively maintained, over wider areas, than was ever true before in North or South.

Mr. Abrams analyzes this situation with facts, historical background, verve, originality, and persuasive logic. He shows how the real-estate fraternity has systematically translated scattered prejudice, and certain inherent weaknesses in the suburban home owner's psyche, into a rigid social-economic doctrine of "neighborhood homogeneity." This doctrine and practice can even be used, he points out, to nullify the effect of the Supreme Court decision, since school structure necessarily reflects neighborhood social patterns.

With the rising federal responsibility for housing, moreover, residential discrimination becomes a major national political issue, and the distinction between "public" and "private" ethic in this matter is eloquently argued. "There was the danger that the prejudices of the private market would not only be adopted and supported by the government but be backed by its coercive power. From 1935 to 1950, in fact, prejudice and public power [especially via FHA and VA credit aids and policies] were already well advanced toward an alliance which was challenging the fundamental values of the American system."

At present the issue is more and more sharply posed in political terms, the whole situation is in flux, and what happens in the next few years is likely to be all-important for effective long-term progress. Since basic rights and constitutional responsibilities are involved, Mr. Abrams believes that federal housing policy must tackle this problem directly here and now, backed by court action if necessary rather than any special legislation.

On one critical question he is a little vague. Many liberal leaders agree that it is high time to outlaw public support of residential discrimination in the North, but nevertheless wonder about the consequences of any effort to apply a flat national non-segregation policy in federally aided housing in the South at this stage. Would it just mean no housing progress at all in the poorest region with the worst slums in the country, which is at present making a more serious effort than the North to improve Negro living conditions, albeit on a segregated basis? If this is a valid concern, then surely Mr. Abrams or some other bright lawyer (perhaps the new Ford-sponsored research project on housing and race relations) can figure out a rationale for federal housing policy and enlightened politics, which takes it into account.

The fact that this knotty question is still unanswered, however, only makes it more important for the general thinking public, as well as housing and race-relations experts, to understand and ponder the situation described with wisdom and authority in this absorbing book.

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The Serious Twenties

THE TWENTIES. American writing in the Postwar Decade. By Frederick J. Hoffman. The Viking Press. $6.

CARL VAN VECHTEN AND THE TWENTIES. By Edward Lueders. The University of New Mexico Press. $4.50.

CARL VAN VECHTEN. A Bibliography. Compiled by Klaus W. Jonas. Knopf. $5.

By John R. Willingham

BENEATH the surface gaudiness and frivolity of the 1920's lay an artistic seriousness and vitality that the United States has seldom known. It is possible now to see that American writers, whether they operated from Paris or Chicago, knew a cameraderie and mutual incandescence, a shared sense of serious purpose that characterizes any brilliantly creative period. The importance of the 1920's in American literature now seems completely assured, and the once prevalent notion that our twentieth-century writers were a lamentable falling-off from the nineteenth-century, classic New England authors seems to have departed from literary columns and college classrooms. This notion has been succeeded on the part of our major critics of the 1940's and 1950's by an almost slavish adulation of the writers whose work was part of this century's golden day.

Though it is frequently distorted, much of that homage is justified. We now see that the young writers of the 1920's often created with an awareness that their work was in one way or another a tributary of the main stream of the newly reassessed national literature. The recently resurrected works of Whitman, Melville, Emily Dickinson, and to a certain extent Poe, had stimulated a large number of men and women to achieve a literary renaissance fully as striking as America's earlier one of the mid-nineteenth century. Certainly it has been the latter renaissance which has given American letters its present stature and influence at home and abroad.

Frederick Hoffman has produced a very important examination of the

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literary flowering of the 1920's. His book is not exclusively social history, literary history, or literary criticism; but Mr. Hoffman has mined all three areas as his purpose required. He set himself a stiff writing problem: the book's organization and method are predicated upon the assumption that multitudes and varieties of literary texts must be studied and analyzed before the artistic fertility of the 1950's can be gauged without the kind of distortion which has characterized most studies of the period. "Literature," Mr. Hoffman suggests, "is not valuable simply because it 'uses' the matter of the time, nor merely because it helps us to see the reality of any idea in a full, clear, and meaningful form; the form *is* the matter, the matter is *in* the form, and the reality which is thus formally given is a moral and esthetic anecdote of one or another aspect of the time." Accordingly, for each chapter dealing with some important literary theme or preoccupation of the age, Hoffman provides a text for detailed consideration. The determined impartiality of the author and the resulting value of his book for the reader are indicated by the texts chosen — "Hugh Selwyn Mauberley," "The Sun Also Rises," "The Great Gatsby," "The Professor's House," "The Bridge," "The Waste Land," and "Babbitt." Such a book leaves the manners and customs of the age to another kind of historian: Hoffman is concerned with pointing out the essential seriousness that underlay the decade whose silliness and revolt have more often gained our attention.

THE immense scope of Hoffman's book would indicate that we are going to see a long procession of studies of individual writers, major and minor. The valuable and fast increasing studies, already published or still in preparation, of Faulkner, Hemingway, Waldo Frank, William Carlos Williams, Willa Cather, and Hart Crane, suggest that the twenties is headed for the same searching and critical treatment which the twenties gave to nineteenth-century American writers. Mr. Lueders tries for too much in presenting Van Vechten as a workable focus for understanding the twenties; as Hoffman has clearly shown, the decade is far too complex and too varied to be seen symbolically through Van Vechten's work. Van Vechten himself knew his "vogue" was played out and wisely quit the field of fiction after the publication of "Parties" in 1930. He was too narrowly dependent upon the surface of the times—dependent in a way the more important figures I named above never were. Mr. Lueders claims to have written neither a biography nor a critical study but "something of both," and his book is a warm tribute to a man he obviously admires and a lively look at one who is a charming enough minor figure. The undertaking of Mr. Jonas is really a model bibliography. And in addition to the bibliographical section, there are splendid short essays on Van Vechten by Grace Zaring Stone and Mr. Jonas. Their more modest claims for Van Vechten give us a really clearer picture of a minor writer in a major age than the more colorful prose of Mr. Lueders.

Books in Brief

"Total or Totalitarian?"

HOME AGAIN. By James Edmiston. Doubleday. $4.

A "biography of a Japanese American family," this documentary novel tries to compress within its pages an all-embracing case history. "Home Again" tells of the struggles of the two immigrant (Issei) Mio brothers, of the "picture bride" who arrives from Japan in 1909, of the desperate effort to acquire land, with the rent rising with every improvement their work puts on it, of the birth of children—American citizens who can own real estate in defiance of the California law—of cultural conflicts, of the triumph of fear and stupidity, hate and greed, which exploded after Pearl Harbor to put all American Japanese, alien and citizen, into concentration camps, steal their possessions, destroy what they had taken years to build.

Mr. Edmiston has written out of knowledge, and with love and anger. Evidently he chose the novel form in order to reach a larger audience than has been won for several excellent non-fiction works. Unfortunately his knowledge, love, and anger are greater than his craftsmanship. Moreover, the author admires the American Japanese so extravagantly that he forgets the fascist-minded, the anti-Semitic, the viciously anti-Negro among them. Their suppression from the pages of his novel weakens the overwhelming case for the American Japanese.

Perhaps the deepest fault of "Home Again" is the retention of an attitude which calls for reevaluation. During the war the cleavage between the American Japanese and their ancestral culture was applauded; their intense loyalty to the United States despite their adversity seemed to be heightened by the denial of cultural as well as national ties. This fostering of schizophrenia raises the question of whether the American Japanese can discard the second part of the description and remain whole. Mr. Edmiston refuses to hear the question, as the last page of "Home Again" indicates: "And at last Midori [the Nisei heroine] is free. The *nihonjin* [Japanese person in herself] is gone. This is total victory, incomparable completeness."

Total, or totalitarian? Midori Mio, in suppressing the *nihonjin,* gains nothing and loses much. Too much.

Mid-Century Love

THE YOUNG LOVERS. By Julian Halevy. Simon and Schuster. $3.50.

Julian Halevy, a travelsome young writer who has been "seeing the world and trying to decide what to do with it," has produced a charming and beautiful story of two people in love. His book, a first novel, avoids both the sugarplums and throbbing tragedies so often associated with adolescent love in fiction.

It is the story of the Groper, a sophomore at the Washington Square campus of New York University, and Pam, a girl whom he meets in the subway. The Groper is sensitive and awkward; Pam is a woman-child very like the traditional romantic heroine. Into this familiar pattern Mr. Halevy has woven lyric intensity alternating with impressive sharpness of observation; his love story is all the more poignant because it is real.

Though "The Young Lovers" is set largely in Greenwich Village, there is little bohemian posturing. The problems of its young people are to a great extent the problems of an entire generation, the young people of the fifties for whom every value—including the value of rebellion—is hackneyed: "It's hard to find something that holds up," the Groper says. "It's all been hoked up —corned up in the movies and the ads—used to sell tickets or nail polish."

For all its negativism, however, the novel succeeds in affirming a belief in human beings, a force for love which refuses to be debased into dogma or rendered fleshless by metaphysical abstractions.

The Exact Sneer

SELF-CONDEMNED. By Wyndham Lewis. Regnery. $4.

The righteous misanthropy of Wyndham Lewis has made for some fascinating prose; his fiction bristles with epigrams and insults which often succeed in being accurate as well as amusing. In "Self-Condemned," however, Lewis attempts to pass off historical hindsight as historical insight, and his wit suffers considerably in the process.

Not so long ago attacks on the "hypnotized mass" were as startling as they were corrective. The literary hatchet men, a group in which Lewis certainly was a stellar attraction, cut away a good deal of the world's intellectual dross. Unfortunately, many of these "outrageous young men" are becoming too familiar; their snarls, couched in the same old invective, are embarrassing rather than disturbing. For Wyndham Lewis is still calling for the "superior man," the man who not only knows everything (including French) but wears a beard and is virile, and who in the process of holding his solitary flame aloft is crushed by the stupidity or malice of the trampling herd. Lewis's hero, in short, is still whipping poor old Babbitt, and in his own way has become as much a literary type as his quarry.

In his latest novel Lewis strains for the Exact Sneer, and one has the feeling that he is preoccupied with the balance of his phrasing rather than the accuracy of his picture. This is "superior" wit indeed, wit whose superiority rests on the pretentious snobbery Lewis invites his readers to share. Lewis's hero in "Self-Condemned" is Rene Harding, an "anti-historical" professor of history who gives up his job and goes off to barbaric Canada in self-imposed exile. Harding is Superman, together with the reader, of course, who demonstrates his own enormous sensitivity and the fact that *he* is not a "Yak," "Yahoo," "herd beast," "preposterous animal," or "squalid coxcomb" precisely by reading Lewis.

Mr. Lewis shows flashes of the pungent pin-pointing of character which makes his fiction lively. His people, however, are seldom more than caricatures, since Lewis stacks the deck so neatly his own way. The machete is still very much in evidence but has been over-polished, like those impressive but obsolete weapons to be found in museums.

Honor Versus Success

ACADEMIC FREEDOM. By Russell Kirk. Regnery. $3.75.

The indefatigable Mr. Kirk gives us still another volume. An inquiry into academic freedom is not, he writes, "wholly congenial to my cast of mind." He restores congeniality by interpreting his subject broadly enough to return it, once again, into a book on the perils of secularism and democracy ("learning will be trampled under the hoofs of the swinish multitude—and freedom in the Academy, too"). One suddenly realizes that this professed Burkeian belongs more properly to our native tradition of radical sectarianism; Mr. Kirk is a "come-outer." But American education will not be served by hysteria (see the description of a college campus, pp. 173-75) or exhortation.

At the outset Mr. Kirk commits himself to the "idea" of academic freedom and belief in its reality; "like other ideas, its reality is more important than the ephemeral reality of particular persons and circumstances." This may seem a trifle chilling but if one lives with Burke in the company of that "great mysterious incorporation of the human race," the immediate circumstances of life must appear less pressing than to most. The immediate circumstances of Mr. Kirk's book were some lectures given at the University of the South. Particular persons there had recently encountered the problem of freedom. The faculty of the divinity school had asked the university to announce publicly that Negroes would be allowed to pursue the study of the Word at Sewanee. The faculty quickly discovered they were there to teach and not to concern themselves with policy. As too rarely happens, most of the faculty resigned. But Mr. Kirk, lecturing soon after, does not fear to examine this incident.

> Without entering into the respective merits of the parties to this controversy, I may say that all this constituted not a violation of academic freedom, but instead a high example of what academic freedom ought to be. Whether or not the faculty of the divinity school were right and prudent in this stand, they stood by their professions intrepidly; and whether or not the officers and faculty of the University were right and prudent in their policy, they behaved with dignity and generosity, and held by their convictions without flinching. . . . The essence of academic freedom is that the scholar should have strong convictions, and stand by them, and that the academy should be governed by principle, and abide by principle. Sometimes, as in this instance, there will be conflict . . . but academic freedom is stimulated by conflict.

The comedy is not quite so fine as "Alice in Wonderland," but the technique is the same. And others, caught in the "ephemeral reality of contemporary struggle,' will gain strength from the discovery that the fact that "there has been increased emphasis, the past few years, upon oath-taking in the Academy is in at least one respect a heartening symptom: it means that the public more and more regards education as a serious affair, and teachers as bearers of the Word."

I would only quote Mr. Kirk to himself: we should be dedicated "to the proposition that honor outweighs success."

BUY

UNITED STATES

SAVINGS BONDS

France's "Democratic Caesar"

NAPOLEON III: A GREAT LIFE IN BRIEF. By Albert Guerard. Knopf. $2.50.

This admirable addition to Knopf's new biographical series is written with a youthful verve that belies the birth date ascribed to the author by "Who's Who in America." Its chronicle of the triumph and tragedy of the Second Empire is gripping; its portrait of the Emperor, whose "career, glittering and tragic, was a picaresque romance on an epic scale," is vivid though surprisingly sympathetic.

Indeed, many readers will feel that Mr. Guerard has given Napoleon III the benefit of too many doubts. For if his "democratic caesarism" was mild and almost enlightened compared to the dictatorships that the world has since endured, he was, nevertheless, an autocrat presiding over a police state. Perhaps, as the author suggests, his regime brought some permanent benefits to France. Napoleon was an expansionist and promoter of public works: he inspired the rebuilding of Paris and other cities; his reign was marked by economic progress and prosperity as well as by profiteering and corruption. But if Napoleon left France wealthier, he also left it politically bankrupt. In fact, it might be argued that the country is still suffering from the traumatic experience of the second collapse of Bonapartism. Reacting against violently authoritarianism, Frenchmen took refuge in a kind of passive anarchism and they have yet to solve the problem of reconciling order with liberty.

Theater

Harold Clurman

ALTHOUGH there are some discriminating judges who esteem the plays of Thornton Wilder above all others in the roster of American drama, his plays seem to stand apart from the main line of our contemporary tradition. One rarely thinks, for instance, of discussing Wilder's dramatic output in connection with that line of playwrights which runs from O'Neill through Hellman, Odets, Miller, Williams, Inge, etc. Wilder is a unique phenomenon.

The reason for this, I suspect, is not simply that Wilder's plays are more abstract and stylized than the others, but that, while being distinctly familiar in subject matter, they possess a special sort of impersonality, a removal from reality as we actually experience it, a peculiar evasion of the concrete which makes them specifically Wilder without making them altogether individual. Though Wilder, when we look closely, has a mark of his own, his work strikes one as that of an "arranger" rather than a creator. His arrangements are artful, attractive, scrupulously calculated, and unmistakably gifted. They are delightfully decorative patterns created from the raw material dug up by other men. To put it another way, he arranges "flowers" beautifully, but he does not grow them. In this sense, he resembles certain modern Frenchmen rather than one of our own playwrights.

What is American in Wilder's plays are their benign humor, their old-fashioned optimism, their use of the charmingly homely detail, the sophisticated employment of the commonplace, their avuncular celebration of the humdrum, their common sense, popular moralism, and the simplicity—one might almost say simple-mindedness—behind a shrewdly captivating manipulation of a large selection of, classic elements.

In "The Skin of Our Teeth," the Robert Whitehead revival first presented in Paris as part of the Salute to France festival there and now given here at the ANTA Theater, Wilder tells us in a poetic and fanciful charade, which mixes vaudeville technique, historical allusion, timelessness, and the bric-a-brac of timeworn jokes, that life is struggle, that man and all his works are always on the verge of destruction, that his love for his kindred (including evil which is part of him), the steadfastness of woman who keeps him to his promise of binding love, and his pride in his finest accomplishments in the battle against chaos will always save humankind and the world from moral as well as physical annihilation.

THERE are references in the play to Plato and Spinoza, to beauty contests, the eternal Lilith, the world wars, Aristotle, the cozy charm of American suburbia, refugees or displaced persons—but all this is stated in a winning children's picture-book style which should be comprehensible to virtually every theatergoer. The final effect is sweet, reassuring, now and then sentimentally touching, and for the most part lots of fun—like the deliberate innocence of an intelligent and charming preacher illustrating honorable homilies for kids who might fail to heed the lesson if it were provided in any more severe form.

The new production—and the play merits repeated revival—offers the sharp skilfulness of Helen Hayes's talent, the ringing voice, lovely legs, and charming gusto of Mary Martin. The production errs, it seems to me, in taking the play's trick of wilful corniness too literally. The atmosphere of general high-jinks was intended by Wilder as a gay come-on to his serious purpose, which is capable of reaching something like exaltation. The production tries for cleverness, rendering the play less stimulating than it might be by making it at moments downright smug, so that some of Wilder's thought and feeling take on a kind of complacency which is by no means sympathetic.

Our admiration for the gifted people involved in this production must not hide from our keener sight that they have chosen the line of least resistance, or mistaken one facet of the play's appeal (the "hokum" or jocular) for its essence. Wilder's baby mammoths are reduced to toy baby lambs. There is something vitally wrong in a production of "The Skin of Our Teeth" when its most completely satisfactory moment is the boardwalk seduction scene in which Mary Martin and George Abbott dance in amorous habitude.

Films

Robert Hatch

A MOVIE reviewer ought to see all the Broadway plays. As it is, I do not know whether the weird transformation of Christopher Isherwood's "Berlin Stories" took place principally on the stage or in the screen adaptation. Certainly, though, the transformation is weird.

Isherwood's sketches offered an informal, but surgically deep exposition of a section of Berlin society on the eve of Hitler's ascent to power. They bespoke the author's nostalgia for his youth, even the years spent in an atmosphere of impending terror. "I Am a Camera" is sentimental comedy spiked with verbal amorality and slapstick. In turning out this entertainment, the producers have overlooked the fact that one of their principal characters is Mr. Isherwood himself; that therefore they are committed to some regard for history and personality which they can scrap only at the cost of seeming superficial and callous. The worst thing about the picture is the conventional "sensitive" characterization of Mr. Isherwood as a mooncalf expatriate, pawning his small effects, drinking moodily in dubious cafes, tearing up quires of foolscap in moments of creative nausea, and acting as target for the buffoonery of his associates. If I did not know better, I would think he was one of F. Scott Fitfigerald's lesser inventions. There is something intrinsically embarrassing about inserting a well-known contemporary figure into an obviously contrived fiction. Lawrence Harvey, who impersonates Isherwood, has the good taste to look sheepish.

Julie Harris plays Sally Bowles, the part she created on the stage. It is a not unfamiliar figure—the girl at a cocktail party who tells you she is not exactly a virgin and expects you to be stimulated by this information. I like Miss Harris's characterization: she has caught the accent and manner of the sad young ladies who make hard work of dissipation. But they are pretty much all alike and the only possible thing interesting about them is what they are running away from. That, Miss Harris is not allowed to tell us. Shelley Winters, in a smaller part, is excellent as the downright German daughter of a rich Jewish merchant. She is irritating and touching, awkward but yet attractive. It is a piece of intelligent and persuasive acting.

FERNANDEL is delicious: that is an axiom, but it still follows that he must have something to be delicious about. In "The Sheep Has Five Legs" he is not given enough and the strain shows badly at times. The plot is one of those cold machines for versatile actors (*vide*, Alec Guinness in "Kind Hearts and Coronets") which start out by being a little cute and end by being a little tiresome. Fernandel plays five brothers—quintuplets—and their now-aged father. They have been scattered over the world by their father's hatred (he had wanted a girl) and the picture looks into the career and personality of each of them on the eve of reunion. Fernandel manages to inject at least a suggestion of individuality into each of the roles, but he is drawn out so thin that the basis of his work becomes more make-up than acting. The idea behind the picture was to exploit a star of tremendous export value and the exploiters have not had the skill to cover their motive with much invention or amiability. There are some comic moments—real tributes to Fernandel's grace under pressure.

ON THE other hand, "The Man Who Loved Redheads," another cute device for versatility, is good fun. The wheels again grind toward the end, but it is more subtle, less elaborate, and wittier than the French film. The English, after all, are the whimsy masters of us all.

A Britisher of Anthony Eden respectability has a guilty secret: he is a fool for a pretty face—one particular pretty face which, in the persons of a succession of very different girls, crosses his diplomatic path every ten years or so. The face is that of Moira Shearer; it never changes much (unlike Messrs. Guinness and Fernandel, she cannot assist herself with curious beards), but the girls who wear it are entertainingly different.

There is no reason to go further into Terence Rattigan's entanglements; they are outlandish and Miss Shearer's performance is a *tour de force*—which most performances so called are not. She is splendidly supported, moreover, by John Justin as her admirer, Richard Culver as his caustic friend, and Gladys Cooper—briefly but beautifully—as the astute wife.

Since Miss Shearer is a dancer by profession, that is perhaps why her little sketches are drawn with such shrewd economy. One of the episodes makes room for a ballet excerpt from "The Sleeping Beauty." It is not brilliant dancing, but it is elegant and pretty.

A GOOD deal of space could be taken up in offended cries against "Ulysses," a screen play concocted from Homer by a ludicrous number of librettists—among them Ben Hecht and Irwin Shaw. But I don't see the point—you know the acting scope of Kirk Douglas and Silvano Mangano, and can decide whether or not you want to see them enacting little gems from "The Odyssey." Mr. Douglas resembles this time a Villanova halfback on summer vacation in the Mediterranean. Quite a boy for stirring up the natives.

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Letters

Helsinki Conference

Dear Sirs: An important international event which took place June 22-29 was, characteristically, kept from the attention of Americans by being buried in the press. A few small grudging items did appear, by way of fobbing off the meaning of the nearly two thousand persons from sixty-four countries who attended the Helsinki World Assembly for Peace. Political figures, scientists, intellectuals, businessmen, and workingmen of all hemispheres and without regard to "curtains" of any kind, came to the capital of Finland out of the urgency to make the will of peoples operative. There was a feeling, in the exchange of opinions, plans, conversation, that something big, new, and vital, had come into being, like a foretaste of intercourse among the rank and file of nations, and between governments, toward worthy human goals.

Root issues on which the assembly appealed to the world were disarmament, collective security for peace—as against military blocs, a reunified and demilitarized Germany, the seating of People's China in the United Nations. Reaching solutions will be no easy task, the Assembly realized. But it sensed for the first time in ten years the genuine possibilities for peace, for alleviating distrust among nations, for a two-day flow of trade, information, ideas.

MARTHA MILLETT.
New York, N. Y.

"Let's Build Up"

Dear Sirs: I have just read the article which appeared in your publication under date of July 2 entitled Mr. Nixon's Man to See by William L. Roper. The article reminded me of the old saying, "man is inclined to be the most down on what he is the least up on."

It has been my pleasure to work with "Bill" Roper in many campaigns over the years but one need have not a small smattering of California politics to recognize the inspiration for such an article as well as the name of the anonymous coauthor.

Permit me, if you will, to say a word about Mr. Nixon's Man to See, but first who am I to write on such a subject? It was my privilege and pleasure to act as Mr. Nixon's campaign director in 1946 when he defeated Jerry Voorhees for Congress and then again in 1948 when he was reelected to Congress. In four years time a campaign director gets to know his candidate fairly well. As a rule you get them up in the morning and tuck them in bed at night, but not with Mr. Nixon. He would be up before dawn and busy studying and dictating letters long after midnight. He would conduct his own research and investigation on both individuals and issues and then make his own appraisal and proceed accordingly.

One need work closely with Mr. Nixon but a short time before you recognize his integrity, his intellectual ability, and his inexhaustible physical stamina, as well as the fact that Mr. Nixon's Man to See is Mr. Nixon.

I challenge you or any of your readers to write Mr. Nixon on any reasonable subject and I warrant you will get a personal reply direct from Mr. Nixon and furthermore he will not "pussyfoot" in his answer.

Insofar as Mr. Chotiner is concerned I have only this to say: I have worked with and against Mr. Chotiner in many campaigns. I have agreed and disagreed with him regarding both candidates and issues but never once have I known him to go back on his word. I might further add that if tomorrow I were to be a candidate for a state-wide or national office, Mr. Murray Chotiner of Beverly Hills is the first man I would endeavor to reach to handle my campaign.

Let's build up, not tear down!

HARRISON H. MC CALL
South Pasadena, Calif.

P. S. You have my permission to publish the above letter provided it is printed in its entirety. This, I appreciate, could not be done "due to lack of space."

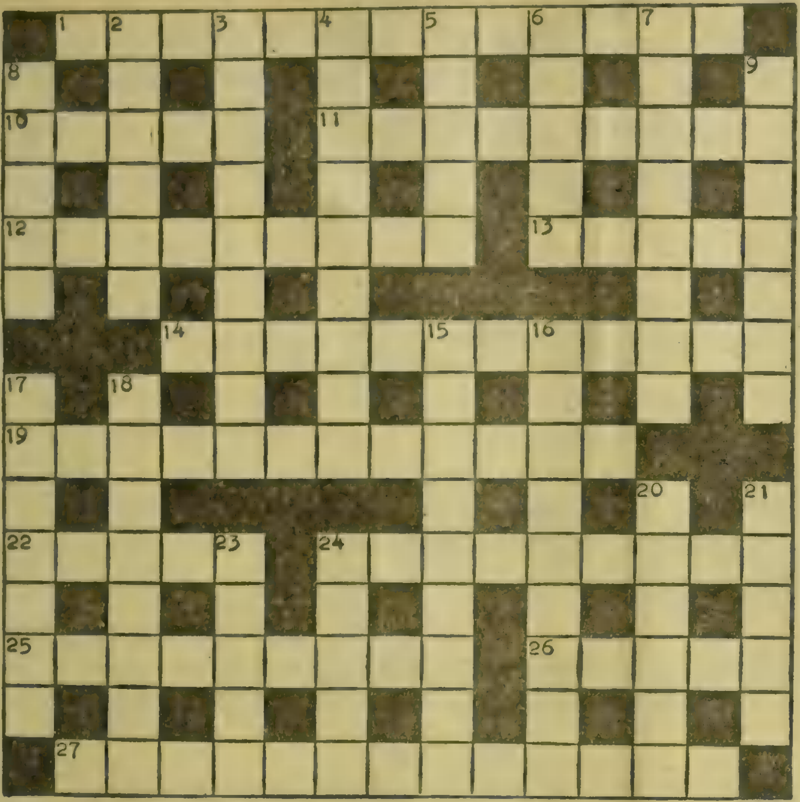
TV Realism

Dear Sirs: As is so often the case, a thing is not necessarily a matter of black and white. With this in mind, I would like to call Mr. Lardner's attention (in re his article, TV's New Realism, in the August 13 issue) to the fact that the same "Television Playhouse" which presented "My Lost Saints" also put on a play called "The Rabbit Trap" in which the hero did not yield his "fair white body. . . voluntarily" but just quit the boss flat after realizing that the latter never did and never would or could regard him as anything more than just another cog in the entirely impersonal machine that made up the company. The play, which was an original TV drama, is to be presented on Broadway this next season, I believe.

Boston, Mass. DAVE BERKMAN.

Crossword Puzzle No. 635

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 When it comes to money, on the surface, one might be made of a lot. (1,8,4)
10 You might ride one to cover. (5)
11 You can't have one, without a doubt. (9)
12 Little Buttercup's chops were. (9)
13 This author might make us the more confused. (5)
14 18 down and 2 down Suggests a yearly Currier and Ives version of Scheherazade. (3,4,2,3,8,6)
19 Just run-of-the-mill amusement for an hour or so? (8.4)
22 Virginia chicken movie or fishing, for example. (5)
24 British socks and American pants might be. (9)
25 Cotheater? (9)
26 Type of level, it eventually appears. (5)
27 Getting ahead of schedule? (13)

DOWN

2 See 14 across
3 Tuned discordantly, with an internal indication of pain. (9)
4 His calling is in the theater at present. (9)
5 High place. (5)
6 Troops at the extreme limits of the United States. (5)
7 An all-around quality. (8)
8 Might be equivalent to the shaky part of politics. (5)
9 This could get green in time, if stirred violently. (7)
15 We have quite a bit above, and the forest dweller might induce sleep. (5,4)
16 Current evaluators. (9)
17 Give credit to a resting place in the stormy sea. (7)
18 See 14 across
20 Air and this could make a man of him. (6)
21 Foreign star and educator. (5)
23 Pointed accidentally? (5)
24 Add a little something extra — they'll bail you out. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE 634

ACROSS: 1 FRANKLIN STOVES; 9 SETTLES; 10 ONE-SPOT; 11 ESSAYS; 12 REASONED; 14 PROVOKE; 15 SHELL; 17 and 19 STOOL PIGEONS; 21 GIFT-WRAP; 23 SPRITE; 25 RECEIVE; 26 CHAPPED; 27 BRIGHT AND EARLY. DOWN: 1 FASTENERS; 2 ANTES UP; 3 KELLY POOL; 4 and 21 IT'S A GIRL; 5 STONEHENGE; 6 OPENS 7 EXPENSE; 8 STUD; 13 COMPLACENT; 15 SHOWPLACE; 16 LADIES DAY; 18 OFFICER; 20 SKIPPER; 22 WRING; 24 SCAN.

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September 10, 1955
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C. P. Fitzgerald

A SUMMIT FOR THE EAST

The Time Seems Ripe

Jesse Gordon

THE HOLOHAN CASE

A Pentagon Snafu

J. A. del Vayo

ADENAUER'S DILEMMA

Can He Trust the West?

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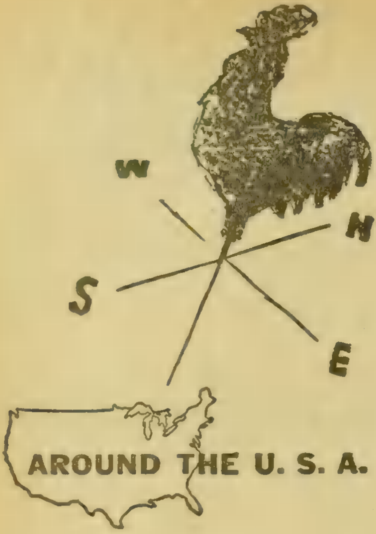

AROUND THE U. S. A.

Iowa Corn Doesn't All Come on Stalks

Des Moines, Iowa

IOWA, a dry island surrounded by six wet states, is interested enough in the matter of drinking that news ordinarily considered more important is often crowded off the front pages by reports of a new argument concerning liquor. The confusion and heat aroused by the question were displayed in humorous fashion this spring when a "dry" lobbyist was "censured" by the Iowa senate for snooping on legislators whom he reported as participants in a "drinking party."

The Iowa liquor law, enacted in 1935, prohibits sale of liquor by the drink, but provides for sale of package goods by state-owned and operated liquor stores. Iowa law also permits the sale of beer, for consumption, in "public" places. Although the religious complexion of Iowa is predominantly "dry" (Methodism is strong here), the state does a $30,000,000 liquor business annually. As a consequence, Iowa politicians often find themselves confronted with problems involving liquor and temperance salesmen alike.

State primaries here are marked by pathetic campaigns to determine who is the driest gubernatorial candidate. These campaigns, waged partly in the letters-to-the-editor column of the Des Moines *Register,* frequently feature testimonials from prominent Iowa clergymen. A gubernatorial candidate is considered especially fortunate if he has the blessing of the Iowa Temperance League. Iowa's Republican governor, Leo A. Hoegh, had that blessing in the 1954 primary; when he ran in the general election that fall, he received further "dry" help from one Sam Morris, a prohibitionist, evangelist, and wealthy resident of San Antonio, Texas.

Morris maintains an interest in Iowa because he is president of the Preferred Risk Mutual Insurance Company of Des Moines, and because he is a field speaker for the National Temperance League. Three months after the election, unexpected business brought Morris scampering back to Iowa. He came to the rescue of a colleague, Harold Young, superintendent of the Iowa Temperance League.

Young, a "dry" lobbyist, had publicly charged two state senators, Republican members of the important "sifting" committee, with taking part in a drinking party in a private club in Des Moines. Seeing them in such circumstances, Young said, bothered him because he regarded this committee as one which had already displayed an "anti-dry" attitude. A beer-industry lobbyist was also reported to be among the group.

Young's charges irked certain senators to the point that even "personally dry" legislators condemned him. Senator Henry E. Hiedeman, a "personal dry," asked that "the name of Harold Young be stricken from the list of registered lobbyists, and that he be invited to remain away from here and that he be deprived from further activities in this chamber. . . ."

Heideman told the press that he thought Young guilty of "some indiscretion" in his lobbying. He said "we (senators) are tired of such . . . offensive . . . tactics," and added that the senate has some rights that "need to be protected against all comers."

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Young was "censured" in this fashion by a unanimous vote. The action stimulated Sam Morris to hurry north from Texas. He immediately bought television and radio time for a fiery speech in which he accused the Iowa senate of "rushing through a smear censure" of Young. Morris interpreted the action as an insult to the Iowa Temperance League and an effort to "get Harold Young out of their hair on 'dry' bills." He charged that the senate had no authority over Young, who he said was not registered as a lobbyist. And he cautioned the public to be careful not to gossip about senators "huddling with brewers in a drinking club somewhere. . . . You may find your name in the paper as being censured by the 'unanimous' action of the senate."

The matter came to some sort of conclusion when Governor Hoegh, Lieutenant Governor Leo Elthon, Morris, and an unidentified senator gathered in Elthon's office and bowed in prayer for guidance.

The legislature didn't exactly rebel against "dry" pressure this session; neither did they accept the "dry" program as readily as they have in the past. The "drys" failed to get a law passed prohibiting the sale of chilled beer to "take home." Nor did they succeed in having the sale of beer prohibited at the state fair. They did succeed, however, in preventing a favorable vote on legalizing the sale of liquor by the drink.

The sale of liquor by the drink is backed by representatives of border counties and a corporation known as "Iowans for Good Government." They claim that such a law would bring an additional $15,000,000 annually to the state in license and tax fees. They further point to the common Iowa practice of taking package goods into taverns where "setups" are sold for highballs. As Professor Sam Fahr of the State University of Iowa law college, observes: "There is only one thing about this beautiful state that I don't like: Iowa is hard on coat pockets. I have ruined far too many suitcoat and jacket pockets by jamming bottles into them."

NICK THIMMESCH

[*NICK THIMMESCH is an Iowa newspaperman and free lance writer.*]

NEW YORK. SATURDAY. SEPTEMBER 10, 1955
VOLUME 181, NUMBER 11

THE *Nation*
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Peace Through Murder

Histrionic displays are almost a trade-mark of Latin-American dictators, but Juan Domingo Peron last week set a new record for the breed. Within a single day he submitted his resignation as President to the government-controlled labor federation and the Peronist Party, rescinded it at the overpowering demand of his followers who miraculously arrived in the capital just in the nick of time by buses, trucks, and special trains from all parts of the interior, and then turned the mob loose to defend "order" and "tranquility" in the streets. A few of his words should be set down for future reference: "Let us establish as permanent conduct for our movement: he who . . . tries to disturb order in opposition to the constituted authorities or contrary to the law or the Constitution may be slain by any Argentine. . . . The order of the day for every Peronist . . . is to answer a violent action with another action still more violent. And when one of our people falls, five of them will fall. . . . This fight we have started will not end until we have annihilated and wiped them out." In all the records of history it would be hard to find another head of government—particularly a dictator with every instrument of force in his hands—calling on the "people" to take over the job of defending the regime. This unique performance was followed next day by the imposition of a state of siege and Peron's newspaper announced, "Violence has now become constitutional."

The question why Peron staged this fantastic show is still without an answer. The two leading explanations diverge considerably. According to one, he wanted to prove to the dominant elements in the army, which had saved him after the June 16 revolt, that his mass support was so strong he could risk a popular demonstration; even submit his fate to the verdict of the "streets." The other is that the demonstration may have been organized as a warning to the opposition, military and political, that any new attempt against him would turn into a bloody civil struggle. That a serious opposition exists is now beyond question. Its weakness lies in its failure to reach the masses which Peron has rallied by his effective demogogy, backed by some tangible, though often illusory, benefits. Its strength lies in the growing diffidence not only in the navy—which engineered the June 16 rebellion—but in the army: not only among the upper-class right wing but among the moderate groups comprising the Radical Party; and above all among devout Catholics whose hostility, aroused by anti-church measures and arrests of clergy, has by no means been assuaged. Peron's aim—tranquility through murder—may lead into bloody chaos. It does not sound like the slogan of a secure regime. [In next week's *Nation* Arturo Frondizi, leader of the Radical Party, will analyze the aim of Peron's democratic opposition.]

Danger in the Middle East

A cease-fire has just put a temporary close to Israeli-Egyptian fighting along the Gaza border. The word "temporary" is used advisedly. These border clashes, small but dangerous in their potential, will inevitably flare up again—as they have been flaring up for the last six years—so long as peace in the Middle East rests on the insecure structure of an isolated Israel and a belligerent Arab world determined to take advantage of Israel's isolation. In this context, the most important Middle East development of recent weeks has been not the Gaza fighting, tragic as it was, but Secretary Dulles's tripartite plan, approved by President Eisenhower, for settling the basic Arab-Israel disputes. The scheme calls for (1) an international loan to Israel to enable the struggling new country to pay compensation to Arab refugees; (2) a call upon both sides to come to agreement on "permanent" borders; (3) "given a solution of the other related problems," the entry of the United States with other nations into formal treaty obligations, under U. N. auspices, "to prevent or thwart" either side from changing these borders by force.

The Arabs' quick if unofficial repudiation of the plan indicates that, whatever its other virtues, it is not practical. Its impracticality lies in the fact that the international guarantee against aggression would come into force only *after* the Arabs and the Israelis had agreed on the "other related problems"; i.e., the refugee question, the border problem, Jerusalem, etc. But if the Arabs and Israelis could agree on these questions, no outside guarantees would be necessary, though they might be advisable; and so long as the Arabs see a chance of destroying Israel, why should they want a "guarantee" which could hamper their objective?

Dulles's proposal makes good sense only if the international guarantee against the use of force by either side were to come into effect *before* the other problems were settled. Only then would the Arabs realize that

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border clashes, infiltrations, and assassinations by night will get them nowhere. Only when they are convinced that there is no profit in war will they sit down with the Israelis and negotiate a peace.

Needed: A Check on the A. E. C.

At *The Nation's* 90th Anniversary Dinner Forum on Atoms for Peace, Gordon Dean urged the Atomic Energy Commission to declassify with one bold stroke all power-reactor technology. The suggestion was timely and pertinent. But the day-to-day decisions and actions of the A. E. C. should also be declassified. At this last session, Congress was forced to enact a law, which required the commission chairman, Admiral Strauss, to give the other members of the A. E. C. equal access to information about agency business. Will it take an act of Congress to make this same information available to the public?

Recently the commission granted the application of the Mohawk Power Corporation, a private utility, for the first nuclear-generated electric power intended for commercial use, in preference to the applications of two municipally-owned plants and a rural electric co-op. This was done despite a guarantee of preference for non-profit groups which is supposed to apply in such matters. More recently, the commission granted the application of Commonwealth Edison of Chicago and the Detroit Edison to build reactor plants but denied the application of Consumers Public Power of Nebraska. The public has no way of knowing whether these decisions were wise or proper; the facts on which a judgment could be made have not been disclosed. At the earliest opportunity, the Joint Committee on Atomic Power should appraise the conduct and direction of its most important establishment, the Atomic Energy Commission, and make public all pertinent information.

Reluctant Ally

JAPANESE Foreign Minister Mamoru Shigemitsu, speaking in Washington on August 26, said that the time had come for Japan to advance toward "a complete posture of independence." He had made his pilgrimage to the State Department in the hope of obtaining concessions which would strengthen Tokyo's position vis-a-vis both the restless Japanese people and importunate neighboring states. But the joint communique issued at the close of his talks revealed that Washington has agreed to little beyond a promise to talk some more on the subjects closest to his heart. Mr. Shigemitsu's mission proved more of a failure than a success.

Japan and the United States are sworn allies. The pact of March, 1954, was nevertheless not a union of true love, but rather a marriage of convenience. Japan was engaged in a struggle for survival and aimed at national renaissance; the United States was interested in constructing an *American* defense system in the West Pacific. The problems outstanding between the two countries are knotty ones. The United States expresses much heartfelt sympathy with Japan's galling economic burdens, but would not have Japan trade with "Red" China—or, be it admitted frankly, with the United States itself. Tokyo, in aligning itself with Washington, must fight the suspicion prevailing in the Orient that America wants Asian soldiers as cannon-fodder for its wars but would restrict its own war contribution to air and naval forces. The (conservative) Democrats in power in Tokyo, saddled with MacArthur's constitutional provision whereby Japan renounces "forever" war and its instruments, are irritatingly reluctant to commit more than a small fraction of Japan's budget to military purposes. The American garrison forces are becoming increasingly unacceptable to the Japanese. The country chafes in its position of subordination, and the Tokyo leaders considered that political exigencies demanded solace for hurt national pride. They are asking for the return of the Ryukyu and Bonin Islands and seeking the release of "war criminals" whom the Americans had helped to put in prison. Mr. Shigemitsu furthermore suggested that the time had come for revision of American-Japanese security arrangements.

Washington, on its part, seemingly ignores what the U. S. S. R. and China might be able to offer Japan; it is largely indifferent to Japanese popular feelings; and, feeling the victor still, Washington has no sense of common purpose with Japan—except to oppose the U. S. S. R. and China. Shigemitsu hoped to convince Secretary of State Dulles that it was only through a partnership of equals, sympathetically formulated in terms acceptable in Asia, that the alliance could bear the desired fruits. But the philosophy of this Administration does not admit the lowering of tariff barriers even for nations jointly engaged with us in the battle for freedom's survival, and dictates that Asiatic alliances shall function chiefly on the military level. Washington abhors the bare thought of joining in a politico-economic give-and-take partnership in Asia, for it doesn't trust Asians to react to situations in the right, "American" way.

THE real urgency of the Shigemitsu mission lay in the circumstance that, at London, a Japanese delegation was negotiating with a Soviet delegation for peace—and for other things—and that Peking was ardently continuing a suit for Japan's favors. The Soviet and Chinese positions are strong. Shigemitsu obviously hoped to obtain some American concessions which would strengthen the Japanese negotiating position. He failed to obtain enough to force any Communist retreat.

When Premier Shigeru Yoshida visited Washington at the end of 1954 and failed to win the major aid he sought, he returned home in December only to resign. The present Premier, Ichiro Hatoyama, faces domestic and foreign problems as great as those that confronted Yoshida in 1954. The Soviet Union and China, patient and sure of their footing in Asia and not unaware of American ineptitude in that field, have not rushed forward with rich bribes to cause Japan to shift sides. But they are flexible, and when they fix upon a nice estimate of the required price, they can offer more than will Washington. They may choose to do so.

Whether under the Hatoyama government, or later when the anti-American Japanese Socialists may have become stronger, Japan will make its peace with the mainland of Asia because it must. If in the future the fearful cry goes up, "Who lost Japan?" the American obscurantists can look to themselves for the answer.

ADENAUER'S DILEMMA

Can He Trust the West? . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

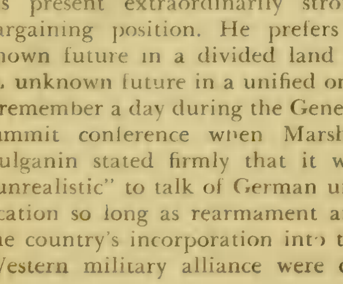
Geneva

THE VISIT of Chancellor Adenauer to Moscow constitutes an important intermediate event between the summit meeting of July and the foreign ministers' conference scheduled to open here on October 27. The chiefs of state bequeathed the German problem intact to their ministers. The July talks revealed clearly that between the continued division of Germany on the one hand, and its neutralization on the other, it will be difficult to find an acceptable formula so long as the East considers German rearmamant a threat and the West looks upon a future German army as essential. People who talked to the Chancellor while he watched the progress of the Geneva talks from a vacation spot not too far away say that he was among the first to realize that one of the prices that may have to be paid for an East-West *rapprochement* is an indefinite postponement of German unification.

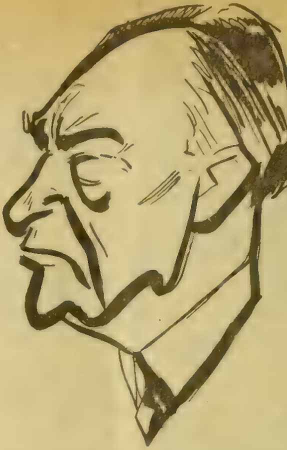
The Chancellor's conviction in this regard was sustained in the weeks following the summit talks when neither West nor East showed any change in basic attitudes on the German problem. Even before the July meeting President Eisenhower and Foreign Secretary Eden had both assured him they would not compromise their plans for German rearmament for the sake of an East-West *detente*. The Russians, on their part, made it clear both before and after the Geneva sessions that they would continue to lend unreserved support to the East German Pankow regime.

In view of this head-on clash, why did Adenauer insist that the question of German unification should be on the agenda of his Kremlin visit? In the first place, popular opinion in West Germany favors such a discussion. Secondly, he was doubtless looking forward to the October 27 meeting. Despite the British and American assurances, influential Western spokesmen are already challenging the value of West Germany as a piece on the world chessboard and questioning whether Bonn is worth saving at the price of a broad East-West understanding. By raising the question of unification in Moscow, the Chancellor is seeking to maintain the German problem at the very center of the October discussions.

THIS does not mean that Adenauer goes to the Kremlin with the illusion that he can wrest any concessions from the Russians on unification. Indeed, he looks forward to being disappointed. He much prefers the status quo to yielding Bonn's position within NATO and abandoning his present extraordinarily strong bargaining position. He prefers a known future in a divided land to an unknown future in a unified one. I remember a day during the Geneva summit conference when Marshal Bulganin stated firmly that it was "unrealistic" to talk of German unification so long as rearmament and the country's incorporation into the Western military alliance were demanded by the West. "What," a French correspondent asked a German colleague, "will the old fox Adenauer say to that?" "He will be delighted," responded the German newspaperman.



Marshal Bulganin



Chancellor Adenauer

As the day for his departure for Moscow approaches, the Chancellor is losing some of his earlier arrogance. For a long time he had been insisting that after four or five years of rearmament, West Germany would be able to negotiate "from strength" with the East. Once he told a visitor who asked him why the Russians had invited him to Moscow: "Ach, probably because since Stalin's death they have not seen a dictator." But now he is no longer so sure that time works on his side. In five years the situation in both East and West Germany could change considerably. The recent wildcat strikes in West Germany, which cut sharply into the country's rocketing production for world markets, were a warning that Bonn's prosperity might not last forever. If one day the Federal Republic's prosperity declines, and East Germany's increases with the support of Russia's growing economic power, the disparity between the living standard of the two zones will disappear and with it Bonn's chief propaganda weapon. So Russia may feel that time is on *its* side. Its leaders may calculate that by holding to their Geneva position—namely, that conditions are "not ripe" for German unification—the day may arrive when it will be very difficult for the Chancellor (if he is still around) to refuse a bilateral settlement with the Kremlin.

The Moscow visit will reveal how solidly grounded is the Chancellor's hope that Geneva provided only a transitory easing of East-West tensions. He may realize, of course, that nothing can bring back the worst days of the cold war, but hope that the *rapprochement* will prove to be only a limited one, sufficient to keep away the danger of war yet not sufficient to diminish the West's interest in fostering and maintaining the coming *Bundeswehr*.

HERE is a nuance worth careful watching. If Adenauer feels that he can continue to count on the West not only for moral but also for practical support in the rebuilding of the kind of army he wants, he will be satisfied to come home from Moscow with little more, perhaps, than an agreement on the return of German prisoners. In return he is prepared to make concessions in the field of Bonn-Communist commercial and diplomatic relations—except, of course, that he will try desperately and until the last moment to continue ignoring the Pankow regime. But if, on the contrary, he feels that the October 27 meeting will mark more progress toward an East-West *detente* along the path laid out at the summit meeting, he may turn to his illustrious predecessor, Bismarck, for guidance. It was Bismarck who established the principle that Germany, whenever it could not satisfy its national objectives in the direction of the West should seek in Russo-German cooperation the way out of its difficulties and the road to greatness.

At the moment it would seem that the balance is in favor of continued Western support for the "old fox." Certainly Chancellor Adenauer had every reason to be pleased with the tough speech given by President Eisenhower before the American Bar Association in Philadelphia, and by Vice-President Nixon's demand, before the same audience, that the Russians prove the sincerity of their desire for peace by agreeing to free elections and the unification of Germany. But if the Chancellor was pleased, he was not surprised. For he had been informed some time earlier that "something will be done on the American side before the Chancellor's departure for Moscow to bring the Geneva conference back into a more sober perspective."

THE HOLOHAN CASE

A Pentagon Snafu . . *by Jesse Gordon*

ON A cool, dark night in September 1944, when the Fascist troops still held northern Italy, Major William V. Holohan, in command of an O. S. S. team, parachuted down on the slope of Mt. Mottorone, Lake Orta, near the Swiss border. In his musette bag he carried an estimated $100,000 in gold, United States currency, Swiss francs, and Italian lira. With him were two other American soldiers, Lieutenant Aldo Icardi, second in command, and Sergeant Carl G. LoDolce, the radio operator. "Operation Chrysler" was the code name given the mission. Their task was to give aid to the partisan groups fighting the Germans and to direct parachute drops of military supplies.

In the ensuing three months only one airborne drop was made. Then suddenly a radio message was received at O. S. S. headquarters in Siena, Italy, reporting the disappearance of Major Holohan on the night of December 6 during a German ambush of their hideout, Villa Castelnuovo, a stately twenty-two room summer house on the shore of Lake Orta. The message was signed by Icardi.

Thereafter, the story of the Chrysler mission unfolds as a bizarre and sickening episode of betrayal and murder. The story must include the callous and inept handling of the case by the Defense Department and its efforts to suppress it.

Almost six and one-half years later the Defense Department explained Major Holohan's death and disappearance as a cold-blooded murder by four of his comrades. However, the army knew as early as June 1946, in an official report to the Judge Advocate, MTOUSA, that Icardi's initial radio message and subsequent written statements were falsehoods. An army investigator's report to the Judge Advocate urged that the two American soldiers be kept in the army, since the study indicated that Major Holohan was murdered by his subordinates. This version of the facts was later backed up on all points by the confessions of three of the accused men and by the recovery of Holohan's poisoned and bullet-ridden body from the icy waters of Lake Orta, where it had been dumped on December 6, 1944.

Brandel

Major Holohan

The alleged ringleader of the plot, Icardi, has continuously denied his guilt. And the army, having suppressed the story for years, has kept maintaining that the men can not be legally prosecuted. In fact, Lawrence R. Houston, general counsel of the War Department, wrote to Major Holohan's brother on June 14, 1951, as follows: "We have done some research on this problem [of prosecution] and it appears to be conclusively established that no United States Court—civil or military—can take jurisdiction over the crime involved." Mr Houston also said that the Defense Department has twenty to thirty other cases which cannot be prosecuted for similar reasons.

Despite Mr. Houston's *obiter dictum* the Justice Department, in July 1955, announced it had convened a federal grand jury in Washington to reopen the case. Thirteen witnesses were flown here from Italy at the expense of the United States government on August 13 to determine whether Icardi and LoDolce can or should be tried in this country.

Soon after the first airborne drop it developed that Major Holohan was going to have difficulty in dispensing arms and equipment to the various partisan groups. There was friction and jealousy among the Communist, Socialist, Catholic, Royalist, and independent groups begging for arms. The first drop was scheduled for an independent group, but the supplies were snatched away by the most ambitious of the partisan leaders, Vincenzo Moscatelli, of the Red brigade. Thereupon Holohan said he would cancel all other drops unless his orders on the distribution of arms were carried out. Icardi disagreed with this cautious policy, and a conflict developed between the two men.

MAJOR HOLOHAN was forty years old, nearly six feet tall, a bachelor, tough and taciturn. He was graduated from Manhattan College in 1925, and Harvard Law School in 1928, and had served as an attorney of the Securities and Exchange Commission in New York and Washington. During this period he was a reserve officer in the 61st Cavalry Division and an ardent horseman. Lieutenant Icardi, 23, was a slim, wiry, bright-eyed law student from Pittsburgh, while Sergeant LoDolce, 22, the radio operator, was formerly a factory worker in Rochester. Apparently, the first mistake of the Chrysler mission was in picking Holohan for this assignment. He couldn't speak Italian, while both Icardi and LoDolce could.

The confessions of guilt by Lo-

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Dolce and the two accomplices reconstructed the crime, and threw a lurid light on the case.

Shortly after headquarters were set up in Villa Castelnuovo, Icardi, contrary to military regulations, put on civilian clothes and began roaming around the Italian countryside, drinking in public bars and attending dances. This endangered the mission and Holohan ordered him to desist. The friction between them became fierce. It was at this time, according to LoDolce's confession published in the New York *Times* August 17, 1951, that Icardi and LoDolce recruited two partisans in a plot to kill Holohan. They were Gualtiero Tozzini and Giuseppe Mannini.

On the night of December 6, 1944, before Holohan came downstairs to dinner, LoDolce relates in his confession, Tozzini and Mannini slipped potassium cyanide into Holohan's soup. Becoming sick he went upstairs to his bunk. Icardi and LoDolce tossed a coin as to which of them would end his agony with a bullet from their Beretta 9-mm. automatic. LoDolce lost. He proceeded upstairs followed by Icardi, Tozzini, and Mannini, and when Holohan sat up in bed LoDolce pumped two bullets into his head. The two partisans then forced Holohan's lifeless body into his canvas sleeping bag, carried it to a boat on the shore of the lake, rowed out about a hundred yards, and dumped it into the water.

ICARDI then took command of the mission. During the next four months he radioed for fifty drops, including bazookas, land mines, light mortars, TNT, small arms, gold, Swiss francs, and Italian lira. In February, 1945, Icardi decided that LoDolce was suffering from a nervous breakdown and he radioed to O. S. S. headquarters that he was sending him home via Switzerland. In the same month the army sent a telegram to Major Holohan's brother, reporting him "missing in action." And in December 1945, another telegram came saying he was "killed in action."

However, Joseph R. Holahan (who spells his name differently because of a mistake in grammar-school records), the brother of the deceased major, questioned these official statements. He worked tirelessly to enlist the aid of Major General William J. (Wild Bill) Donovan, former head of the O. S. S., and tried to get the army to make a diligent search for his missing brother. He quickly discovered he wasn't getting any cooperation. (In fact, he was not informed by the army when his brother's body was found.)

Meanwhile, Icardi had radioed to O. S. S. headquarters urging the Distinguished Service Cross for LoDolce, a medal second only to the Congressional Medal of Honor. After the war LoDolce received the medal, and later, Icardi was awarded the Legion of Merit. It is strange that the Defense Department accuses these men of murdering Major Holohan, but hasn't recalled the medals. And that Holohan hasn't even received, posthumously, the Purple Heart to which he is entitled.

Icardi also arranged to build a toy factory in Italy after the war in partnership with a partisan leader, Aminta "Georgio" Migliari. The factory was actually opened, but went bankrupt in a short time. Did the money for the venture come from the gold in Holohan's musette bag, which had vanished along with the officer in charge of it? The Defense Department eventually reported that Lieutenant Icardi "apparently had embezzled and converted to his own use a considerably large sum of money in gold currency entrusted to him by Major Holohan."

It was in February 1945, that Joseph R. Holahan received a mysterious phone call from a person who wouldn't divulge his name, suggesting that he call O. S. S. headquarters in New York to learn the true facts about his brother's disappearance. He followed the suggestion but could learn nothing.

The following year, Icardi, who had been corresponding with Joseph Holahan, even sending him Christmas cards—although they had never met—asked for a meeting with him in New York. At the dinner which resulted from this suggestion held in a New York hotel in February 1946, Icardi innocently told how the mission was ambushed by a German force, and how Holahan's brother disappeared the same night. And in August 1949, a man who identified himself as "Felix Fortuni," after having written a letter to Joseph Holahan, postmarked from New York, phoned to inquire whether he had received a letter from Italy from the former partisan Migliari, then swiftly hung up. Holahan hadn't received any letter from Migliari.

The first public exposure of the "disappearance" of Major Holohan appeared in *La Nuova Stampa* on March 29 and 30, 1950, a newspaper published in Turin, Italy. The newspaper reconstructed the slaying and accused four men, Icardi, LoDolce, and two unnamed partisans, who later turned out to be Tozzini and Mannini. The two partisans signed a confession implicating Icardi and LoDolce. The Turin newspaper credited the "break" to a young officer of the Italian Carabinieri, Lieutenant Elio Albieri, whose investigations led to the arrests. The New York *Times* of June 18, 1950, carried a brief story from the paper's Rome bureau telling of the arrests and reporting that two American soldiers were also involved. *Il Progresso,* Italian language newspaper in New York, had earlier run a story naming the Americans. The stories ran and died.

IT REMAINED for an enterprising American newspaperman in Rome named Mike Stern, a former police reporter, to pick up the story and piece it together. His article appeared in *True* magazine in September 1951. When an advance copy reached the Defense Department it caused a furor. Hurriedly the top brass was assembled and they decided to release the names of those charged with Holohan's murder. By this tactic the Defense Department scooped Mike Stern's story before the magazines reached the newsstands. Ken Purdy, editor of *True,* termed this act "a shocking example of public . . . immorality."

In the Stern story, Lieutenant Albieri testified that he had fished Major Holohan's body out of Lake Orta on June 16, 1950. The body was inside the bedroll, preserved by the icy waters. Two bullets from a Beretta 9-mm. were in the major's skull, traces of cyanide in his intestines. Lieutenant Albieri mailed Holohan's wrist watch to his brother in New York, and buried the body in a civilian cemetery with Italian military honors, awaiting the action of the American authorities. Later, Joseph Holahan was to receive a bill for the funeral expense!

The army's Criminal Investigation Division picked up LoDolce in Rochester on August 3, 1950, and after a lie-detector test he signed a confession. It was released for publication on August 16, 1951, by the Rochester Police Department. *As late as a year after LoDolce's confession naming Icardi as an accomplice, Icardi had not been questioned by the army,* according to its own admission. When Italy asked for the extradition of those involved, Icardi, denying his guilt, asked the army for a court martial, or trial before a civil jury in the United States; but the army announced that it couldn't try Icardi even if he reenlisted.

Meanwhile, the American public was becoming aroused. Representative W. Sterling Cole of New York described the Defense Department's handling of the case as a "baffling performance." He asked for a probe, charging "truth suppression and cover-up." The New York *Herald Tribune* called the procedure "obscure and questionable," implying the Defense Department might be "hiding the truth for improper reasons" and demanding a "careful investigation." The *World-Telegram and Sun* in an editorial blast, Air the Holohan Case!, charged there had been something "strangely lax in the whole affair."

During this public outcry Major Holohan's body arrived in Brooklyn aboard the Navy transport Johnson, after two burials and two disinterments in Italy. Arrangements for final burial were made by the slain officer's friends in Gate of Heaven Cemetery, Pleasantville, New York. A Committee to Honor the Late Major Holonan was formed by fellow officers and civilian friends, including Brigadier General Charles E. Saltzman, former Under Secretary of State for Administration, Brigadier General John Reed Kilpatrick, and Brigadier General Alfred G. Tuckerman. Meanwhile, the Defense Department was denying any responsibility for the episode. A high spokesman said: "The Defense Department has suppressed nothing and has nothing to be ashamed of in this case."

In Verbania, Italy, on October 28, 1951, the Criminal Court there formally asked for the extradition of Icardi and LoDolce; and on January 31, 1952, the Italian Minister of State repeated the request to our State Department, although LoDolce had by this time disowned his confession as "incomplete and false." United States marshals arrested LoDolce—though not Icardi—on March 29, 1952, and on April 15 of the same year the State Department ruled that the Italian government had legal control over German-occupied northern Italy in 1944, a technical legal point which cleared the way for the extradition of Icardi and LoDolce. Four months later, however, a federal judge in Buffalo ruled that LoDolce couldn't be extradited because the alleged crimes had occurred at a time when Italy was "not physically in control" of the area involved. The New York *Times* commented: "The ruling had the effect of closing the case. But the mystery of Holohan's murder, and why the story was kept secret . . . remains." An armed-services subcommittee of the House of Representatives then reported that there was sufficient evidence to indict the two former United States soldiers for the Holohan slaying, but said that there was no legal way to prosecute them.

Nevertheless, the murder trial of the two partisans, Tozzini and Mannini, opened in Novara, Italy, on October 17, 1953, without Icardi and LoDolce present. A former girl partisan, Marina Duelli, had previously recounted a story of how she fled from Icardi to Switzerland in terror of her life. She charged that he threatened to kill her because she knew too much. Both Tozzini and Mannini were acquitted because "they acted out of necessity.' Icardi and LoDolce were convicted in absentia. The verdict was handed down on November 6, 1953, by two judges and a six-man jury.

At the trial Icardi was pictured by witnesses as a behind-the-lines playboy principally interested in lining his pockets with the mission's gold. He was sentenced to life imprisonment. LoDolce who, witnesses said, fired the fatal bullets on Icardi's orders, received a sentence of seventeen years. They will never serve their sentence unless they return to Italy voluntarily. Tozzini and Mannini, the two partisan accomplices, were released. They had both spent nearly three years in jail awaiting trial. LoDolce's only comment was that he was "glad that it's all over." Icardi called the verdict "fantastic." Major Holohan's brother, who had steadfastly charged the Defense Department with "suppressing the facts," was pleased to learn that the Italian court had convicted the two former United States army men for his brother's murder, even if they could not be forced to pay the penalty imposed.

ON August 29 the federal grand jury in Washington concluded its investigation of the case and indicted Icardi on eight counts for having given false testimony before a House armed-services subcommittee in 1953. LoDolce never testified before the subcommittee and he was not indicted. The indictment itself —to which Icardi has entered a plea of not guilty—asserts that Icardi administered poison to Major Holohan at Villa Castelnuovo in Italy in December, 1944, and that LoDolce later shot him as he lay ill from the poison. Thus after a lapse of nearly eleven years, Icardi will finally stand trial—for perjury.

"Ordinarily," the Washington *Post* pointed out editorially, "it is unsatisfactory to press perjury charges based on testimony about a crime as a substitute for trial for the crime itself." But the facts in the Holohan case are unusual, The belated action of the Justice Department in reopening the affair is itself a victory for justice and common decency which, to say the least, have been lacking up to this point in this strange story of a fine American who sacrificed his life for his country.

A SUMMIT FOR THE EAST

The Time Seems Ripe . . *by C. P. Fitzgerald*

Canberra

IT WAS inevitable that the happy atmosphere which prevailed at Geneva should arouse wistful longings for an Asian "summit" meeting to dispel the heavy war clouds that still lower over the western Pacific shore. Marshal Bulganin and Prime Minister Menzies of Australia—unexpected yoke-mates—were at one in regretting that Far Eastern issues could not be discussed at Geneva; though neither expressed any such idea, many others have suggested that the refusal of the United States to have diplomatic relations with the Peoples Republic of China is the only stumbling block in the path of a peaceful settlement of Far Eastern issues. Should this be proven the case, there would be a heavy moral pressure on the United States to realign its position with China so that an Asian summit meeting could take place.

The Far Eastern problems which such a meeting could place under calm discussion by the ministers concerned are in reality only three: Korea, Formosa, and Indo-China. China's representation in the U. N., the embargo on trade with China, and such matters as the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu are all secondary and would be quickly resolved if the major problems yielded. At first sight these problems seem easier and fewer than those which separate Russia from the West in Europe. No great nation like Germany lies divided and prostrate between the rival camps; there is no cordon of Chinese satellite states whose populations pine for democratic freedom; China has no hydrogen bombs and its armies are not in direct and dangerous contact with those of the West in regions of vital significance to the latter.

But in actual fact the apparently simpler problems of the Far East are no less dangerous and no less difficult. Russia is not now seeking to extend Communist control into any European region which is free. China, on the other hand, has definite and firm claims to territory at present beyond its control; its minor allies, the Viet Minh, can expect South as well as North Vietnam to come under Communist rule if the settlements made at Geneva last year are carried out. In the West the Communists are being pressed to withdraw their power for the sake of peace, in the East the pressure for withdrawal is on the Western nations.

THERE is another significant difference between the situations with which summit talks can deal in Europe and in Asia. In Europe the United States does not stand alone; Britain is even more deeply committed to the defense of the West; to France it is a condition of its continued existence as a power. But in Asia, apart from still disarmed Japan, there is no major power that can be enlisted in any system planned to contain communism. India will not participate, Indonesia holds off, and even if these two geographically large states were wholehearted allies of the West their power would not be at all equivalent to that of Britain and France. SEATO relies on the United States, Australia, and New Zealand, such British force as can be committed to the Far East, Thailand, and the Philippine Republic. This means in practice that without America SEATO is nothing.

East Germany is more a burden which must be administered and defended than a real source of strength to Russia. But North Korea is an effective shield placed between China's vital industrial region of Manchuria and the only American forces deployed on the mainland of Asia. No one has suggested that Russia should renounce title to a territory of indisputable Russian character, but Chinese—all Chinese, Nationalist and Communist—firmly maintain that Formosa is a part of China, inhabited by Chinese, and inseparable from the mother country. Free elections in Hungary or Poland would very probably return a non-Communist government, but the great problem of Indo-China is precisely that the elections promised for next year are almost certain to endorse the Communist Viet Minh in overwhelming strength.

It is very improbable that any Asian summit meeting would result in the Chinese agreeing to allow Korea to be unified under a non-Communist government, to renounce their claim to Formosa, or to forego the elections in Indo-China. It can be argued, none the less, that if the main problems proved intractable, agreement and easing of tension could be achieved on lesser matters. After all, the Western summit meeting has not in fact resolved any of the outstanding problems of Europe; it merely created an atmosphere in which they can be discussed with more promise. It may be that a meeting which achieved the recognition of China and the seating of its delegate at the U. N., agreed to let Korea continue as it is, and won Chinese assent that its claims to Formosa should not be pursued with arms, would indeed change the whole atmosphere in the Far East.

The trouble, in that case, would be more likely to come from the small nations which American power now defends than from a conciliated China. Already the mere breath of future negotiation has fanned Korean intransigence to violence; far from accepting the division of their country as a needful sacrifice for general peace, the South Koreans now talk of regaining the North by force. They chide their American protectors and seek to upset the armistice agreement which ended the Korean War. If China renounced its intention to assert its claim to Formosa

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by force, in return for recognition and the U. N. seat, it would be renouncing a virtual military impossibility and gaining a major legal victory over the Nationalists, who would most certainly resent such a solution and do all in their power to frustrate it. They would perhaps engage in hostilities themselves in order to force a change of policy upon the United States. A very similar reaction may be expected from Mr. Diem if the powers which guaranteed the Geneva settlement in Indo-China try to implement the clause which calls for free elections next year.

It would seem, therefore, that the Chinese have every reason to be conciliatory, obliging, and accommodating. By a humbler mien the Chinese could win the good will of the non-aligned Asian powers. No one is asking them to give anything they now have; on the contrary the West is debating how much should be given up to them. Summit or any other significant negotiations to effect a Far Eastern settlement inevitably imply acceptance of the Peking government as the "other side" at the bargaining table, and any distinction which can be drawn between this and full diplomatic recognition is slight and will prove ephemeral.

ONCE THIS pill is swallowed, what are the prospects that the medicine will do any good? It would seem likely that China would be ready enough to leave Korea divided, since it could not hope, after all the sacrifices of the Korean war, that America would agree to abandon Syngman Rhee, however troublesome. The Chinese would have a further reason for doing this: under "democratic centralism" the discontent of the North Koreans at the division of their country does not seem to find any embarrassing expression, but clearly this is not the case in South Korea. China could watch complacently while America became involved in an unbecoming struggle with the regime on whose behalf arms had been taken up.

Ho Chi-minh

If the Chinese do agree to acknowledge that their claim to Formosa is only to be pursued peacefully, they will in their own eyes have made a major concession deserving an appropriate reward. That reward would have to be an American guarantee that Chiang's forces would refrain from hostile acts, evacuate the offshore islands, and in effect also admit that the Nationalist claim to be the true government of China preparing to reinvade the mainland is an idle dream. It is often suggested that if Chiang Kai-shek made any such public renunciation the morale of his forces would crumble, and many a mainlander in Formosa would see no sense in remaining in exile. To avoid any such debacle Chiang might be tempted to play the hero and defy the Communist lightning, counting on the backing he would get from some sections of American opinion, and knowing how embarrassing his role would be to an Administration which had at last come to grips with the China problem. The Peking government could very easily present its agreement to refrain from force in Formosa as a noble sacrifice in the cause of world peace; it would be the more willing to do so since in fact it could not now invade Formosa in the face of American opposition.

INDO-CHINA is the most difficult of these three problems. If the elections are not held because Premier Diem has obstructed them in the South, it would be possible for the Viet Minh to hold elections in the North, which would no doubt return Ho Chi-minh to power with an enormous majority. The Communist side could then claim it had carried out the Geneva agreement, but that the West had refused to make their protege do the same.

The Chinese could disavow any responsibility for the consequences of Diem's flouting of the "will of the people." Asian opinion would not approve any acquiescence in Diem's maneuvers, which are not admired. A renewed civil war would be the most probable outcome, but French opinion is unfavorable to Diem and France would not join in any fight on his behalf. Nor would China be likely to intervene to help Ho Chi-minh, partly because he would not need help, and partly because China could put the West in the wrong if it refrained from assisting its ally while we endeavored to support Diem.

Unfortunately the Western powers are not at all in agreement about the course to pursue in Indo-China—or if they have come to an agreement they have not seen fit to announce it to their peoples. It seems certain that the defense of Premier Diem, if he had refused to hold elections, would be so bad a cause that no government would be prepared to put it before the electors. Eighteen months ago the Western peoples showed a marked reluctance to go to war over Indo-China, and the record of confusion and violence which has been built up in the past year in South Vietnam is unlikely to inspire a change of heart. If Chinese assurances on Laos and Cambodia were to be given with any evidence of sincerity, the West would probably be ready to wash its hands of Diem.

In spite of all the minor inconveniences which could arise from a settlement of this nature in the Far East, the real strength of America's position in the Pacific would not be seriously undermined. Japan would remain, and would be perhaps more cooperative, and in the rest of Asia such striking evidence of American willingness to make concessions for peace would be a potent argument refuting the Communist propaganda which depicts the United States as ever anxious to interfere in the affairs of free Asia. Measures in restraint of Korean exuberance or Chiang's melodramatics might be unpopular at home, but they would gain America immense respect abroad. The free adherence of Asian peoples to the cause of democracy is the real barrier to communism, and this would be stimulated by a policy which accorded a great Asian people the status which it is due.

SCIENCE AND DEMOCRACY

Key to Modern Politics . . *by David Thomson*

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DEMOCRACY today suffers from an inner conflict between its traditional ideology and its concrete experience. The purpose of this article is to suggest that both the origins of this conflict and a possible escape from it can be found in further extensions of the scientific spirit into democratic politics and government.

Democratic government, as it evolved in the United States, the United Kingdom, and the nations of Western Europe (preeminently France), was historically a product of interplay between certain expectations encouraged by eighteenth century rationalism and the new social possibilities offered by nineteenth-century industrialism, commerce, and finance. Because both intellectual rationalism and the new industrialism alike met with stubborn resistance from the old political and social order, they grew together and found much in common. Freedom of speculation and freedom of enterprise seemed to go together; free thinking and free trade would jointly bring the millennium. And because theorists of politics and practitioners of politics were usually identical, the revolutionary movement of democracy was richly infused with the spirit of "scientific" rationalism. Hamilton and Jefferson, Burke and Paine, Condorcet and Sieyes, were political thinkers who engaged in active politics and the tasks of government.

TODAY the gulf between political theory and practice is vividly symbolized by the segregation of political philosophers and political scientists from the practitioners of politics. Since the days of Woodrow Wilson and Lenin few active political leaders have contributed much of note to political science, and few political scientists have become successful politicians. Democracy has even become allergic to "intellectuals" in politics, as evidenced by the distrust of Henry Wallace and Adlai Stevenson in the United States, of Andre Tardieu and Leon Blum in France, of John Strachey and Harold Laski in Britain. "Egg-heads" are suspect as politicians. But democracy owes its very existence to such undoubted "egg-heads" as Franklin, Paine, and Condorcet.

The expectations from social life and new modes of government which they encouraged found formulation in the American Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen. Behind the formulas of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" and "liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression" lay the ardent desire of at least the politically effective classes in each country for a closer reciprocal relationship between government and people. This new relationship was to be attained by destroying outworn privileges and guaranteeing constitutional rights. There lay also the desire that economic activity should be released from inept political control. A democratic state was to rest ideologically on the assumption that most of its citizens were rational individuals, and materially on the assumption of the production of plenty through freedom of private enterprise. The machinery of government would be streamlined and efficient; but the scope of its action would be precisely and narrowly restricted.

The experience of democratic government during the next century belied and disappointed these expectations in many particulars. Freedom of economic enterprise brought abundance but did not end poverty. Constitutional rights came to seem formal and empty in face of the new extremes of economic inequality. The coming of full universal suffrage (a very recent event in many countries) did not subject governments to the rational wills of their citizens; on the contrary, powerful political parties arose led by astute managers and skilled demagogues. They exploited the new resources for irrational mass-suggestion and propaganda, and subjected public opinion to manipulation and stampede. State activity, far from being restricted to those basic minimum functions expected by early democrats, spread to well-nigh every sector of economic and social life. Indeed, elected governments which claimed to rest on mandates from the people suffered fewer impediments to untrammelled power than their "absolutist" predecessors.

THESE striking contrasts between expectations and events have their roots in two momentous forces which have transformed Western civilization. One is the enormous growth of population in Western countries since democratic ideology was first formulated; the other is the rapid advance of scientific knowledge and technology. The framers of democratic ideology never envisaged either the urban, industrial mass-electorates of the modern democracies or the vast technocratic structure of modern economies. These fundamental changes have consistently outrun adjustments in democratic principles and thinking, and have made them perpetually out of date.

Confronted with this situation, democrats have too often reacted in highly unscientific ways. They have indulged in wishful thinking, seeking refuge in comfortably optimistic assumptions—most strikingly in their attitude towards peace and war. Even in 1919 the hope was cherished that complete and universal democracy would bring peace automatically. Autocracy, aristocracy, and militarism were what bred war. Since people are inherently pacific, full democracy would be inevitably

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"peace-loving," and democratic regimes would themselves be a guarantee of peace. That dream vanished when the highly democratic Weimar Republic produced Hitler and his totalitarian regime.

Optimistic democrats fell back on their second line of defense-mechanism, and proclaimed that the progress of science, with its devotion to human welfare and its strong internationalist traditions, would end the urge to war. Only with the manufacture of nuclear weapons has the truth dawned that scientific progress favors nationalism at least as much as internationalism. Synthetic chemistry makes national self-sufficiency more possible; nitrates made from the air demolish the interdependence of European agriculture and Peruvian trade in fertilizers; hydroelectric power compensates for national mineral deficiencies. The anti-nationalism of science is a myth, but a myth that dies hard.

BESIDES clinging to such myths, democrats have too often befogged their own expectations from democratic government by nursing theories and devices of government far beyond their term of usefulness. Truths known, or at least suspected, by political scientists have taken too long to penetrate. According to classical and traditional theory, the opinion of an electorate is formed in perpetual discussion and debate and finds basic political expression in the election of a legislative assembly of its representatives. This assembly then is charged with the dual function of passing appropriate legislation and of sustaining but criticizing an executive power, the government, which is in turn charged with the duty of conducting policy and enforcing the law. This classical theory still underlies the regimes of the United Kingdom, France, and to a large measure the United States. It is unreal and misleading in nearly every particular. Can a democracy stay healthy without a more actualist appraisal of how its own system works?

There is no real sense in which one man elected by universal suffrage in a large modern urban constituency can be said to "represent" the opinions, wishes or interests of all voters within that constituency, or even of a majority of them. Within the assembly of such "representatives," be it Congress, House of Commons, or National Assembly, he will at best keep in mind the interests of whatever happen to be the most powerful pressure groups operating in his constituency, so far as these can be reconciled; he will be conscious of what he believes to be the general prejudices of most of his supporters; he will be politely responsive to influential individuals. But much more will he be aware of his party's demands, his party leader's activities, his own reputation of eligibility for office.

IF HE BE a good and public-spirited politician, he will pay first attention to the needs of the national interest as dictated by events and circumstances quite unthought-of when he last made electioneering speeches, and still little appreciated by public opinion at large. Far from helping to frame legislation or policy enforceable upon the executive, he in fact participates in the shaping of legislation and policy which the government has decided that it wants, and which it will exact from the legislature by means of its party organization. Few active politicians can really believe the fictions of representative government; if they do they are probably unfit to be entrusted with the enormous responsibilities and power of a modern democratic state.

The essence of democratic government is no longer representation but responsibility, accountability, removability. What distinguishes multi-party from single-party states today is the supremely important fact that in one the government can be put out of power without violence, and in the other it cannot. The theory and the machinery of representative government have almost unwittingly achieved this valuable result; but their actual functions now are to make government responsible to the democratic electorates, not to make it representative. From the necessity of keeping governments changeable derive all the constitutional "rights" of freedom of speech and association, of public meeting and protest. To defend them in terms of this practical necessity rather than in traditional terms of "natural rights" is to strengthen them. On this basis one can rebut the argument that since "representation" is a sham, constitutional freedoms are worthless.

This need to re-focus the whole theory of democracy is reinforced by another basic change—the change in what is expected of a state in modern conditions. The modern state is expected to do a lot, and has equipped itself with the apparatus for fulfilling great expectations. To the traditional democratic demands of even-handed justice and the rule of law, personal freedom of conscience and association, and the other standard civic rights, have been added the expectation of efficient social services, a degree of economic and material security, the preservation of certain anticipated standards of living by policies of full employment, health services, housing programs, and the rest. It is above all the material achievements of science and industrial technology which have encouraged the belief that all human and social ills are remediable by human ingenuity, skill, and organization. The ever-widening frontiers of scientific knowledge have correspondingly widened the sphere of political activity.

NOR IS there much reason to doubt that these additional expectations can be fulfilled. Whatever material problems are susceptible of systematic analysis and investigation, of rational organization and skilled manipulation, are unlikely to be beyond the grasp of science. Even a social science such as economics has reached a stage where precise solutions can be devised for measurable problems. Political science still eludes the precisionists, and it might be fostering a new optimistic fallacy to suppose that democratic politics can ever be in this same sense "scientific." But even so, there is much that expert students of political science can contribute to the improvement of democratic government. At least democratic principles and doctrines can be made actualist. The conflict between ideology and experience can be diminished. And already there are signs that this is beginning to happen.

A MENDES-FRANCE preaching Keynesian economics in France, a Herbert Morrison writing scholarly studies of the British system of government, a Leo Amery publishing "Thoughts on the Constitution," are straws in the wind. Another sign of a new realism is the tendency of electorates as widely apart as California, Britain, and France, to look behind artificial party differences to common objectives which they insist that politicians of either party must pursue. In the last general election in the United Kingdom voters generally refused to get excited about alleged clashes of doctrine between the two parties. Instead they expressed a quiet resolve to preserve and consolidate post-war reforms in defiance of extremist back-benchers on both sides. Democratic politics are falling into the hands of moderate men, whatever their party affiliation. There is a new emphasis on reason and realism at the expense of doctrinaire ideals. If these changes are backed by efforts to re-educate electorates, to teach in schools and colleges an actualist approach to politics and world affairs in place of the antiquated "civics" too often favored in most Western nations, to restore the original affinities between the thinkers and the practitioners in politics, then we shall be moving in the right direction.

Science, too, may then no longer be treated with superstitious reverence and come to be seen in its essence—which is but a resolute and clear-sighted actualism, impatient of all that is fictitious or in conflict with verifiable facts, yet patient and humble-minded before the still immeasurable expanse of man's ignorance.

Intellectuals inspired by this approach can live down the accumulated distrust of their role in politics, and this, too, is necessary for better democracy. Stupidity and ineptitude can be as harmful in politics as downright dishonesty or ill will. No democratic country has a surplus of intelligence in its political leadership. The best antidote to communism, which is hampered by its attachment to an out-dated doctrinaire Marxism and a fanatically unscrupulous Bolshevism, is a more rational and effective democracy, linked to the actualist methods and spirit of science.

THEY SING OF LOVE

A German Vignette . . *by Kay Boyle*

I HAVE been reading a novel that recently sold 70,000 copies in Germany, a book which the author himself describes as a "self-impeaching account of my own past. But the publishers hasten to assure the wary reader that the author, in his capacity as a lawyer during the Hitler regime, once almost saved the life of a condemned Jew. ("Now let us look into the mirror and dote on ourselves!" says Carl Zuckmayer's Luftwaffe General in his play, "Des Teufels General." "What noble human beings we are! That's how we look! Each of us with a Jew or two to salvage his conscience so that we can sleep at night!") The novel I have just read offers still another exit from the bloody scene of the mass crime, because the author's premise seems to be that if the everyday functions of a man's life are recorded in sufficient detail he is bound to emerge as a normal, comprehensible man—even as the touching figure of a man—in his individual helplessness before "modern collectivism." This is the excuse that was offered over and over by Germans in the years immediately following the war. "We are not a bad people. We were the victims of circumstances. We were perhaps weak, but who is not? We are no worse than other men," the plaint would go, and they did not ask for pardon, but for compassion, which alone could save them from the terrible indictment of history.

The novel in question was written by Gerhard Kramer, at present District Attorney of Hamburg, and the title of it, "We Shall March Again,"* was chosen both in pathos and in irony. How familiar the tone, the angle of approach, and the callousness shrewdly masked by sentiment! How well I came to know in my years in Germany the trick of draining the vilest evil of its power by the assumption that man has no recourse before the "overwhelming brutal forces" of the war machine! It is perhaps one of the greatest limitations that tradition has imposed upon the German mind—that the norm of human conduct be based on that of the lowest and weakest members of humanity, and not on those of the highest courage and spirituality, as is the case in France. The standards of conduct set in "We Shall March Again" bring to my mind one German family I knew well in the time I was there—from 1948 to 1953.

I spent hours, long evenings, entire days, with this family, not because of any love I bore them, but because I believed that here, in them, was the answer to what had taken place. They were wine-drinking rather than beer-drinking Germans, and they had a certain grace. The mother and father were dark-haired, they carried themselves like

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KAY BOYLE's latest novel is the recently published "The Seagull on the Step."

* G. P. Putnam's Sons. $3.75.

happy people, and they liked to sing. The children were all in their teens, the girls crowned with long, dark braids, very clean-looking in their simple dirndls, their manner forthright and gay. The boys were hard-working, and extremely curious concerning other peoples and other countries. They collected photographs of monuments, mostly German and English and nothing exotic. They kept their shoes handsomely polished and their bicycles gleamed like silverware. It was all so normal, so natural, their days of work, their evenings of song, but almost immediately one felt that their good nature, their industriousness, had a metallic veneer. Their voices struck a chill to the heart as they sang the Lorelei and other songs in the dusk looking over the river, rendering the insidious German songs of love that bewitched men with the power of their own invulnerability, and lured them in the end to death. As I sat with the members of this family, it seemed to me that the concentration camps, in which they did not believe, cast a shadow upon them so profound that their lives were lived in the eternal dark.

THE father had been with the Wehrmacht during the occupation of Paris, and had worked as a cook in an officers' mess just off the Concorde, and he liked to tell of the bits of food he had slipped in winter to the French children who waited outside the kitchen door. "*Vati* always loved children," his wife would say, looking with sentiment across the table at him, and she would go on saying: "The hearts of all good men are the same, no matter what nationality they are. And one military occupation is like another, always the poor men taken out of their homes, away from their families, and put in uniform, hurting no one unless it's forced upon them. *Vati* never raised his hand against anyone at all." Once he had come across two bags of potatoes going bad in the kitchen of the officers' mess, and although the potatoes were not all bad, he reported they were unfit for human consumption so that he could slip them to the French children waiting at the door. Every time he had drunk a certain number of glasses of wine, I could see him getting ready to tell the story again, no matter how many times he had told it before. It was as if the faces of the French children were distinguishable in the bottom of the glass, and every time he finished drinking the wine, he would have to quickly fill the glass up again so that their faces would not be there. "They weren't terribly thin," he would say. "I've seen children just as thin as that in certain quarters of Berlin," and he and his wife would contrive between them this figure of the German army cook as symbol of the universal, charitable, average man.

This was a strange characteristic of every member of the family: they never called anything, either act or emotion, by its rightful name. When they talked of *Vati* being arrested in Frankfurt in 1946 by the American military police, they did not speak of *Vati's* act as theft. The Americans had found a bottle of cognac in his tool-bag under the saddle of his bicycle. It was a present a GI had given him, and he was taking it home, but the GI had denied it when *Vati* gave them his name. That was the way the Americans would let you down, they said. And the photographs of men starved to the framework of skeletons and stacked, one upon another, like kindling, in the courtyards of the Nazi concentration camps, *Mutti* and *Vati* said these were not photographs at all. They were something as phony as a Hollywood set, produced by American theatrical sleight-of-hand.

The German soldiers had even been loved by many of the French, *Vati* would say as we sat in a wine garden in the evening, under the flowering trees. There would be glow-worms in the grass, and *Vati* would say that he had heard there were no glow-worms, but only fireflies in America. Even the French family he had known so well in Neuilly during the war had thought it strange that the Americans, with all their variety of climates, had night insects that gave only a flickering, intermittent light, while the Germans had the glow-worm that burned so quietly and steadfastly.

"The Pinceau family were very good to *Vati* while he was stationed in Paris," *Mutti* said. "He was billeted in their apartment, and he used to slip cigarettes and coffee and things like that out of the officers' mess to take home to them at night. All military occupations are just alike," she would say in comfort, perhaps hoping that the corpses would at last lie still; "the Germans in France, the Americans in Germany, the GIs troublesome sometimes because of the gangster films they see, but the hearts of men everywhere are just the same."

"In the village I lived in in France in 1941," I said, "the boys were taken out of the classroom, and carried in trucks to Lyon, and shot against a wall. My daughters had gone to school a long time with them. They were fifteen and sixteen years old, and I can tell you their names if you would like to hear. They had sabotaged a German convoy of trucks, slit the tires at night, and so they had to die."

EVERYONE sat quiet at the table, so still that we might have been waiting to hear the echo of the shots ringing out. Nobody lifted his glass of wine, nobody stirred, and then I saw the tears coming slowly down the German woman's face.

"Is it true, then, that we are not like other people?" she whispered, looking straight into the dark beyond the trees. "Is it possible that we are different from everybody else?" she whispered, and her tears fell one by one, as if each were the coin of a cruel and exorbitant ransom that she must finally pay.

Once, when I went to Paris for a weekend, *Vati* gave me a bottle of Moselle to take to Madame Pinceau in Neuilly. "Tell her I still think of them all, and that some day I'll be back to see them," he said. He could not understand it when I told him that Madame Pinceau had put the bottle back in my hands, and closed the door. I must have rung the wrong doorbell, he said.

BOOKS

The Unchristian Crusades

By Kenneth Rexroth

RECENT years have shown a considerable and apparently growing interest in the history of the Crusades. Presumably this represents an urge to understand more fully the Near East and to establish the present relations between cultures which call themselves Christian and Moslem on a sounder basis.

The first major work to appear was R. Grousset's "Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jerusalem," three volumes, Paris, 1934-6, and "L'Empire du Levant," Paris, 1946. Perhaps Grousset provoked his successors into writing their books. Any non-partisan would find it almost impossible to believe his eyes as he reads. Even at its highest levels of scholarship it is obvious that French chauvinism has forgotten nothing and learned nothing.

There are many theories and interpretations of the Crusades, but to the best of my knowledge, Grousset is the only person in modern times who "believes" in the Crusades themselves. As a chauvinist, he occupies a position considerably to the right of his predecessor, Monsieur Villehardouin—the crusader-historian. When you encounter his first statement about the civilizing effect of the Crusades, you think you have forgotten your French and have subject and object mixed up. But he really means it. These Frankish brigands, illiterate, filthy, thieving, and murderous, brought the *clarte* of France to the benighted Orient! It is shocking to realize that such dangerous misconceptions are not only loose in the world today, but are held by scholars of renown, who in turn misguide statesmen and soldiers.

The first outbreak of folly after the first World War was the shelling of Damascus. Years ago van Paassen said it was the leak in the dike of international order which brought the deluge. Grousset's history of the Crusades is a mythical substantiation of the French sphere of influence in the Levant—an historical romance justifying the shelling of Damascus, and the extraordinary behavior of the French in Syria in the second World War, as well as, of course, the follies now being enacted in North Africa.

Were I a historian I would certainly have sat down and written a history of the Crusades after reading M. Grousset's. Possibly that's what happened. Steven Runciman's "A History of the Crusades," (three volumes, Cambridge University Press, 1954-55) has all the earmarks of an historical classic. It is judicious, even-tempered, exhaustive, and completely informed. Historians are always partisan in some degree. Mr. Runciman, as the citizen of an empire which is voluntarily withdrawing from the Orient and which has had a long history of friendly relations with various Moslem powers, can hardly be said to be pro-Crusade. It is true that he always speaks well o British intervention in the Holy Land, but then the English really do seem to have comported themselves with remarkable sense, tolerance, and chivalry. Again, as an Englishman, he is mildly anti-Papal. You feel that of all the people who played a part in the long and pointless drama, the nation he is most sympathetic with is Byzantium; the individual, the Emperor Alexius Comnenius.

But what makes Mr. Runciman's history great is style and temper. In writing of the Crusades it is all too easy to raise one's voice. Runciman never departs from a well-modulated, Cantabridgean tone. This calm may be saturated with irony, but it is never ruffled by it.

To me there is only one flaw in this beautiful example of historical equanimity and that is the treatment of the Roman Emperor Frederick II. It is easy to make the claim that Frederick II was the most civilized Western man between the death of Boethius and the episcopacy of Robert Grosseteste. From his court came Thomas Aquinas, the first sculptors of the Renaissance, and the founders of Italian poetry. He accomplished more in the Holy Land than almost any other potentate and he did this without fighting at all. Runciman seems to dislike him intensely, because he was hardly a pious pilgrim. In fact, he was a cynical atheist. True, he became one of the great Nazi heroes, but so did Bach and Goethe. No one thinks of holding Francis Bacon responsible for the follies of the Baconians. I am really at a loss to understand why the judicious Runciman should lose his temper because Frederick made some cynical remarks to his Moslem hosts during his tour of the Holy Places. I am sure I do not believe, and neither does Mr. Runciman, that Christ was buried on the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre or that Mohammed ascended from Jerusalem to Heaven on the back of an hippogriff with the face of a woman. And I do not see why Frederick should be taken to task for sharing our skepticism.

OTHERWISE the book is a sheer joy to read. Possibly this is due to the fact that although the Crusades were an episode of almost unparalleled hooliganism, they really did not do a terrible lot of damage. Offhand I can think of only one comparable outburst of historically important criminality—the destruction of Peru by Pizarro. But here a great and noble civilization was destroyed in a matter of weeks by a gang of thugs, and the population was given over to murder and slavery for 500 years. The Crusaders did less damage.

The Crusaders were able to penetrate the Holy Land in the first place because they were drawn into a vacuum. The Abbasid Caliphate was in an advanced state of decay. Egypt was independent and unstable. The countryside between Bagdad and Cairo was given over to small, short-lived Turkish principalities. From Damascus to the Red Sea lay an area of little interest to anybody except the religious enthusiasts, thieves, wanted men, and masterless knights whom Europe was delighted to get rid of. If no large numbers of people get badly hurt, there is a certain smug pleasure in reading a

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story of human stupidity, larcenous folly, and just plain foolishness.

Then again, although Mr. Runciman does not point this out, every movement of troops, from the beginnings in Europe to the pettiest conflicts between Tyre and Ascalon, had in their day not just an ideological justification, but a theological one as well. The Baldwins and Bohemunds of Antioch and Jerusalem never lacked preachers and scholars to justify the bloodthirsty vagaries of their policies. No one today except, slightly, M. Grousset, gives a continental for these justifications, so the record of brigandage stands clear of its ancient vestments. It is a consolation to know that in 500 years, if there are still civilized men on the earth, our own capers will be appreciated on their merits and not in terms of their present justifications. This, I suppose, is the most one can learn from a study of the Crusades, because, as Runciman points out, it is not true that they formed an important point of culture contact between East and West. Culture exchange in the late Middle Ages flowed largely through channels kept open by the Italian trading cities, and although the nonegenarian Doge Dondolo, allowed the savage horde of Crusaders to sack Constantinople, by and large the merchant princes of Italy looked on the Crusades much as you and I and Frederick II.

ON THE other side the effects were more serious. The Moslems learned the meaning of the word "crusade" in little more than a generation, and it did not take them long to fight better ones. The Crusades produced the Jihad—the Holy War—and closed the windows which Islam had kept open to the West. From Nur-ed-Din to Jinnah or the present regime in Yemen, Western civilization has paid the penalty for its brief adventure in the Crusades. And Islam has, of course, paid the terrible price in the slow death of its civilization due to rabid xenophobia and religious bigotry.

Furthermore, the Crusades to the Holy Land made possible other "crusades" in Europe. It was one thing to turn a bunch of highwaymen loose in the desert marches between Bagdad and Cairo. It was another thing altogether to turn them loose in the cultural heart of Europe. The Albigensian Crusade was patterned directly on the Eastern ones. It was fought by the same kind of men. But it was fought in the most civilized part of the world west of China, not for religion but for loot, and it destroyed the culture of Provence.

Similarly there were many to give religious justification to the sack of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade—in other words, to call it "a crusade against the schismatics"—yet this was certainly one of the real disasters of history. To speak in contemporary terms, there is no evidence that Al Capone and his friends made the eating of pizza at midnight suppers popular in America, and there is plenty of evidence that they set a bad example to the youth of the land.

There is just one aspect of Christian-Moslem contact in the period, to which Runciman gives pretty short shrift—and that is what might be called the occult tradition as it is perpetrated in the mythology of Freemasonry. If the Templars and others brought back to Europe a secular, rational deism which they had learned from sects like the Assassins, Europe gained. Historians shy away from questions as to the authenticity of the confessions of Jacques de Molay and his companions, but I for one should like to have seen a more extensive discussion of the case. Certainly there are today reputable scholars who believe that there is more in the mythology of Freemasonry than unadulterated myth.

The chapters on the fall of Jerusalem are a real masterpiece comparable to Gibbon's sonorous and ominous "last gloomy hours of Theodoric." One of the great dramas of history is the crumbling of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The king, Baldwin the Fourth, was a brave, wise, and slowly dying leper. His vassals were criminal psychopaths. Europe had lost interest in his fate. His opponent was Saladin, the greatest personality to emerge from the whole period. It is the Wasteland, the Grail Castle, and the Fisher King come to life, and Mr. Runciman makes the most of his opportunity with some really noble writing.

Immediately upon the completion of Mr. Runciman's work, a committee of scholars under the editorship of Kenneth M. Setton started publishing in America "A History of the Crusades" (five volumes, University of Pennsylvania Press: Volume I. "The First Hundred Years" $12). One of the principal contributors is Mr. Runciman himself, who handles the narrative section of the first crusade. There are chapters by all the best authorities. Sir H. A. R. Gibb, for instance, contributes several chapters on the Islamic world of the time, and there are others his equal in scholarship if not in fame. There is, for example, the story of the Turkish invasion and the Selchukid Kingdoms by Claude Cahen—the only thing I have ever read on the subject which was not horribly confusing. It is a gem of lucid historical narrative.

There is a chapter by Bernard Lewis on the Ismailites and the Assassins which is packed with information for Western readers, who by and large know nothing of the difference between Shiite and Sunnite Islam. In fact, this chapter is the best discussion of the more extreme forms of Shiism ever written, and it is exciting to know that Mr. Lewis has in preparation a full book on the subject.

THERE is only one trouble with a committee history and that is, of course, its impersonality. It is difficult to imagine anyone reading one of the great Cambridge histories with the same pleasure he would get from Froude or H. G. Wells, let alone Thucydides or Gibbon. But, like the "Cambridge Medieval History," this collection is so full of new information, detailed background, and what are called odd byways, that it would be niggardly to quarrel with it. All the announced volumes promise to be equally interesting, although there is one which I must say I await with some trepidation: Volume IV, "Civilization and Institutions," is to be edited by Jeremiah O'Sullivan of Fordham University. Harboring a low opinion of the civilization manifested in the Crusades, I have to be convinced that a professor at Fordham University is best qualified to handle such a subject. Anyway, Professor Setton's committee history is exciting reading—a different and lesser excitement. Mr. Runciman's history is a classic. The other is a great reference work.

On the Sands of Egypt

THE PICNIC AT SAKKARA. By P. H. Newby. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.00.

By Carlos Baker

THE WORD "picnic" in the title of P. H. Newby's highly entertaining novel about the British in Egypt is used partly in the military or ironic sense, as one might say, "We had quite a picnic at Iwo Jima." His hero, Dr. Edgar Perry, teaches English in the Faculty of Arts at what was known in pre-Nasser days, circa 1946, as King Fouad I University. Since then the name has become Cairo University and British pedagogues like Perry have been driven into academic exile by nationalist forces. Newby catches his professor just before the beginning of the end.

The end, or climax, is marked by another kind of picnic, a real one, at Sakkara among the tombs of Egypt's past greats. This is arranged by Egyptian students as a reward to Edgar for his noble but adventitious campaign to get them better living conditions in their scrawny tenements at Gizeh. "What," asks Edgar's wife, who is on the point of divorcing her husband, "is an Egyptian picnic like?" "Cold chicken," bellows an enormous student named Ahmed Mansour, "tomatoes, cheese, boiled eggs, bananas, dates, oranges, bottles of beer for the Christians, and coffee. . . . We smoke cigarettes and play cards."

BUT THERE is more to the picnic than cardplaying and cold chicken. Under the skin of colonial life in Cairo lurks the fanatical nationalism of the Moslem Brotherhood, sinister enough in a comically insane fashion to provide Newby's book with a stiff undercurrent of melodrama. This undercurrent, set and kept in motion by a contradictory character named Muawiya, sweeps Perry into and out of the maelstrom of Egyptian politics long before he has time to finish his lecture on suppressed sexuality in George Eliot's "The Mill on the Floss." People familiar with the Egyptian scene since World War II may suspect that Muawiya is meant to embody that necessarily odd combination of love for the British and determination to drive them out which produces a queer parallel between post-war Egypt and eighteenth-century America.

Readers of such previous novels by Mr. Newby as "The Young May Moon" and " A Season in England" will recall his evocative powers with the atmosphere of place, and his adeptness in the presentation of the humor of character. They will also remember his capacity for skirting the edge of the incredible. Having taught in Cairo after the war, he knows from the inside the place, the people, and the incredibilities. His novel therefore provides a vivid dramatization of the conflict of Middle East and middling (or muddling) West. Newby's forte, like his locale, lies somewhere between the villa-comedy of Douglas's "South Wind" and the often touching clash of ethnologies found in Forster's "A Passage to India." But his forte is his own and he knows how to defend it.

CARLOS BAKER is chairman of the Department of English at Princeton University.

Mendes-France's Economics

ECONOMICS AND ACTION. By Pierre Mendes-France and Gabriel Ardant. Unesco-Columbia University Press. $3.50.

By Douglas F. Dowd

HIGH IDEALS, good will, and the desire to build a better world are not in themselves enough, unless they are accompanied by scientific technique, without which the best of intentions founder. It is, of course, the rulers who must be imbued with these ideas. But it is impossible, in a democratic world, to convince the rulers without first winning over those to whom they owe their power." Thus ends this short (222 pages) but useful primer in economics. Initially, one's curiosity about the book is and should be aroused by the past, present, and future positions of the authors. (Ardant is General Commissioner for Productivity in France; should Mendes-France again become Premier, it would doubtless be with increased power). Seldom are we enabled to gain a systematic view of leading statesmen's notions of political economy. Seldom, indeed, do such men *have* systematic notions which could be placed on view without embarrassment.

If this were the only function served by the book, it might properly be classified as a curiosity piece. But it happens also to be an intelligent and intelligible introduction to political economy. Specifically, the authors deal with two major aspects of economics: (1) the factors determining the level of employment, production, and income; (2) "the problem of choice" (i. e., alternative means and criteria for determining the allocation of scarce resources as between competing patterns of consumer and capital goods). In the process an enormous amount of ground is covered: the development of economic theory, and the context in which it developed; the degree to which theories have been put into practice, and their success or failure.

Inevitably, the combination of a short book covering territory as broad and deep as this, as the authors are well aware, "runs a double risk—either of treating certain data over-summarily and thus making them appear, wrongly, as if they were obvious, or of dwelling at excessive length on arguments that are already well established and familiar." Mendes-France and Ardant have come to grips with this dilemma as well as might be expected. It may be worth pointing out that the general position of the authors seems to be in keeping with, certainly not ahead of, their times—i. e., "liberal Keynesian" on the employment question, and leaning toward the welfare state on the question of market policy. It may also be true that in order to keep up with the times, in a meaningful sense, one has to be at least slightly ahead of them.

This is the first of a new UNESCO series, entitled "Science and Society," which will "endeavor to show how the resources of knowledge can alter and correct the so-called fated course of history." The series has begun well.

DOUGLAS F. DOWD is assistant professor of economics at Cornell University.

Selected New Books

European History

THE THIRD REICH. Edited by Maurice Baumont, John H. E. Fried, and Edmond Vermeil. Praeger. $9. Under the auspices of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies and with the aid of UNESCO, twenty-seven European and American historians and social scientists here survey in 900 pages the nineteenth-century precursors of Nazism, the Nazi movement itself, and various aspects of the Nazi regime. This is unquestionably the most erudite and comprehensive symposium on the subject published thus far. The contributions range from competent to brilliant. Many of these intellectuals, however, tend to over-intellectualize a movement which, in its atavistic primitivism and psychotic nihilism, was a total repudiation of all intellect.

VICHY: POLITICAL DILEMMA. By Paul Farmer. Columbia. $5.50. An able historian, aided by the Institute for Advanced Study, the Social Science Research Council, and the University of Wisconsin, here reconsiders (sans footnotes, but with an annotated bibliography) the Petain-Laval-Darlan regime which "ruled" France, 1940-1944, under Hitler, for Hitler, or against Hitler, depending upon one's value-judgments. The author tells his story well. But he seems unfamiliar with the dynamics of fascism, in France or elsewhere, and is so devoted to "objectivity" that he can never quite make up his mind as to whether the Vichymen were fools, tools, patriots, or scoundrels.

FAILURE OF A REVOLUTION. By Rudolf Coper. Cambridge. $5. A participant observer, reinforcing his memories with intensive research, retells in vividly dramatic prose the tale of the German "revolution" of 1918-19—in which the bankruptcy of Social Democrats, the weakness of liberals, the intransigence of nationalists, and the blindness of Communists all cancelled one another out and made the Weimar state a republic without republicans. These pages offer a gripping account of the politics of frustration and fresh evidence that the soul-sickness of Germany is a tragic and permanent concomitant of our time.

THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION: An Outline of Strategy and Tactics. By Harold H. Fisher. Stanford. $1. This Hoover Institute study, written by its chairman, is only eighty-nine pages long, including a sixteen-page bibliography. It is nonetheless a masterpiece which ought to be "required reading" for all. If you want the sanest, most perceptive, and most illuminating brief treatment ever written of the theory and practice of communism, of the nature of the Communist challenge, and of what is relevant and irrelevant, helpful and harmful, in meeting the challenge, this is it.

NATO: THE FIRST FIVE YEARS, 1949-1954. By Lord Ismay. Distributed by Acme Code Company. $2. The Secretary General here gives us an excellent account, replete with documents, chronologies, charts, and maps, of the history, structure, and achievements of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Most Americans may be surprised to learn that Lord Ismay (and many of his fellows in Britain and on the Continent) are less interested in NATO as an anti-Communist military coalition than as a means of promoting "a healthy Atlantic Community offering conditions of greater well-being and happiness to all its citizens."

RENAISSANCE DIPLOMACY. By Garrett Mattingly. Houghton Mifflin. $6. The talented author of "Catherine of Aragon" (1941) has written a learned and scintillating analysis of the origins of modern diplomatic practice in medieval Europe, the Italian state system of the Renaissance, and the larger European state system of the seventeenth century. This is not only a superb piece of historical research but an exciting and useful contemporary reminder of what the business of diplomacy is about.

THE HOLSTEIN MEMOIRS. Volume I. Edited by Norman Rich and M. H. Fisher. Cambridge. $5. Friedrich von Holstein (1837-1909) was a subordinate of Bismarck, a German diplomat, and an influential official at the Wilhelmstrasse from 1890 to 1906, long described as the "evil genius" of pre-1914 German foreign policy. His private papers are at last available for publication. The "Memoirs and Political Observations" are here presented (and magnificently edited), with volumes of diaries and letters to follow. Holstein emerges as a shrewd and sensitive statesman, frustrated in his highest hopes not by greed, ambition, or blindness but by pressures beyond his control. This raw material of diplomatic history is highly readable and well worth reading.

GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, 1905-1917. By Carl E. Schorske. Harvard. $5.50. In this most recent volume of the Harvard Historical Studies, Professor Schorske of Wesleyan offers a detailed and penetrating reassessment of the schisms among German Social Democrats which, long before 1914, foreshadowed the civil war of 1918-19 between Socialists and Communists, condemned the German labor movement to initial impotence and subsequent Nazi enslavement, and even today reduce the East German Communists to the role of hated tools of an alien conqueror and the West German Socialists to futility. The tragedies of Marxism are no less momentous than its triumphs. Schorske has dissected with the sharpest of scalpels the most poignant and persistent of the tragedies.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN.

Sociology

THE TYRANNY OF PROGRESS. By Albert Salomon. Noonday Press. $3. This provocative essay poses a direct relationship between the ideas on progress of the founding fathers of sociology in the nineteenth century, Comte and Saint Simon, and the twentieth-century concept of totalitarianism.

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AUTOMOBILE WORKERS AND THE AMERICAN DREAM. By Ely Chinoy. Doubleday. $3. A young social scientist presents and interprets interesting findings on what the American dream of opportunity has come to mean in the lives of Midwestern automobile workers.

NATIONAL MINORITIES: AN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM. By Inis L. Claude, Jr. Harvard. $4.50. The incompatibility of nationalism and national minorities is the premise for this definitive study of international solutions of the problem beginning with the League of Nations and ending with the U. N.

HAMTRAMCK—THEN AND NOW. By Arthur Evans Wood. Bookman Associates. $4. A veteran sociologist traces the relentless evolution of a much-maligned Polish-American community from cultural conflict and social disorganization toward integration and stability.

LANGUAGE IN CULTURE. Edited by Harry Hoijer. Chicago. $4.50. Scholars from several disciplines explore the Whorf hypothesis that language more than merely expressing ideas, shapes culture. These esoteric papers on the "hidden metaphysics" of language are not for the lay reader.

REEDUCATING THE DELINQUENT. By S. R. Slavson. Harper. $3.75. The author skilfully recounts how his program of psychotherapy and group therapy through freedom, status, participation, and responsibility have reoriented delinquent and emotionally disturbed children at the progressive Hawthorne and Cedar Knolls schools.

THE URBAN SOUTH. Edited by Rupert B. Vance and Nicholas J. Demerath, with the assistance of Sara Smith and Elizabeth M. Fink. North Carolina. $5. Nineteen social scientists lucidly describe the relation of urbanism to population change, industrialization, and the major political and social processes at work in the South at mid-century point.

GREENBELT: THE COOPERATIVE COMMUNITY. By George A. Warner. Exposition Press. $3.50. The social history, successes, and tribulations of Greenbelt, Maryland, America's first planned, cooperative —and all white—community are related enthusiastically by one of its original residents who later served as mayor.

MILTON L. BARRON.

Fiction

THE GREAT MAN. By Al Morgan. Dutton. $3.50. Staccato, one-sentence paragraphs in a familiar format of TV expose. Any more of this and there would not be any words at all. Just punctuation. But the novel is sharp. And tough. And funny. And sexy—an unlimited harem just waiting to be sampled like martinis. Al Morgan writes for radio and TV, and puts it all down for the record in his first book. Everyone will be talking about who the characters really are. Al Morgan knows the score.

OFFICERS AND GENTLEMEN. By Evelyn Waugh. Little, Brown. $3.75. What has happened to Evelyn Waugh? The acid pen becomes blunted in this meandering novel of British military incompetence. Mr. Waugh's aristocrats are still at odds with a depraved mass world, but seem no more attractive than their antagonists.

THE MAGNIFICENT ENEMIES. By Edgar Maass. Scribner's. $3.95. A fine historical novel recreating the Hanseatic League of the Middle Ages and the movement of idealistic freebooters who challenged it. Mr. Maass is a neat, effective writer who knows his material; his new book is both romantic and intelligent.

THE MAN IN THE GRAY FLANNEL SUIT. By Sloan Wilson. Simon and Schuster. $3.50. A problem novel of a young man's integrity in a high-priced business jungle, where the only talent that counts is the talent to "sell yourself." Much of Mr. Wilson's book is devoted to abstracting pressures and alternatives; he seems preoccupied with the problem at the expense of his story.

THE EXCHANGE OF JOY. By Isabel Quigly. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50. Fragile, Jamesian narrative in an ecstatic love story complete with sunny Italy, an Italian poet named Archangel, and a bitter-sweet ending. Miss Quigly writes subtly and brilliantly; her next novel may have something to say.

SHOW OF FORCE. By Stewart Thomson. Harper. $3.50. Violence and hate makes this a powerful novel of the Middle East. Despite occasional cliche (example: "You're not really so tough and hard boiled as you'd have people believe"), Mr. Thomson etches character and situation in taut, driving prose.

LEAVEN OF MALICE. By Robertson Davies. Scribner's. $3.50. Clever people and silly people in a Canadian college town, thrown into a turmoil when a practical joker puts a phony engagement notice in the local paper. Some very funny moments and effective caricature.

STANLEY COOPERMAN.

Aubade

That is dawn, that light in the west.
brighter than lead dropping scalding on the eye,
breaking the day of silence on the nest
untenanted—and strewn from the naked tree

or atomized. Across the new white land
no bough holds any dew, or leaf, nor must
any angled arm of wood make shadow; wind
must not stir the unreflecting, hanging atom dust

in that white land of final dawn. If we,
my loving flesh, could but prolong our night!
But no cloud crosses the coming of the light;
no birdsong shrieks that instant breaking,

that day of terrible mind. In a granule, borne by
a wheel grun? shield clank? clatter of chariot wheel?
on covert pistons slipping steady lechery?
Will silver hollow whistling sky fish carry it?

Or will some draftsman, coat on a nail,
switching his steel-beaked compass, setting a thumb-screw,
drain the last black drop? What bestial hand, like mine,
will turn the last dial to the point marked TRUE—

searing the skyline with a flameless fire,
powdering all the antique ways of blood,
cauterizing bed and loin and mire
and drying dark in dawn's pure, pure still flood?

Judson Jerome

Records

B. H. Haggin

ONE of the pleasures of the London recording of Handel's "Messiah" was the beautiful harpsichord playing of George Malcolm. Subsequently London issued a record with a number of his outstanding performances of Scarlatti sonatas, which for some reason it kept a secret from reviewers and thus from the public. Now London LD-9187 offers his performances of Bach's Italian Concerto and Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue, in which again he produces with a lovely-toned harpsichord structures of sound at once delicate and strong—their strength being in part that of the tensions of phrasing which give continuity to the ornamented melody of the wonderful slow movement of the concerto and the improvisatory flourishes and declamation of the superb fantasy. And it is remarkable what energy Malcolm gives to the fast movements of the concerto, what power to the climaxes of the fugue, without forcing or pounding his instrument.

One of the finest of Handel's instrumental works, best known as the Sonata No. 4, but actually Op. 1 No. 13 for violin and figured bass, is on Capitol P-8315, performed with beautiful simplicity and impressive breadth in the sustained cantilena by Milstein and Balsam. Also on the record are Vitali's Chaconne, which sounds to me as though it was fancied up by a nineteenth-century "editor"; and Prokofiev's Sonata Op. 94, which still seems to me a facile work, with however one superb episode in the finale—the powerful passage reminiscent of the opening of Bach's Organ Toccata in C. Treble must be drastically reduced for agreeable sound.

NEXT WEEK

Studies in Coexistence

Edgar Snow will review a group of new books on Red China and will analyze the recent change in American and English attitudes toward that country.

Watch for It

I am unable to check whether the Handel Double Concerto in F for two groups of winds, strings, and harpsichord on Telefunken LGM-65022 is the same work as the Concerto in F for strings and winds on Haydn Society 1049, as I suspect it is from the fact that it sounds familiar and is, like the other, a work evidently intended for outdoor performance and utilizing sections from the oratorios. In any case it is highly enjoyable, and is played with suitable fullness and richness of sonority by the Berlin Chamber Orchestra under Hans von Benda.

Except for two engaging Galliards by Dowland I find the pieces on Bach Guild 548, "Renaissance and Baroque Music for Lute and Guitar," uninteresting; and Karl Scheit's performances on the guitar are unexciting.

An unfamiliar work of Lully, his "Miserere," on Oiseau-Lyre DL-53003, turns out to have beautiful and moving passages, and is sung very beautifully by Margaret Ritchie and Elsie Morison, sopranos, Alfred Deller, counter-tenor, Richard Lewis and William Herbert, tenors, and Bruce Boyce, baritone, with choral and instrumental groups under Anthony Lewis.

The excerpts from the unfamiliar "Hippolyte et Aricie" of Rameau on Oiseau-Lyre OL-50034 are pleasant but unimpressive. They are sung well by Claudine Verneuil, Genevieve Moizan, Flore Wend, and Raymond Amade with chorus and orchestra under Desormiere.

Bach's Cantatas Nos. 170, "Vergnuegte Ruh'," and 54, "Wiederstehe doch der Suende," on Bach Guild 550, turn out to be two more of these works that I find uninteresting; but Alfred Deller's inflection of his counter-tenor in the long phrases of the arias is extraordinary (his singing of the recitatives lacks declamatory force). He also sings the *Angus Dei* from the B Minor Mass. The instrumental group is the excellent Leonhardt Baroque Ensemble.

Telefunken LGX-66023 offers Schumann's great song-cycle "Dichterliebe" and five other songs, including the lovely "Mondnacht," "Der Nussbaum," and "Die Lotosblume," sung beautifully by the tenor Anton Dermota, but with inadequate playing of the piano parts by Hilde Dermota.

Curious about what sort of performance of Stravinsky's "Petrushka" Ormandy produced with the Philadelphia Orchestra on Columbia ML-5030, I found that it brought to mind Virgil Thomson's observation once that the playing of the Boston Symphony under Koussevitzky seemed to be mostly about the playing of the Boston Symphony. That is, it was a performance not of "Petrushka" but of the various opulent sounds which the score provided the occasion for Ormandy to produce with the orchestra. "Le Sacre du printemps" is on the reverse side.

Two hearings of Prokofiev's Piano Sonata No. 9, played by Menahem Pressler on MGM E-3192; have left me with the impression of a contrived work of the kind that Prokofiev's technical equipment could turn out, and even make effective at times, while he was asleep. Pressler plays the fast sections well; but in the slow portions his playing occasionally resembles Horowitz's in its exaggerated affetuoso style.

My experts who recommend the Thorens E-53/PA motor still do so, but add that someone who can afford the additional $30 for the new Garrard 301 should pay it for its greater steadiness.

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Letters

A Plea for Mercy

Dear Sirs: I am writing to you because I feel that you and your readers can help save a man's life. My husband, Jacob Mindel, nearly 74 years of age, ill with progressive heart disease and complicated chronic stomach disease, is today in prison serving a two-year sentence under the Smith Act. My husband is known as a Marxist scholar of long standing, but since 1948 his illness has compelled him to lead a quiet life at home.

My husband was not charged with a single overt act, yet he has been in prison since January of this year. At my husband's age and in his condition of health, his two-year term is in reality a life term, a cruel and unusual punishment which the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution forbids. I urge that your readers write to the Chairman, Federal Parole Board, 101 Indiana Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., asking for prompt parole for Jacob Mindel.

MRS REBECCA MINDEL
Bronx, N. Y.

Democracy and Organization

Dear Sirs: Mr. Seidenberg's article, The Sense of the Future, in the August 20 issue jerks us out of our laissez faire armchairs and lifts us to to high vision. But—after this treat—must Mr. Seidenberg bring us down and leave us in a swamp of dismal questions about man's inexorable fate in a world devoid of a future because it is organized? More in key if he had come up with Lilienthal's tremendous conviction (born of hard experience), which he expressed in February, 1947: "I deeply believe in the capacity of democracy to surmount any threats that lie ahead, provided only that we practice it in our daily lives."

More in key if Seidenberg had gone on to examine just what it is that "organizes" people. It is mental. Can we have team spirit unless convinced of something? Isn't organization simply a system of attitudes? (Not a structure.) Isn't the structure just the means of sustaining that conviction? We need not fear organization—but we need to understand it.

FRANCIS GOODELL
Yarmouthport, Mass.

More Laurels for Lawyers

Dear Sirs: Your reference in Off the Editors' Spike of August 20 to the death of Philadelphia lawyer Earl Harrison and to the dynamic part which lawyers have played in the preservation of civil liberties is strangely remiss in not mentioning the role of the Philadelphia bar, which has been preeminent. Staid conservative corporation lawyers have joined with flamboyant "liberal" attorneys in Philadelphia to uphold personal rights.

In addition to the late Earl Harrison, at least two Philadelphia lawyers deserved special mention. Lois G. Forer, the wife of Morris L. Forer, one of the city's leading corporate attorneys, has crowded into an active life in government, politics, and social service, advocacy in some of the most important civil-liberties cases of the last ten years. She is a professor at the University of Pennsylvania Law School and deputy attorney general of the state of Pennsylvania. The other is Thomas D. McBride, president of the Philadelphia Bar Association. A criminal lawyer of great eminence, he was chief counsel for the Smith Act defendants and also lawyer in a number of leading cases. Mrs. Forer and Mr. McBride were organizers of the Philadelphia and Pennsylvania Civil Liberties Union.

JANICE WOOSTER
Upper Darby, Pa.

Downes and Casals

Dear Sirs: Musicians and music lovers mourn the loss of Olin Downes, whose pen so creatively recaptured for his readers the great moments in musical performances. But thousands of us also cherish his memory for his untiring and fearless espousal of progressive causes, among them that of Republican Spain. At this moment one's heart goes out to a superb musician and a man of unfaltering integrity, Pablo Casals, self-exiled from his native Spain in Prades, France. For between Senor Casals and Olin Downes there must have existed a double bond —music and the temporary eclipse of Spanish democracy.

Some time ago, in an English newspaper, Senor Casals appealed for funds to aid his sick or impoverished compatriots in exile who cannot or will not return to Franco's Spain. It would seem fitting at this time to honor Olin Downes by extending help to the compatriots of a great musician self-exiled in protest against the fascist capture of his native soil. However modest our offerings, I know they will be welcomed by Senor Pablo Casals, who may be addressed in care of the Post Office, Prades, France.

MURIEL I. SYMINGTON
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Not "Subversive"

Dear Sirs: The July 30 issue of The Nation contains a review by Professor Frederick L. Schuman of three recent books on the United Nations, including "The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security" by Leland M. Goodrich and Anne P. Simons. In his review of our book Professor Schuman states that "a few years ago" I "regarded any criticism of American foreign policy and of collective security as 'subversive.'" I think that Professor Schuman would have some difficulty in documenting that statement. Presumably he refers to a review which I wrote of his "International Politics" (4th edition) which appeared in The American Political Science Review of February, 1949. While I was critical of this particular edition on the ground that it lacked proper objectivity, no disinterested person, I feel confident, reading this review would find in it support for the sweeping statement that Professor Schuman makes.

LELAND M. GOODRICH.
New York, N. Y.

Professor Schuman's Reply

Dear Sirs: It is good to know from his letter, as well as from his new book, that Professor Leland M. Goodrich no longer regards criticism of collective security and of United States foreign policy as subversive. As to whether he ever did, he is right in assuming that my comment was based on the review of his which he mentions. Here he wrote that the volume in question "comes close to accepting the Marxist interpretation of history," and displays "a definitely prejudiced attitude . . . more appropriate to political agitation and special pleading than to a textbook." I concluded from this, as well as from his other writings of the time, that his animus was due to the attitude I described. He no longer has this attitude. If he never had it, all the better. I extend apologies and congratulations. His new book, written jointly with Anne P. Simons, is, as I originally asserted, an invaluable, fully documented, and erudite analysis of U. N. procedures for pacific settlement. I warmly urge all readers of The Nation to buy it and ponder its message.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN.
Berkeley, Calif.

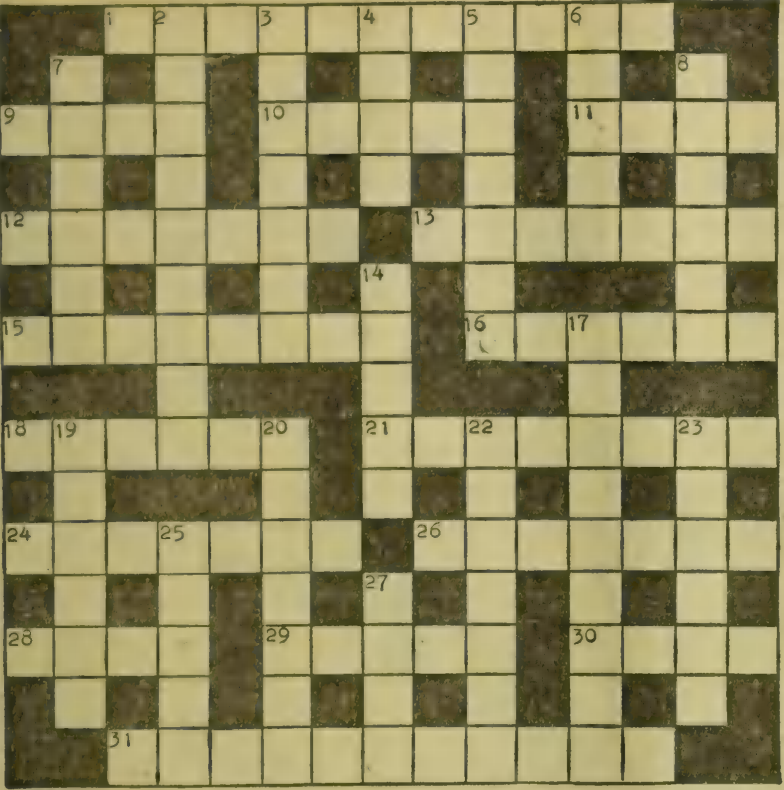
Thanks from an Author

Dear Sirs: Please accept my thanks and congratulations on Alan Barth's review appearing in The Nation, August 13, of my little book, "The Private Diary of a Public Servant." It is very discerning and fair.

MARTIN MERSON.
Philadelphia, Pa.

Crossword Puzzle No. 636

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Lie on a sort of it about Shylock's money — such things will teach you a lesson. (11)
9 and 25 down Bear but little — it should be capable of quite a downpour. (4,5)
10 and 8 down There could be lots of force behind dammed streams, by the looks of them. (11)
11 Barked unexpectedly? (4)
12 How to make the pastry top covered all over. (3-1-3)
13 Frank might get put on so! (7)
15 Passed around the back-ground, when harsh .(8)
16 Strong-appearing vehicle with sign of decay on the outside. (6)
18 Not condiments when cut! (6)
21 See 3 down
24 Hard for a female insect. (7)
26 Such things should be full of wind. (7)
28 In, or of, metal. (4)
29 Gets the rest, as I would the French. (5)
30 and 19 down Intoxicated and abstemious at the same time. (4,3,3)
31 Naivete of the ransacked Louvre. (11)

DOWN

2 Where one would expect the dig to be playful, if you're suffering from malaise. (9)
3 and 21 What Caesar granted the Gaulish petitioners? (7,8)
4 Spoken like a dolt! (4)
5 A cold's terrible if this shows up! (7)
6 A place like our uncle runs. (5)
7 A poet might suit an orator to a T. (6)
8 See 10 across
14 Leather that shows up in pieces. (5)
17 They might make him be less of a nuisance on the surface. (9)
19 See 30 across.
20 Marked by the beam. (7)
22 He manages to have a quality of redness in Washington. (7)
23 Even a free current should have it. (6)
25 See 9 across
27 Marks a positive 23. (4)

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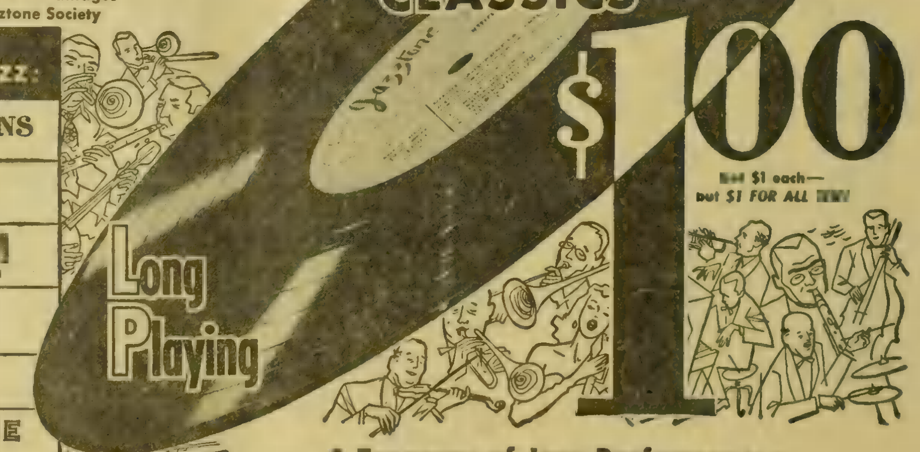

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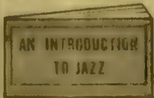

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E
AROUND THE U. S. A.

Segregation and Politics

Thomson, Georgia

Members of the Georgia State Board of Education, which supervises all public elementary and secondary schools, are usually political appointees of the governor. Recently they passed a rule that any teacher of racially mixed classes would be barred for life from teaching in Georgia. Shortly thereafter, at the urging of Attorney General Eugene Cook, they announced the same penalty for any teacher who joined the National Association for Advancement of Colored People.

To many people—even those without any particular knowledge of law—this seemed unconstitutional. Protests were lodged by various civic and religious groups, including many individuals not ordinarily friendly to the N. A. A. C. P. The pressure on the board increased. A few days before the opening of schools, the board rescinded its rule; Cook, apparently still advising them, announced that the regular teachers' loyalty oath would serve the same purpose. Since few local school-board members care, unless suit is brought, whether or not their colored teachers are members of the N. A. A. C. P., the controversy has apparently ended.

Among the politically wise, another reaction to Cook's action was: "He's running for governor." A political weekly published by Roy Harris, a prominent Augusta attorney who is regarded as a "kingmaker" in state politics, has speculated that Cook may be the "man of destiny" with regard to the racial problem. And the race problem has been the deciding issue in nearly every gubernatorial primary for the past twenty years.

When an attorney general deliberately advises a state board to make a ruling which seems clearly unconstitutional, it might be wise to look back over his record and search for hints as to his motivation. Cook's career provides some interesting contrasts.

A powerful speaker and an excellent lawyer, Cook was the successful solicitor of a middle Georgia judicial circuit when he was appointed by Governor Ellis Arnall to the post of state revenue commissioner during the war. When the attorney general's office became vacant in 1945, Arnall named Cook, who has held the position ever since.

In line with the general policies of the Arnall administration, Cook took legal action against the Ku Klux Klan and the Columbians. In 1946 he announced that he planned to recommend to the 1947 legislature a bill to outlaw "racketeering in hatred." Under this bill persons would be barred from "associating" or organizing for the purpose of creating or spreading hatred by reason of race, color, or religion. Any person violating the provisions would "be deemed guilty of racketeering in hatred, and upon conviction shall be disfranchised and rendered incapable of holding any office of profit or trust for any determinate period not exceeding ten years."

But 1947 saw the "two-governor" squabble between M. E. Thompson and Herman Talmadge; this took everyone's attention. Cook supported Thompson and directed the court action which eventually put the latter in as governor. In June 1947 Drew Pearson, in his syndicated column, commented that Cook had dropped three criminal charges against the Klan, leaving only one non-criminal charge, and had then been quite friendly with Grand Dragon Samuel Green in the courtroom. Cook merely commented, "Let the facts speak for themselves." In November of that year he reported the theft from his office of the file on the investigations of the Klan and the Columbians.

In 1952 Cook supported Adlai Stevenson and scorned the "bolters," but attacked Stevenson's stand on tidelands oil. That same year, speaking at Sea Island, Georgia, he said, "I have no ambition ever to be governor of Georgia." He refused, in 1954, to appear before the Supreme Court to argue Georgia's case for separate-but-equal schools, giving as his reason that such an appearance would commit his state to abide by the court's decision. He announced that he planned to fight the decision with judicial and legislative means, but that there would be no open defiance of the court.

Just recently Cook has announced a list of twenty-five prominent lawyers from all over the state—including former Governor Herman Talmadge—who, he said, had been named as special deputies to assist his office on segregation cases. At first they were to serve without pay, but later Cook said, "I'm sure most of these men will not accept pay." Association with this group, certainly an influential one, would not hurt Cook's chances in a state campaign.

The next gubernatorial race is three years away. These three years will tell whether Georgia's attorney general is sincerely interested in solving the racial problem in the state schools, or whether he is primarily concerned with using this issue to advance his own political fortunes.

MALCOLM PURCELL.

[*Malcolm Purcell, a free-lance writer, is a close observer of Georgia state politics.*]

Next Week

ATTENTION Secretary Benson! Mordecai Ezekial, noted American economist and staff member of the U. N. Food and Agriculture Organization, shows how the United States can simultaneously help the American farmer and the world's hungry millions.

•

AN English-Canadian journalist writes the exciting story of the liberal Catholic revolt in Quebec against the established church hierarchy and the province's ancient conservative traditions.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1955
VOLUME 181, NUMBER 11

THE *Nation*
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

To the Readers of *The Nation*

Statement by Freda Kirchwey

WITH THIS week's issue the control and direction of *The Nation* pass into new hands. The change has been made by my wish and on my initiative and I am confident that it will mean a better paper—as firm in its liberal position and as rigorous in its journalistic standards as ever before, but stabler and with more vitality.

I have resigned as Editor and Publisher and those titles have been assumed respectively by my colleague, Carey McWilliams, until now Editorial Director, and George G. Kirstein, formerly Executive Vice President of the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York (HIP).

So much for the facts of the new set-up. What lies behind it deserves a little explanation, especially in view of the close relationship which has always existed between *The Nation* and its readers.

The problem of financing *The Nation*, as many readers know, has become more difficult with every year since the war. Costs have risen—in some cases doubled or tripled—and the operating deficit has expanded with them. The burden of raising funds for *The Nation's* survival has absorbed an enormous amount of effort and thought that should have gone into the paper's promotion and improvement. And with all the energy expended, chiefly under the able leadership of Lillie Shultz, director of the Nation Associates, the task could never have been accomplished had it not been for the generous support of *Nation* readers, particularly of the loyal membership of the Nation Associates. The final campaign for funds in connection with *The Nation's* 90th anniversary celebration last spring brought a response that tided the paper over a bad financial crisis. While it was not sufficient to secure the journal's future, it stabilized the immediate situation to a degree which made possible a new start—under the excellent auspices announced above.

The responsibility for *The Nation* has always been a trust. Oswald Garrison Villard regarded it as such, and so have his successors. The agreement just carried out was not so much a sale as a transfer of control designed to preserve intact *The Nation's* personality and integrity. At my request Carey McWilliams and George Kirstein have agreed to accept responsibility for its future, and have in turn requested and received my promise of continued cooperation. However, full authority over its policy and content is now in their hands.

I am happy over the change and hopeful of its results. *Nation* readers do not need to be told that Carey McWilliams has brought the paper invaluable gifts of imagination, courage, and insight. His wide political knowledge and sense of reality buttress a passion for freedom which has made *The Nation* a formidable journalistic weapon against every variety and manifestation of cold-war fanaticism. George Kirstein's interests and activities have largely centered in the related fields of labor relations and social welfare. His experience has brought him close both to the problems of management and to the trade-union movement. After handling labor relations in private business for some years he became Executive Secretary first of the National Defense Mediation Board and later of the National War Labor Board. After two years' service in the navy and a period as head of his own labor-management consulting service, he went to HIP which during his five years as Executive Vice President more than doubled its membership. He brings to *The Nation* much-needed experience in administration, together with a liberal approach to public affairs that is well expressed in his statement which follows.

My confidence in the two men who have assumed control is unqualified. In good conscience I can say to all readers: your *Nation* is the same *Nation*, but with better prospects of expansion and improvement. I ask your loyal support of the paper under its new administration.

Statement by George G. Kirstein

THE NEW publisher of an established magazine like *The Nation* has an obligation to readers, advertisers, and the public generally to state his position regarding the future policies of the paper. *The Nation* has a proud past as a voice for liberalism in America. It has stood through nearly a century for progress and reform.

This magazine has been and will continue to be frankly partisan. Our hearts and our columns are on the side of the worker, of the minority group, of the underprivileged generally. We side with the intellectual and political non-conformist in his clear constitutional right to refuse to conform.

That America has flaws in its economic, social, and political structures few deny. If progress is to be achieved, corruption, special privilege, and misuse of

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power must be spotlighted so that an informed citizenry can make intelligent use of its ancient democratic prerogatives. Only thus will America deserve ever increasing respect internally and throughout the community of nations.

The victim of injustice can rarely raise his voice effectively because of his personal involvement. The weak, the poor, and the frightened often remain silent in dread of retaliation. But an independent periodical which is unafraid can speak for them, and their countrymen will listen and eventually act.

The Nation will continue to stand for progress and for reform. If progress and reform ever become synonymous with disloyalty then America will have surrendered its heritage.

Next week Carey McWilliams will write an editorial discussing the immediate plans and future prospects of The Nation *under its new management.*

The Shape of Things

Chicago Boy

The kidnap-slaying in Mississippi of Emmett Louis Till, the fourteen-year-old Negro who is alleged to have "whistled" at a white woman, is dramatic evidence of the existence of "a state of jungle fury" in the Deep South which has been mounting in intensity for nearly a year. The murder of Till was preceded by the murder of Reverend George W. Lee of Belzoni, Mississippi, last May 7, and the shooting of Lamar Smith in Lincoln County in the same state on August 13. In the wake of the Till murder, the local sheriff first "guessed" that he might get around to making an investigation once it had stopped raining and later announced that he was collecting evidence to support his theory that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People might have "planned and plotted" the murder for propaganda purposes! More recently, two suspects have been arrested and, presumably, will be brought to trial. In the meantime, the funeral services for young Till in Chicago—he had lived there—drew thousands of Negro mourners. Over 10,000 persons are said to have filed past the open pine casket in which the body of the Chicago boy could be seen—badly beaten, his teeth knocked out, one side of his face nearly unrecognizable, a small bullet hole through the temple.

The mounting violence in Mississippi is related, both in time and circumstance, to the stepped-up campaign of the White Citizens Councils against the Supreme Court's ruling that segregation in the nation's schools is unconstitutional. Formation of the councils received high sanction. On June 16, 1954, Senator James Eastland, speaking in Forest, Mississippi, called for their organization. The first council formally came into being in October of that year; there are now said to be 25,000 members in the state. The councils insist that they intend to accomplish their aims "through the careful application of economic pressures," but their agitation closely parallels the rise of violence in Mississippi.

In this instance, however, national attention should focus on Chicago, not Mississippi. In situations of this kind, where there has been a succession of acts of violence, a time usually comes when one additional act is enough to tip the scales. From reports of the memorial services for young Till in Chicago, it seems clear that the Negro community there is aroused as it has not been over any similar act in recent history. Without further delay, the Department of Justice should take immediate steps to safeguard the civil rights, including the voting rights, of Negro citizens in Mississippi. On this issue national opinion clearly supports the petition of the N. A. A. C. P. to the Justice Department that it act immediately to halt the reign of terror in the Deep South.

Fewer Guns, Please

Fragmentary reports of the off-record disarmament talks in New York point to a slow but positive improvement over the previous meetings of the United Nations sub-committee. If one looked for a reason it would be enough to note what is happening at this moment in Britain. Last week Sir Anthony Eden and his full Cabinet discussed for three hours plans to keep Britain at its present level of recovery. The session was hardly over when the Prime Minister presided at a meeting of the service ministers and the chiefs of staffs. In the opinion of these experts the great progress made in the development of atomic weapons would permit a cut in overall spending for defense. A reduction of the two-year call-up period was suggested and is under study.

England cannot have a boom while continuing to spend enormous sums for armaments. Of the government's total spending for this year, amounting to £5,338,000,000, about £1,556,000,000 go to defense requirements. From the moment that a lessening of international tension became evident, the popular demand for a cut in armaments gathered almost irresistible strength. Editorially, the Beaverbrook *Daily Express* has been asking: "Why are there still 5,000 [British] troops in Korea and four divisions in Germany?" The policy of Britain should be: Reduce foreign commitments.

Together with the general desire for disarmament in the interests of peace, a worsening of the economic situation has increased the pressure for a smaller military budget. The general council of the T. U. C., which has gone out of its way to discourage industrial disputes, accuses the government of "allowing increases in profits and dividends to outstrip increases in wages." The government on its side is warning the workers of the "mortal peril" that Britain may be priced out of the world markets. But two of the most powerful labor unions—the miners and the engineers—have ignored the warning, indicating that their wage demands will be pressed. In view of all this, it is no wonder that the British representative in the United Nations Sub-committee on Disarmament should show himself so eager to see some kind of progress accomplished.

The "Advantages" of Atlanta

Despite numerous protests, the board of directors of the American Association for the Advancement of Science has reaffirmed an earlier decision to hold this year's meeting in Atlanta. While the program sessions, exhibits, and social functions will be conducted on a non-segregated basis, delegates will confront Jim Crow restrictions in hotels, restaurants, and transportation facilities. Section H of the association—the anthropology section—has declined to offer a program at Atlanta and the decision to meet there has been protested by other affiliates, individuals, and organizations such as the Council for the Advancement of Negroes in Science.

In a statement published in *Science* for June 24, the board points out the "advantages of an Atlanta meeting." It is important that A. A. A. S. meetings should be held in every part of the country "in order to advance science and its public understanding," and since no meetings have been held in the South since 1913, it seemed desirable to meet there this year. But how would world opinion react if UNESCO, following the same logic, were to schedule a meeting in Cape Town? Assuming that the A. A. A. S. has done everything within its power to insure the availability of equal facilities at the Atlanta meeting, does its responsibility cease at that point? In a letter to the board, Dr. W. Montague Cobb of Howard University objects to "the concept that it is acceptable to subject minority citizens to discriminatory treatment provided all possible concessions have been obtained"; under this rationale the elimination of Jim Crow would go at a snail's pace.

Doubtless it made sense to schedule a meeting in the South, but whatever "advantages" Atlanta may have offered on this score are more than offset by its discriminatory practices. Could not the meeting have been held in some Southern or border community where Jim Crow restrictions are not in effect? As an organization the A. A. A. S. is free of any taint of discrimination in the achievement of its purposes, but the decision to meet in Atlanta not only places a minority of its delegates in an inconvenient and possibly humiliating position; it gives the appearance of acquiescence in Jim Crow practices. It is not a minority of delegates who have reason to object to this unfortunate decision, it is the entire community of science.

CORRECTION: An editorial in last week's issue reported growing "diffidence" in the Argentine army. Fortunately this was only a typographical error. The word intended was "dissidence." It is still growing.

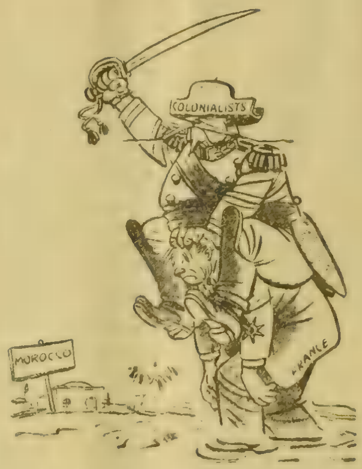
MOROCCAN CRISIS

French Policy Boomerangs . . *by Claude Bourdet*

Paris, September 12

THE SLAUGHTER of hundreds of French settlers by Moroccan mountain tribesmen on August 20, anniversary of the *coup d' etat* which deposed the Sultan of Morocco and replaced him with a senile puppet chosen by the French and their ally, the Pasha of Marrakech, el Glaoui, revealed the instability of the Moroccan situation and the inadequacy of French policy. Things have been deteriorating for two years despite the prophecies of the pro-fascist elements among the settlers and of the French business men and politicians who support Juin, Bidault, and the semi-fascist ex-Minister of the Interior Martinaud Deplat. Not only has popular resistance been increasing even in the "safe" South but there is growing evidence that the opposition leadership has been passing from the intellectual "gallicized" captains of the nationalist parties and trade unions to cruder and more ruthless "rank-and-filers." Thus the hatred which French colonialists for years have displayed toward the old nationalist leaders—every one of whom was ready for an honorable compromise with France—now proves to have been thoroughly misplaced.

The turn of the year was marked by the attempt of the colonialists to counter Moroccan resistance and to frighten French liberalism in Morocco by what was known as "counter-terrorism," a racket organized by local gangsters and police under the patronage of the die-hards among the settlers. The gangsters murdered indiscriminately anyone in the streets dressed in Arab clothes, killed members of prominent Moroccan families supposed to be subsidizing the nationalists, and organized *coups* against Frenchmen they considered to be leaders of liberal opinion. One of their victims was Lemaigre-Dubreil, publisher of *Maroc-Presse*, a moderate and conservative daily. But the gangsters here overreached themselves. Lemaigre was a personal friend of Premier Faure; the murder shook the Premier out of his apathy. The result was the recall of the weak Lacoste as Resident General of Morocco and his replacement by Gilbert Grandval, former High Commissioner in the Saar.



Herblock in the Washington Post

Old Man of the Mediterranean

JUST as Grandval arrived on July 14 a bomb killed some Frenchmen in Casablanca, plunging the European colony into a vengeful hysteria. Infuriated colonials lynched hundreds of Moroccans in the streets while the police stood complacently by; Grandval himself was hit by missiles and cursed as a "dirty Jew" by the settlers.

The new Resident General arrested some of the "counter-terrorist" leaders, eliminated the more fanatically anti-Moslem members of his administration, and presented the government and the Nationalists with a plan calling for the elimination of the puppet Sultan, the creation of a Council of Regents, and the establishment of a representative Moroccan government. This plan had a double merit: It was acceptable to the nationalists and it saved France's face by not requiring the immediate recall of the deposed Sultan, still a prisoner in Madagascar. But Grandval warned that the plan must be agreed upon at once. "August 20," he warned, "is the outside limit." For a few days it seemed that a settlement was within reach. But then there was an about-face by some of the French ministers, particularly Foreign Minister Pinay and Minister of War Koenig, a former Gaullist. It now appears that their change of heart was in part influenced by business interests linked to the Glaoui and his elder son. As a result the Grandval plan was watered down until it had practically no meaning. On August 13 Grandval offered his resignation but Faure blackmailed him into staying. "If you go now," the Premier said, "you will be responsible for whatever happens." Grandval stayed. But the bloody events of August 20 proved his prophetic gift.

Grandval resigned immediately and was replaced by a "tough" man, General Boyer de la Tour, who was pledged to apply a "moderate" policy. This was a typical Faure maneuver: By sacrificing Grandval he believes that he will be able to apply Grandval's policies. Indeed, at this writing he was struggling to win Cabinet approval for a compromise plan which would give Morocco a degree of self-rule without sovereignty. The present Sultan would be replaced by a regency council, and the deposed Sultan, while not renouncing his claim to the throne, would not press it for the time being. The regency council would include supporters of both Moroccan factions. The deposed Sultan would be permitted to return to France from his present exile in Madagascar. Many difficulties remain. Boyer de la Tour, although he behaved decently in Tunisia recently, obeying government orders instead of sabotaging the French agreement with

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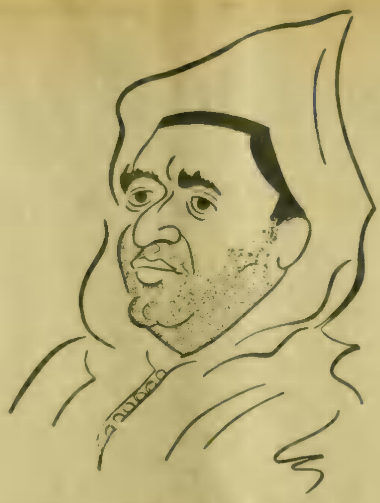
the Tunisian nationalists, is now back among North African "old hands" who are his former colleagues. He was the initiator and organizer of the savage drive against the Zaiane tribes in 1951, in which Nazi methods were pursued and which was at least partly responsible for the massacres of August 20. There is danger that the new Resident General will take his orders from Juin and his fellow generals in Morocco rather than from Faure. Moreover the Glaoui and his French business supporters are more active than ever; millions of dollars are at stake in the form of the Southern Moroccan mines which have been one of the juiciest plums both for the Glauoi and French business interests.

Moreover, it is not certain that short of the deposed Sultan's return the Moroccan underground can be quieted. As I have suggested, the French may find out too late that their policy has already destroyed their last chance for a negotiated settlement.

BUT THE GREATEST menace to the French colonial system comes not from Morocco but from Algeria. The Ziane rebellion in Morocco, horrible as it was, was more the savage outburst of primitive tribesmen driven to despair by years of colonial oppression than an organized attempt at a *coup d'etat.* In part it resulted from the French defeat in Indo-China. Zaiane mercenaries were used in large numbers in the Vietnam war; their savagery then was perpetrated upon Vietnamese men, women, and children with the approval of the "civilized powers." These men have now resumed their ancestral ways; it is doubtful whether they can be tamed, but it is also doubtful whether except in the long run they can become capable of sustained military action.

The fierce revolt of Algerian insurgents in the Department of Constantine against French farmers and gendarmerie showed quite another level of organization. For the first time the insurgents, who control many mountainous sections of Algeria, launched a mass attack with the help of ordinary villagers who up to now had done no more than to supply food and intelligence to them. Their attack was followed by frightful French reprisals; the French army burned down villages and murdered women and children as it had done in 1945. Penchenier of *le Monde* bore witness to the horrors and is presently the Frenchman most hated by the French colonials in Algeria. One of my correspondents wrote: "There were certainly few if any active rebels among the people slaughtered by the French and there are reasons to believe that the rebels launched their attack in order to provoke the French army into the kind of mass reprisals which could be guaranteed to create a general feeling of hatred and revenge among the people."



Deposed Sultan ben Youssef

In Algeria as in Morocco the "political" nationalists have been more or less displaced by more militant individuals such as the chiefs of the *Fellagas,* the Algerian insurgents. Many of these chiefs were once rank-and-file members of the established nationalist parties; some lived in France and served in the French army—many were noncommissioned officers in Algerian units. They have been modernized by 120 years of French occupation. "Today," my Algerian correspondent writes, "the *Fellagas* are as much the masters of the countryside in the Constantine region as the Vietminh were in Vietnam. As in Vietnam the French are limited to the towns and roads—and the roads only in the daytime and with military protection."

With less political courage than Grandval the Algerian Governor General Soustelle, who was sent by Faure to ease tensions, permitted French reactionaries to torpedo his reforms—and did not resign. An Algerian solution is the more difficult because a century of distorted history texts have persuaded many Frenchmen, even Leftists, that "Algeria is France." Now the French are sending the regular army—drafted men—into Algeria to fight for the colonial magnates against the insurgents. There will be trouble in France itself.

Many observers put the question this way: "Will the Americans allow us to wipe out the Algerian rebellion as we did in Madagascar in 1945? If they give us that permission we can manage it." But things have changed and it is doubtful whether the mass murder of a few hundred thousand Algerians and Moroccans could quench the will to independence of North Africa, even in the unlikely event that Tunisia would remain quiescent during the operation.

Anyway it is clear that the Americans must make up their minds with no "hand-washing" *a la* Pontius Pilate. The United States already has a certain responsibility for what is now happening. Last year the French people brought Mendes-France to power. He was ready to solve North Africa's problems. He could have done it had America not forced German rearmament down his throat—or if he had had the courage to refuse to swallow it. Mendes-France fell because millions of Frenchmen were disgusted with his submission to American pressures on the German issues. As was inevitable, the right wing succeeded him in power. If Faure is a moderate and intelligent exponent of the right wing, he has neither the will nor the power to break with the extremists, and the stupidity of French reaction on colonial issues is notorious over the world. So he will use neither total violence nor will he be able, at least in Algeria, to find a non-violent solution. Inevitably he will be replaced this winter by men of a more militant nature who—unless the Americans intervene—will create a Hitler type of terror in North Africa with American weapons, planes, and napalm bombs. This in turn could create conditions in France very close to those of civil war.

Are not North Africa and France within what the Americans consider to be their zone of security?

ANTI-PERONIST PROGRAM

Freedom Comes First . . *by Arturo Frondizi*

The author of this article is chairman of the National Committee of the Argentine Radical Party (Union Civica Radical), which won more than 40 per cent of the popular vote in Argentina's last elections, and which today remains the most powerful of the anti-Peronist political groups. The party—conservative and democratic—is somewhat analogous to the Radical Party of France.

Mr. Frondizi wrote the article during the uneasy "truce" between Peron and his adversaries which lasted from shortly after June 16, the date of the abortive anti-Peron uprising, to early this month when the dictator staged a spurious offer of resignation and used the expected rejection of it to clamp down with unprecedented harshness on his opposition. The fact that Argentina today is under virtual martial law underscores Mr. Frondizi's arguments—and justifies his worst predictions.

Buenos Aires.

FOLLOWING the military coup of June 16, President Peron stated that he wanted peace and the solidarity of all Argentines. It was not the first time that he assumed this conciliatory attitude. But the reply of the democratic political parties remains unchanged: There can be no pacification of the country without the restoration of liberty to the people. It was not the Argentine people who destroyed the good relations between the governors and the governed, nor was it they who sanctioned the laws and practices which ended individual liberty. A people persecuted, jailed, and exiled cannot live in peace. The government, if it were sincere and really wanted to pacify the country, could accomplish its aim in twenty-four hours by abrogating the internal war-emergency act and all other measures which annul the liberties of individual citizens, political parties, trade unions, press, and radio, and by declaring a general amnesty for the thousands of Argentines now in exile.

Only under these conditions of freedom could there be any hope for internal peace and for the political, social, and moral reconstruction of the countary after ten years of totalitarian government. Insofar as the *Union Civica Radical* (the Argentine Radical Party) is concerned, we do not demand liberty merely to be in a position to force individuals into an accounting for their past. We do not seek revenge; we do not seek to punish. Our interest is in the future; our urgent desire is to contribute to the progress of our people within a framework of liberty and respect for human dignity.

Apparently the government does not believe that liberty is the prerequisite of peace. It has taken no steps to restore the full power of the Constitution, although the whole country has been demanding such measures since June 16. It continues to concede or deny freedom as a favor which comes in small doses. A political truce is decreed only to be terminated a few weeks later

The *Union Civica Radical* firmly believes there can be no real peace in Argentina until the government takes concrete measures designed to achieve the following:

1. Annulment of all emergency laws and decrees and the full restoration of the constitutional regime; amnesty for all political prisoners and the return of political exiles; freedom for political parties, the press, and radio.

2. Freedom for the labor movement which will enable workers to organize without the direct or indirect intervention of the state and to replace government-designated union leaders with those of their own free choosing.

3. Abolition of laws and decrees which limit electoral freedom and which favor the Peronist Party to the extent that it has become identified with the state. The Saenz Pena law, which established popular representation in government and regulated the electoral system before the advent of the Peron regime, must be reinstated.

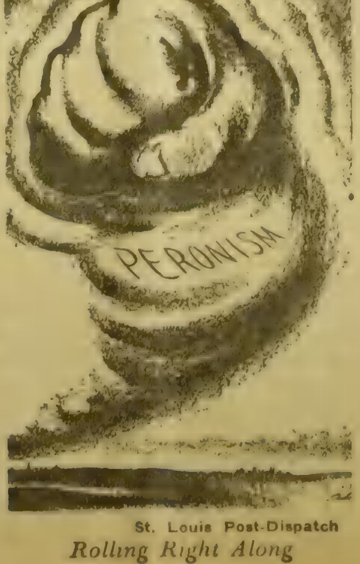
4. Reformation of the judiciary, which is today a political instrument at the service of the government and the official party.

5. Rehabilitation of the public educational system, which has also become a political instrument used by the government for political proselytizing.

6. Suppression of corruption and the restoration of morality to all branches of government.

7. Annulment of the treaty with a foreign firm for the exploitation of the national oil resources. This pact is unconstitutional and detrimental to Argentine sovereignty, because it concedes an enormous area of the national territory to foreign control.

Nothing of what the U. C. R. demands—and I must add that all popular elements agree—violates the traditions and customs of the country. On the contrary, for almost a century the Argentine people have been fighting to affirm these liberties. Despite the vicissitudes of political life,



St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Rolling Right Along

Argentines for many years lived in an atmosphere of contentment and freedom. Now we are asked to make peace at the sacrifice of our liberty, to resign ourselves to servitude. My party, and with it all the people of Argentina, prefers persecution and imprisonment to peace based on submission.

To repeat: We do not demand liberty in order to punish anyone. But neither do we demand it merely to return to the injustices of the past. Our party has a concrete program for removing the economic and social conditions which led to the present unfavorable political situation. We believe that an economic structure based on absentee land ownership, monopoly, and the infiltration of imperialist capital is an unjust one and should be altered. We urge fundamental agrarian reform, diversification of national industry, and creation of the heavy industry which alone can provide the basis for economic independence. We believe that all elements of industry, including the trades unions, should share in the formulation of economic policies and developments.

President Peron

This vast program of economic and social reform requires the patriotic participation of all the Argentine people. In this connection I refer to the role that should be played by the armed forces and the labor movement. The armed forces, created and sustained by the people to defend their sovereignty and the constitution, must not intervene in politics; but they must also refrain from protecting regimes which suppress liberty or attempt to violate the national sovereignty. The trade unions, freely organized by men and women participating in the country's political life will serve as a ferment for the national democratic renaissance and social transformation. They will participate actively in directing the economy, in defending the national resources, and in the evolution of the national institutions. United with scientists, technicians, artists, industrialists, and soldiers, they will work for the good of the country.

With the support of these groups, the political parties will be able to pull the country out of its economic and moral abyss. Argentina will again be respected by the family of nations when it abandons a zigzag policy which has placed it alternatively in the grasp of one imperialism or another. We must have an independent international policy, uniquely our own, based on peace and harmony with all countries, and aimed especially at strengthening solidarity among all the countries of our America.

THE NAKED ATOM

Strip Act at Geneva . . *by Ritchie Calder*

London

SECURITY chiefs, as they mull over the thousand papers and 3,000 pages of verbatim notes of the U. N. International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy must feel like enforcement officers at the end of Prohibition. The bottles of secrecy were certainly uncorked—or, rather, the scientists just tipped the keg and put their mouths to the bung-hole.

For one thing, "It," the great secret, apparently never existed. "It" was the basic principle of fission from which was derived not only the explosive capacity of the bomb (unmentioned at this conference on peaceful uses) but the working capacity of the nuclear reactor. For ten years, the nuclear constants were secret to the point of treason. Yet seven groups working in complete isolation (including not only the Russians, but the British, barred from American data) arrived at exactly the same results. "If we want an emblem for this conference," said Dr. D. J. Hughes of the United States, chairman of the session at which full disclosures were made, "I would suggest this curve." And he held up the plot of the findings by the separate groups showing how completely they coincided. Or, as another American said sardonically, "It's nice to know that nature is the same on both sides of the Iron Curtain."

One could feel the satisfaction, to the point of derision, which all scientists shared regardless of nationality. Here was proof of their contention that, whatever justification there might be for guarding the "gimmicks" of military technology (now supplemented, on Sir Christopher Hinton's admission, by commercial secrets), there could be no scientific secrets.

This was manifest in every session. With a magnanimous gesture the atomic powers disclosed the secrets of their various types of reactors only to find that scientists of smaller countries (like Holland) had alternative ideas which were just as ingenious. It now appears that there are 900 possible variants of reactors.

Similarly, in radiochemistry, the solution of the complex problems of chemical separation and metallurgy is not limited by national boundaries. When the McMahon Act

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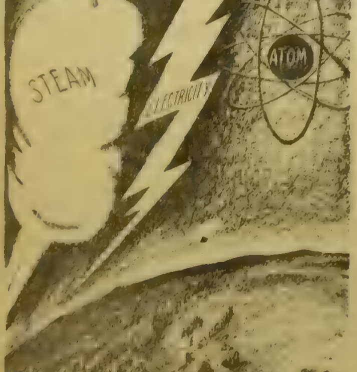
[the original United States atomic-energy act] prevented Britain from getting access to the plutonium which existed in kilograms, Dr. R. Spence of the United Kingdom took the first pinhead of plutonium from Chalk River, Ontario, and, on his microchemical findings, the huge separation plant at Windscale, Cumberland, was designed and built. Professor A. P. Vinagradov of the U. S. S. R. confessed at Geneva how he had envied the Americans their kilos when he first worked with micrograms. The Portuguese, the Indians, the Israelis, and others came forward with satisfactory radiochemical-separation processes of their own devising.

IT WOULD, therefore, be difficult to say who gained most from the free trade in secrets—the haves or the have-nots. True, the haves put billions of dollars worth of experience into the debate; in turn they derived the stimulation of new ideas not only from each other but from the smaller countries among the seventy-three represented, whose only resources are their ingenuity. And one thing was plain—there will be no "corner" in fissionable materials. There is an abundance of uranium in the world—enough anyway for the most ambitious power programs of the next fifty years—and every country will, with the chemical iniative revealed at the conference, be endeavoring to supply it from native sources.

Moreover, there is thorium, an element humbly familiar as the coating for gas-mantles. India is rich in this; so is Brazil; and Britain, with an insistence which was deliberate, kept stressing the future importance of this as a fissionable fuel. The British emphasis was so marked that American correspondents began to suspect an ulterior motive. There was: the reminder that price-rigging of uranium supplies would be futile.



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow

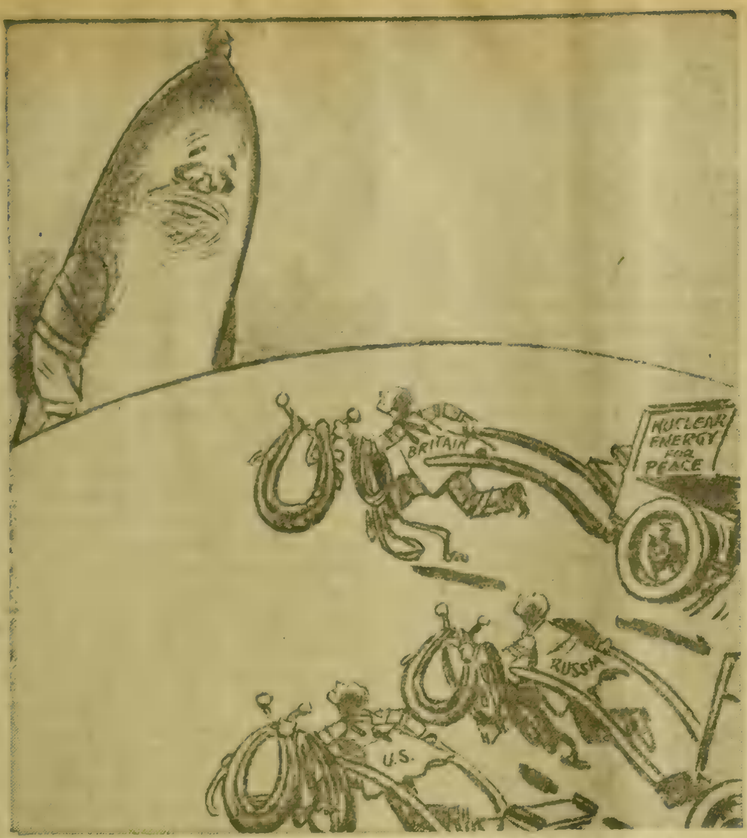
Beyond the many detailed disclosures of "secrets" ("secret" only because there had previously been no opportunity to compare notes) there were three major surprises. The first was the calculated indiscretion of the conference president, Professor H. J. Bhahba of India, when he referred to thermal fusion as a source of industrial energy. The second was a British announcement on "breeding," and the third was the Russian work on photosynthesis.

The "indiscretion" was indiscreet only because thermal fusion skirted an off-limits topic—the H-bomb. But Professor Bhahba was right, in surveying the possibilities, to mention the subject of nuclear industrial energy. It means demobilizing the H-bomb and putting it to work. Hitherto, this has seemed unlikely, because the fusion of hydrogen into helium requires a temperature equal to that of the heart of the sun. The only man-made method of producing such heat effectively has been in the instant of the flash of the fission bomb. The H-bomb detonator, therefore, has been a plutonium bomb like that which destroyed Nagasaki. So it looked as though fusion could only be achieved in destructive proportions and could not be controlled like the chain reaction in fission. Bhabha indicated that it might be —within a generation. The British, when the point was pursued, admitted they had begun researches toward that end and Sir John Cockcroft publicly expressed the view (or perhaps the informed hope) that it would be achieved long before shortage of ores would make it necessary to replace fission by fusion. It is known that the Americans are also pursuing researches but Admiral Strauss, chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, postponed any discussion of it until, as he explained, he could consult his colleagues of the commission. Nevertheless it caused a flurry of speculation among the scientists in the lobbies and a flutter among the industrialists who, with lavish hospitality and public relations, were fly-casting for customers for industrial fission reactors. They had to be reassured that fusion would not threaten their markets for a long time to come. When it does come, the world will be assured of power as unlimited as the deuterium (double-hydrogen) in the seven seas.

The British announcement on breeding stock took the United States delegation by surprise Breeding is a method being energetically pursued in both Britain and the United States. It means that a reactor produces more fission fuel than it consumes. The British are building a full-scale experimental breeder-reactor at Dounreay in Gaithness, but "Zephyr," a research model, has been working at Harwell and the announcement was that it had produced *two atoms for every one consumed.* Sir John Cockcroft admitted that this efficiency was far beyond what could be achieved in a large-scale reactor because of the loss inevitable in engineering materials, but even with a substantial discount, this makes breeding an exciting proposition—especially since the breeding can be done with thorium.

Photosynthesis is the natural process by which growing plants, through the agency of chlorophyll, capture the energy of the sun and use it to convert air, water, and minerals into the food used by man and beast If the scientists could counterfeit that, laboratories and factories could supplement farm crops enough to lay the troubled ghost of Thomas Robert Malthus and his prediction that the world's population would eventually exceed the capacity of the world's soil to support it. That, like fusion, is still far in the future but the revelations at Geneva were exciting. The substantial progress American research had made was already known but the Russians came forward with evidence which was surprising.

BOTH countries have been using radioactive "tracers"—isotopes, by-products of atomic energy, which behave chemically exactly like normal elements but which, by virtue of the rays they emit, can be traced. As a result, the scientists are gradually drawing blueprints of the living plant's chemical system. For example, Dr. Melvin Calvin of the United States displayed to the meeting what might have been a chemical engineer's drawing showing every stage of the conversion process



Herblock in The Washington Post

Harness Race

by which a living plant makes carbon dioxide from the air into sucrose—a complete "flow-sheet" of carbon reduction depicting all intermediate and enzymatic reactions. This is the first stage—the conversion into sugars and starches. But Dr. A. M. Kuzin's work in the U. S. S. R. dealt with further conversions into proteins and organic acids. He described experiments with sunflower leaves in which the light was broken up into reds and blues and the differential transformations studied. Another Russian, Dr. T. N. Godnov, has used radioactive carbon to study chlorophyll and he showed the close similarity between the way the green of plants, which traps the sunlight, resembles in its method of synthesis the formation of blood cells in animals.

This kind of work is fraught with possibilities as great in their own way as those of atomic energy itself. Indeed, as Dr. Willard Libby of the A. E. C. said: "Isotopes in themselves will justify all we have done in the development of nuclear power." In dozens of papers describing hundreds of ways in which isotopes are being used this claim was borne out. Radioactive isotopes have enabled physiologists and biochemists to study the living processes—how the bones absorb calcium; how the marrow produces blood cells; how the glands work or, as in a Russian paper by Professor Fetayeva, how hypertension arises. They have enabled doctors to treat diseases in inaccessible places, to locate tumors in the inner brain or to know how vitamin B-12 acts in pernicious anemia. They have saved industry, on the world estimate of Dr. P. C. Aebershold, director of A. E. C.'s Isotope Division, a billion dollars a year. They have put new powers into the hands of the botanists and plant-breeders.

Professor A. Gufstafsson of Sweden described how, by radiation, plant geneticists could change varieties at will—shortening plant-breeding processes from fifty years to five, borrowing characteristics of barley and giving them to wheat and vice versa. They can alter the chromosomes of grain, unchanged for 500,000 years, and reshuffle those hereditary packages to modern requirements—making plants to suit mechanical harvesters or changing their growing habits so that they can defy climatic limitations. The prospects are challenging, like the opening up of new frontiers, since crops can be designed to grow in the Arctic or in the desert.

ALL THAT was the bright promise of atomic energy but it was overcast by proper misgivings about the hazards implicit even in the peaceful uses. The journalists, the antennas of public misgivings, sensed this early. They harried the scientists at the briefings (an enlightened and enlightening innovation at a scientific conference) about the risks of radioactive wastes and the rise in the "background radiation." There was some confusion, understandably so, between "somatic" and "genetic" risks. The first refers to the organic effects on the individual of exposure to excess radiation (illustrated by reports from the United States and the U. S. S. R of reactor mishaps in which workers were affected). The second refers to the risks to future generations if the natural radiation background (cosmic rays and radiations from certain rocks), to which living things have been exposed through eons of time, should be increased by the expansion of atomic-power uses. The geneticists were at a double disadvantage; they know very little about the human genetic effects, although experiments with insects, plants, and quick-breeding mammals are not reassuring; and they could not discuss what was really behind the journalists' questions—"wild" radiation from bombs in contrast with the limited hazards of peaceful development. The fact remains, however, that the conference came in the nick of time. Only international conventions, codes of practice, and measures of control can ensure that the hazards are kept strictly within bounds as the peaceful uses developed.

The Geneva conference was, without politics ever intruding, a political event of first magnitude. As Dr. Bhaba said at the close of this unconventional convention, "Knowledge once given cannot be taken back. In organizing the conference, the nations of the world have taken an irreversible step forward."

SANIN CANO

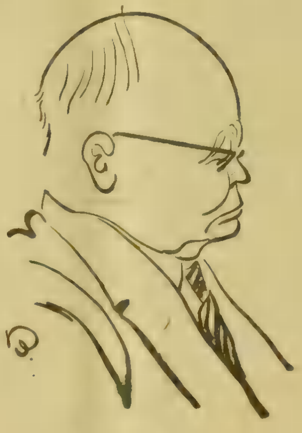
Latin American Humanist . . *by M. P. Gonzalez*

SELDOM does our press take notice of cultural events in Latin America. During the honeymoon period in our relations with that continent, the era of the "good-neighbor policy" (1935-1945), cultural relations did improve notably; but the two events that made this policy imperative—namely the depression and the approaching Second World War—are things of the past, and so is the honeymoon.

Today we are experiencing a fantastic economic boom. Consequently what interests us is not cultural interchange but opportunities for economic investment. Hence a new formula has come to supplant the one laid down by F. D. R. in our relations with Latin America. President Eisenhower has proclaimed on several occasions the "policy of the good partner" which defines and symbolizes perfectly well the new trend in American mood and political philosophy, but augurs no good for Latin America. This emphasis on economic factors, coupled with our proclivity to support every military despot who usurps power and strangles democracy in Central and South America, is alienating the good will of the masses in those countries toward the United States.

THE MOST eminent representative of the cultural and liberal tradition to be found south of the Rio Grande at present is Baldomero Sanin Cano, the patriarchal Colombian essayist and literary critic. This venerable thinker and writer is revered throughout the Spanish-speaking world as the embodiment of liberty, individual dignity, and culture. Because he has never abdicated his ideals, and has refused to conform and submit to what is internationally called "McCarthyism," Sanin Cano has achieved the stature of a symbol.

This admirable humanist is ninety-four years old and for over seventy years has propagated in many lands and in different languages the highest ideals of the Western world. In his sober and dignified way he has been a mentor and guiding light for three generations of intellectuals, and in his lucid maturity has become a source of inspiration and a stimulus for the best spirits of Spanish America who find in him the courage and healthy idealism so lamentably lacking among many young writers.



Sanin Cano

Sanin Cano was born in Rio Negro, province of Antioquia, in 1861, and at nineteen was already director of a high school. Early in life he began to study foreign languages, of which he reads some eight or ten. He has read in the vernacular all the classic and modern writers of most European literatures. Toward the beginning of the century Sanin Cano was already one of the best informed and disciplined minds of Latin America, and perhaps the most universal in the wide scope of his intellectual curiosity and knowledge. He was the outstanding literary critic and essayist produced by the most brilliant generation of poets and writers to be found in the cultural history of Spanish America, the so-called *Modernista*.

The short essay is his favorite literary form of expression. No one in Spanish America has equalled him in the skill and flexibility with which he has employed it to discuss books, philosophical systems, and personalities, or to express his own original thinking. In hundreds of short essays, written over a period of fifty years in which ideas and style blend with subtle humor, Sanin Cano has propagated knowledge of European currents of thought and has acquainted his readers with an infinite number of books and authors—French, English, American, Italian, German, Danish—little known outside their respective countries. Unfortunately many of his essays have never been collected in book form. They remain buried in the files of newspapers and literary journals of Spanish America and England, where he lived from 1909 to 1923, and where he wrote—in English—quite a few of them.

For a time he was professor at the University of Edinburgh and a contributor to the *Modern English Review* and other British newspapers and magazines. In the field of literary criticism, nobody in Spanish America has surpassed Sanin Cano in universality of subject matter or in lucidity and depth of analysis.

ALTHOUGH Sanin Cano is above all a writer, his activities have by no means been limited to the world of letters. Early in the century he was Minister of Finance in the administration of General Reyes. Thereafter he served as Colombian Ambassador to several countries, and on more than one occasion represented his government at Pan-American conferences. For several years he was Spanish-American representative and technical adviser to the Committee on Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations. One of the last positions he occupied was that of rector of the university of his beloved Popayan. But no matter in what capacity he was serving, at no

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time did he cease to write or become oblivious or indifferent to the intellectual currents and achievements of Europe and the Americas.

A small point worth mentioning since this tribute is destined to appear in *The Nation:* Senor Sanin Cano is probably the oldest reader and subscriber this weekly has today. He began subscribing in 1880 and still reads it with great gusto. Like the magazine itself, Sanin Cano has not forsaken or abjured the progressive ideals of his youth with the advent of the years nor has he grown sanctimonious, timorous or Pharisaical, as is fashionable nowadays among writers everywhere. That *The Nation* held the loyalty of a man of his moral and intellectual caliber for seventy years is no small tribute to the publication.

Last December a signal honor from a distant land crowned his noble career. The distinction was not bestowed by any democratic government or institution of higher learning whose humanistic ideals he has served so loyally and for such a long time. This recognition came, of all places, from the U. S. S. R. In that month Sanin Cano was made—along with several other prominent non-Communist scientists and intellectuals—a recipient of the Stalin International Peace Prize for 1954. The award attests to his international stature, and is all the more significant because he has never been a Communist nor has he ever supported Russian domestic or foreign policies—unless a passionate desire for peace can be construed as being pro-Russian!

The selection of recipients and the geographical distribution of the Peace Prizes for 1954 is a corroboration of the marked change that has taken place in Russia since the death of Stalin. Late in December, 1953, on the occasion of the centennial celebration of the birth of Jose Marti, Latin America's most eminent political leader and thinker, Moscow took pains to commemorate the event in an elaborate ceremony that was broadcast all over Russia. Communist China also honored him, and even printed millions of postage stamps with the effigy of the Cuban patriot. Nothing of the kind was done in the United States, notwithstanding the fact that Marti's works remain the most brilliant and prolific interpretation of our culture and way of life ever written in Spanish.

Granted that neither Marti nor Sanin Cano has anything in common with the Peking and Kremlin regimes, and that all this interest in Spanish-American figures is mere propaganda; it is still intelligent and efficient propaganda. It reflects honor upon Russia and China—or any other country for that matter—to pay homage to these two figures: Marti and Sanin Cano.

LIBERALISM CUM SEX

The New York Post . . *by Nathan Perlmutter*

EVEN in politically well-grounded New York City a liberal stance has been economically precarious for newspapers. Indeed, within the last decade three liberal dailies have toppled—*PM*, the *Star* and the *Compass.* But as might be expected of a city the complexity of which defies stereotyping, New Yorkers do have an exception in the city's lone liberal daily: the brash, free-wheeling New York *Post.* Among three afternoon and four morning newspapers, only the *Post* supported the presidential candidacy of Adlai Stevenson, and with somewhat more vindication the gubernatorial candidacy of Governor Harriman; its publisher has characterized Senators Hubert Humphrey and Wayne Morse as "demagogic twins," in consequence of their sponsorship of the Communist Control Act; the *Post* alone heretically questions the moral and political Ascension of Chiang; long before other New York dailies noticed, the *Post* detected the *ism* in McCarthy, and long before the others cared, the *Post* diagnosed, exposed, and prescribed against it; its columns are forums for Tom Stokes, Marquis Childs, Max Lerner, and Murray Kempton. (Readers of the *Post's* afternoon competitors, Hearst's *Journal-American* and the Scripps-Howard *World-Telegram and Sun,* are favored with George Sokolsky, Westbrook Pegler, H. I. Phillips, and Robert Ruark.)

In a field in which the truth of the term "struggling liberal newspaper" has rendered it a cliche, the liberal *Post* seems fairly healthy. Its daily circulation of nearly 406,000, while still the lowest of New York's seven dailies, is steadily closing in on those of its two rivals. Indeed, the *Journal's* circulation has wavered up and down during the past few years, charting negligible net gains, and the *World-Telegram's* has fallen sharply from 541,000 to 519,000.

How does the *Post* manage to do so well?

Its editor, James Wechsler, has explained that among a newspaper's primary responsibilities—whatever its political views—is survival. Small circulation newspapers talk to themselves; the audience of dead newspapers is even smaller. Inasmuch as survival depends on mass circulation, the *Post* has costumed its political sobriety in popular frills—the kind so becomingly worn by the yellow press. Indeed, so coquetishly do its appropriately illustrated pages warble of Sex, so *really* juicy is its keyhole news, that even journeymen on the Hearst paper have been known to express reluctant admiration.

Its dexterity, some say its pre-eminence, in the application of forward-looking circulation techniques

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NATHAN PERLMUTTER, a member of the New York bar, contributes articles on political and social issues to several national periodicals.

was evident on April 15. On that day Austria and the Soviet Union agreed to settle their differences, Anthony Eden announced an election for Great Britain, and New York City was engaged in its Salk vaccination program. The latter story was carried in almost one inch headlines by the *Journal,* the election story rated the same size headline from the *World-Telegram,* while the *Post* enterprisingly used two-and-a-half-inch headlines to announce:

GODFREY
FIRES 9

Such headlines and one like *ED SULLIVAN, SINATRA FEUD* have undoubtedly enticed many patrons of popular television to buying the *Post.* Numbers of these, the *Post* hopes, decided to forsake Hedda Hopper for Max Lerner. This variety of headline, however, serves only as a "loss leader," a primer of single-shot sales. Consequently, the *Post* has resourcefully adapted the "Perils of Pauline" serial system to the purpose of developing loyal followings. Its use of the "leave 'em breathless" headline system on Sex, always a reliable circulation stimulant, merits recognition.

During the period March 7 through March 24, for instance, the *Post* rescued New Yorkers from the lackluster rut of world affairs by front-paging the Pat Ward prostitution case in fifteen editions. On March 7, as the *Post* was nerving itself for fearless coverage of the trial, it introduced Miss Ward's comely photograph to headline readers with notice that *PAT IS READY.* On March 10, alerted readers, already nonplussed by the grievous news in the March 8 headline

JOHNS
RUNNING
AWAY

were again rocked by

HUNT TWO
MISSING V-DOLLS

(Author's note to out-of-town readers and to readers of the New York *Times:* "Johns"—males—are clients of "V-dolls"—V for vice—in an ancient form of merchandising sporadically frowned upon by New York police authorities.)

Later in the serial breathless V-doll fans, by this time presumably resolute advocates of Point Four, were transported by:

PAT SHAKY
LISTING ALL
THE JOHNS

I GAVE JELKE
$10,000 PAT SAYS

YOU LIE!
PAT CRIES AT LAWYER

PAT FACES???
ON BIG NAMES

PAT'S WORST DAY

and finally, alarmingly,

DA FACING
V-DOLL REVOLT

Of course, as a liberal organ the *Post* practices moderation. It does *not* rely on Sex as the one passageway to its editorial lair. Frequently, in fact, it supplements Sex with Crime—as in the nine-day period between February 15 and 23, when New York homicide enthusiasts were entranced by fully nine sanguinary headlines. An indeterminate number of these citizens, it is said, have since formed societies to study the menace of Dixon-Yates

On April 26 the *Post* even more effortlessly Pied-Pipered still more readers to liberalism with moans that

SUSAN HAYWARD
TRIES SUICIDE

But on April 27, the *Post* proved to all but the prejudiced its incomparable beagle sense for news. With disarming yet bewitching candor its headline screamed:

WHY SUSAN
DID IT

Later that day, not yet at a loss for ideas, its "night extra" caused competitors to all but fold their tents. It simply declared:

BLAME SUSAN'S
SECRET LOVE

The *World-Telegram* that very same day proved its lack of imagination by permitting itself to be sucked in by the momentous but flat-chested news that *IKE, ZHUKOV SWAP LETTERS.*

Detractors of the *Post* describe its handling of news as flippant, to put it mildly. They point to its 6,500-odd column-inches of space on a given week-day and to its use of only 130 column-inches for actual news. In this regard Hearst's *Journal,* though no worse, is no better and the Scripps-Howard *Telegram* is only slightly better. (On a random day, May 13, the *World-Telegram's* column-lines of actual news was 3 per cent of total available inches; the *Post's,* 2 per cent.) Its critics argue that readers attracted to the *Post* as to a fairway featuring bosoms, bad men, and buncombe are not likely to notice Messrs. Wechsler, Lerner, Kempton, et al. While they concede the importance of the *Post's* editorials, and even that its crime stories are occasionally constructive, they deplore its pornography. They complain, as eggheads will, that even were the *Post* to develop some liberal *voters* their *Post* diet would leave them somewhat less—or shall we say somewhat more?—than liberally educated.

On the other hand, champions of the *Post* who have credited it with a "rich humor" may have merely been mistaking its character. As, for instance, in the case of the editorial which was published on May 16:

> We said it many months ago, but perhaps it requires reiteration lest there be any misunderstanding as to our position. Our contemporaries on other papers have spoken out clearly and well, and the issue is one on which no newspaper should be caught equivocating. We hope we will be believed when we say that it is not lack of courage which motivated our recent silence; it was just plain absent mindedness, or preoccupation with lesser things . . . we herewith (then) reaffirm our support for the drive to keep the city's streets clean. We are not only for clean streets. We are against dirty streets.

As the perceptive reader of the May 16 issue will readily note, the *Post* was being neither flippant nor richly humorous; it was simply being candid. For its "hope [to] be believed" that it had been preoccupied "with lesser things" was plainly confirmed in its lead story for that very day and in its accompanying front-page cry that Miss Pat Ward's testimony contained

NAMES,
DATES,
PLACES . . .

BOOKS

Cold Peace, Hot Competition

CHINA AND THE COLD WAR. By Michael Lindsay. Cambridge University Press. $3.75.
NO FLIES IN CHINA. By George Stafford Gale. William Morrow and Company. $3.
CHINA UNDER COMMUNISM. By Richard L. Walker. Yale University Press. $4.50.
AN AMERICAN POLICY IN ASIA. By W. W. Rostow in Collaboration with Richard W. Hatch. Published Jointly by the Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and John Wiley and Sons.
POLITICAL WARFARE. By John Scott. The John Day Company. $3.75.

By Edgar Snow

A DECADE of tension and fear is far from ending but international politicians are now breathing an almost forgotten ozone of optimism. Some rational conclusions in favor of peace have penetrated "summit" thinking over here and over there. Behind all recent progress toward sanity lie many factors, but none is more important than the widespread realization among ordinary friable mortals of the true and awful meaning of H-bomb warfare. Particularly since reports of the dramatic effects of atomic fall-out on the Japanese fishing boat Fortunate Dragon, more than a year ago, thoughtful people everywhere have accepted it as axiomatic that nobody could win, and literally everybody could look forward to being burned in a thermonuclear war.

That—rather than any new discovery about communism—is now the central fact of our political existence, or any existence at all. It is today enough to render absurd much of the metaphysics which gave the cold war allure, for some, as a means to a warmer end—as for example, the belief in "inevitable war," its corollary "the preventive war," or the anti-Communist "rollback." Even the principle of militarizing the status quo everywhere without any scruple except that it be anti-Communist, is no longer entirely convincing as the most practical way to defend freedom.

The grand strategy of the cold war itself—aimed at negotiated settlement only after terms could be dictated from "positions of overwhelming strength"—begins to seem a dangerous chimera. For are we not presently resigned to sober talk with the Russians as equals? In high quarters it is realized that while military power is necessary to deter Red aggression, nevertheless democracy cannot deploy it offensively to destroy communism as a competing political system and religion. At the same time the Red oligarchs comprehend that the threat of violence cannot break up a vigilant free democratic alliance—while actual armed attack could end in total extermination for Russia and its orbit.

These reflections arise after reading the new books listed above, a collection which might be grouped as a symposium entitled "1949-55: From Cold War to Competitive Coexistence." Ideological rivalry remains the common theme but now the game has limits. The goal is not victory through death to the heretic, but victory through self-survival—and the "power of positive thinking."

John Scott's book in fact is subtitled "A Guide to Competitive Coexistence" and the others supplement and complement it. None of these authors states that force can eradicate communism as an idea, nor do they explain its spread as the work of traitors or witches in the United States Department of State. The emphasis is generally on factual conditions of the present—and on "creative" measures and countermeasures for the future. We must answer the challenge of communism, they say, by devising better remedies for economic and social problems. None can guarantee that his own medicine will save the patient or extend democracy. All agree it is better to act and fail than fail to act.

Professor Rostow and Richard W. Hatch are attached to the Center for International Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Their book seeks to popularize Point Four philosophy through a kind of right-field Republican application of Keynesian ideas to foreign policy. Richard L. Walker, an assistant professor at Yale, reviews five years of Communist rule in China on the basis of meticulous research and analysis of published materials and interviews with Chinese exiles. George Gale is an English journalist who visited China with the Attlee delegation. John Scott, a seasoned reporter with an exceptionally good background on Russia, demonstrates an expert knowledge of the techniques of political warfare. Michael Lindsay, son of a master of Balliol at Oxford and himself a classical scholar, whose wife is Chinese, once served as a wartime advisor to the Chinese Communists. He also revisited China with the British Labor group and served as Clement Attlee's interpreter.

PROFESSOR Walker alone opposes United States recognition of Peking under any conditions—his thought being that quarantine is the best way to "change" or ruin the regime. Chinese communism is "based on war" and cannot honestly accept coexistence or survive under conditions of peace. Its leaders are already "corrupt" and must "fail" to satisfy "individual" Chinese aspirations, he tells us. The United States should oppose them by supporting "more desirable" alternatives elsewhere in Asia. "Chinese can see no hope for the future," he quotes a former British missionary in gloomy conclusion, "except the third world war." He infers that this is what the population of China (unique among men!) now prays for. But "the costs" make this "an almost impossible choice." That is why we may merely try to penalize and isolate China to make its leaders "change" and become more like us. Statistically comprehensive, Professor Walker's book explains practically everything—except what makes Chinese Communists.

If George Gale, correspondent for the Manchester *Guardian,* presents fewer figures, he does group them in more human and viable tableaus. In reporting on foreign lands

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there is still no substitute for seeing them, and to an intelligent eye even a week of observation may be worth a hundred books. Gale had the immense advantage of speaking with people who actually live and work in China, including many Europeans. He hates the Communist regimes, and the whole necessity of coexistence. As an Englishman and a Cambridge product, he admits being "fastidious" about his associates and he simply does not wish to "draw closer" to Russia or China. The more we do so the more we are "infected" by what they suffer from. But his personal bias is carefully excluded from these conclusions—which he believes even "the British colony of Shanghai" would "not dispute." He states:

> I have no doubt whatsoever that in many respects China is a better place now than it was under the Kuomintang. And I have no doubts, either, that most Chinese certainly think so. Very great improvements have been made. . . . China has taken to Communist dictatorship like a lost man to a signpost. . . . The government is popular. Communism is popular. The government works, and if that means a dictatorship, so be it. China is used to dictatorships and this one is the people's dictatorship. . . . I met hundreds of Chinese and there are hundreds of millions. I do not know what they think about communism but I suspect that those who think anything at all about it like it; all of them, that is, except the 1.64 per cent who are deprived of their political rights by edict. For the rest, things are better; and if you count yourself lucky to have a cotton quilt for winter and a bowl of rice to eat when you are hungry then things are what you are interested in.
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> I do not like the new regime of China but what counts is that the Chinese do; and no regime on earth seems to me . . . more stable than it and less likely to be swept away by internal disaffection. I think also that the new regime will succeed in its program of industrialization. It will have to. Its rulers know that.

Messrs. Rostow and Hatch, writing from their Cambridge, are of a different opinion. They consider China a "serious threat" to "United States interests." They argue that we can never recognize China's claim to Formosa, where our present protectorate must be maintained at least until the burden can be shifted to our allies or the U. N. in some form permanently guaranteeing separation. In Formosa they see "a focus for Free China" to "powerfully advance United States' interests in Asia."

Convinced that Chinese Reds are more interested in "expansion abroad" than in realizing their own former "revolutionary aspirations" at home, they predict that when this "expansionist dream" is blocked by us then Chinese communism will "change." Peking is advised that the Sino-Soviet alliance is the "wrong way" for China and so is the "party line." Both must be abandoned, and will be, "at some future time." Whether what would then follow would necessarily be any more agreeable to "United States interests" is not a question to trouble these authors. They are confident that "the Chinese people" will finally choose what is good for them from among the various "alternatives" which Americans are even now preparing for non-Communist Asia.

"We are in the midst of a climactic battle. We must keep our faith as we plan the peaceful courses of American policy." These "peaceful courses" must range from "all-out atomic warfare to guerrilla and even lesser local subversive operations"—as well as major economic intervention. This is a "dangerous period" in Asia, it is conceded—like "the United States in 1848" and like "Japan in 1868." Peking is engaged in a "ruthless" effort to industrialize China and is "taking much greater short-run risks" than communism did in Russia. Therein, we are told, lies our opportunity.

Because of China's addiction to the "wrong way" the Rostow-Hatch program demands prompt demonstration in non-Communist Asia of the "right way" to industrialize. They want us greatly to increase economic aid there; to encourage regional planning as a means of solving Japan's "trade problem and growth problems"; to "acknowledge (our) unavoidable responsibility" for reorganizing Formosa as a "constructive element in the Free World coalition," and to place our Asian policy on an anti-Communist basis "for decades if necessary."

"By and large" our federal government should "invest" 1.3 billion dollars a year in Asia—aside from spending for military purposes—and let our allies put up a balance of "about .07 billion"—which we might have to advance to them. This is not only anti-Communist altruism; it is insurance for economic stability at home. For we have an all-time surplus. "Normally our national output increases by 14 billions" a year and we are now embarrassed with "a margin of about 30 billions in unused (industrial) capacity." Thus we can save India and the rest of Asia at the same time we keep down unemployment here. If we do all these things then there is "every probability" that our British allies will "stop wooing Peking from Moscow," agree to help us hold Formosa, curtail trade with Red China, and exclude Peking from the U. N. indefinitely.

LORD LINDSAY, who speaks for an influential sector of British opinion and enjoys the respect of British Asia experts, would scarcely concur in the "every probability" mentioned above. He would look upon some of the Rostow-Hatch proposals as more aberrations in an American policy toward China and Asia which he regards as immature and "quite irrational." His complex and erudite book really aims at stating some general principles of a social philosophy adequate to the H-bomb era—and is much influenced by the thought of Keynes, Felix Kaufman, and K. R. Popper. But in so far as it deals explicitly with China today it notes a real "change in attitude" there which "allows contacts with and discussions with people able to explain the non-Communist point of view—the essential first step to better mutual understanding."

Secondly, ignorance in China about the outside world makes it uncertain "how far the subjectively sincere Chinese desire for better relations will produce an actual improvement." While "the situation is considerably more hopeful than it was at the beginning of 1954, there are still serious difficulties to be overcome." It must be "clearly demonstrated that the Western powers would welcome genuine peaceful coexistence and would much prefer to have friendly rather than hostile relations with China." But it must also be shown that everything depends on "practical actions and not on mere words" and that Chinese policy cannot succeed as long as "it continues to maintain doublethink positions and delusions about us."

"By continual demonstrations of hostility, by continued blocking of legitimate Chinese aspirations such as the U. N. seat, and by continued support for pin-pricking military attacks from Formosa, American policy directly helps to maintain . . . hysteria and delusions." And the embargo against trade, wherever it restricts exports to China more than to Eastern Europe, merely increases "Chinese dependence on the Soviet Union." On his return to China last year Lindsay concluded that doctrinaire devotion to "Marx-Leninist faith" was interfering much less with "rational action to benefit the Chinese people" than he had judged from afar. Chinese leadership was acting with "a great deal more intelligence and common sense" than he had supposed.

All in all, Lindsay thinks "China would be an exception to the proposition that no orthodox Communist government could survive a free election." And "for the next decade, at least," we "must allow for the continuance and growing strength of the present regime."

AMERICAN books written in the period of maximum cold-war crisis often overestimated the degree of our own ability to control external developments, and underestimated the massive influence on our fate of external events we did not will at all. Two great wars which added enormously to our wealth, industrial capacity, and military strength really "made" the United States, yet they were not made by us. The same wars bankrupted Europe, however, and the second wiped out nearly the entire labor-industrial product of the first generation under Russian communism. Obviously the immense difference between these consequences was an accident of time and space. Yet many cold-war political economists write under the assumption that a temporary geographical immunity which left our war-made prosperity intact somehow proved not just the relative superiority of our "economic system," but its absolute superiority. Naturally the same people cannot admit that the impact of Russia, Communist China, and European Marxism is everywhere implicit in the responses it provokes among us—including the very books we write to deny it.

Some of our anti-Marxist professors see the struggle as the Devil versus Virtue, and never the twain shall meet—just as good Stalinists do. They are shocked if anyone suggests that some present "alternatives" might never have been advanced by us had not the Communists shaken the old order out of its boots.

While busy "changing" and "mellowing" communism we are at the same time being modified *by* it. That is merely the old dialectical process at work—a respectable principle of historical change since Plato's time. But curiously among authors reviewed here it is only John Scott, of Mr. Luce's *Time-Life*, who takes note of it. When the long-term results of the "climactic struggle" are examined, he thinks, "perhaps the twentieth century will find its Golden Mean in between the ideas of the October Revolution and those of the world's [anti-Communist] free peoples." He declares:

> During the past thirty-seven years, serious modifications have taken place on both sides. . . . The Bolsheviks have restored the family as the basic economic and sociological unit of their society, renounced equalitarianism for a complex and highly differentiated incentive system, and adopted patterns and institutions in education, architecture, music, and arts far more conservative than many of those accepted in the West. The West, on the other hand, also changed. Certain elements of . . . planned economy have become accepted throughout the West. . . . A recent economist's conference in Boston reported that if our economic organizations of a generation ago were taken as 0 and socialism as 100 our present system would be 56.

Unfortunately our approach to this Golden Mean in economics and administration is often obscured by the dichotomy of power which exists between ourselves and the Soviet government. Two strong powers cannot control the same area at the same time. Each tends today to emphasize the difference between the two systems in order to maintain the purity and simplicity of its own position and force those in-between off the fence. Each tends to blame the "enemy" for everything that goes wrong and to cover up its own inadequacies. But any objective student of history can today see the Golden Mean taking form in the field of economics and administration.

That is perhaps as good a text as any for opening the new epoch of cold peace—and hot competition. And Devil take the hindmost!

Everywhere South

A HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICA FROM THE BEGINNINGS TO THE PRESENT. By Hubert Herring. Alfred A. Knopf. $8.75.

By Carleton Beals

THE AMERICAN public has been emotionally drained for so long by international crises and imminent threats of atomic war that it has scarcely had the energy or interest to notice what the less "sensitive" areas of the world are like or what is happening there. This mental isolationism in an era of new and expanding world power has been especially marked in the case of Latin America. The exuberant, costly wartime good-will efforts were mostly terminated officially right after the war, with corresponding resentments to the south, where many countries had made more serious contributions and sacrifices than Americans realized. The southern nations were largely ignored in the making of postwar plans. The Marshall Plan gave them no direct help but affected them tremendously—and in many ways adversely. This official back-turning was accompanied by a sudden drying up of interest on the part of the reading public; numerous inter-American publications folded.

Therefore, a special value now attaches to Hubert Herring's 800-page history of Latin America. It is a pretty formidable dose for the average reader. But for those wishing to be properly informed about political events, ancient and modern, in that complex area, it is the most comprehensive presentation yet attempted in English. Its reliability need not be questioned. Emerging from Protestant sectarian circles, Dr. Herring has devoted most of his energies from 1926 on to the Latin American field. His book, therefore, benefits from a background of thirty years of travel, intensive study, and

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ever-expanding knowledge. He is one of our foremost commentators on Latin American affairs and for ten years has been teaching the subject at Claremont and Pomona Colleges.

The book is obviously designed as a college text and follows the conventional and somewhat dreary pattern of political history with somewhat inadequate consideration of economic and social forces or cultural contributions. But Dr. Herring has aimed also at the general reader —and the quality of the writing gains from that fact. The best section is the first, on background: these chapters are more rewarding than the ins and outs of revolutions that often seem meaningless unless properly posed against more basic social, cultural, and racial conflicts.

AS A potential textbook, this volume pretty much soft-pedals controversial difficulties. Dr. Herring's consideration of the church issue is inadequate. The whole meaning of the Juarez reform and the later conflict in the Calles era is blurred over. However, the author is staunchly on the liberal side; he does not like imperialism or dictatorships and, with due caution, he manages to criticize United States interventions and dollar diplomacy.

In covering such a vast panorama and so many countries, Dr. Herring has been able to give only the sketchiest treatment to contemporary events. In this area the vigorous writing of which he is so capable does not lift its head, and one gets little feeling for the epoch-making changes that have swept the Latin American world since the outbreak of World War II. But the book does have the praiseworthy quality of avoiding current propaganda headlines, as in the case of Argentina and Guatemala, or at least tones them down to more reasonable language, though not always with entire accuracy or complete awareness of their meaning.

Political histories are rarely profound, but Dr. Herring's volume is head and shoulders above most writing of this type. Minor criticisms aside, it is the best and most complete history—except for books on individual countries—yet to be written in the English language. He deserves unstinted praise for handling his complicated theme so lucidly.

Russia As It Is—Or Isn't

THE INTERREGNUM, 1923-1924. Volume IV of "A History of Soviet Russia." By Edward Hallett Carr. The Macmillan Company. $5.

RITUAL OF LIQUIDATION. The Case of the Moscow Trials. By Nathan Leites and Elsa Bernaut. Free Press. $6.50.

THE ORIGIN OF THE COMMUNIST AUTOCRACY. Political Opposition in the Soviet State —First Phase, 1917-1922. By Leonard Schapiro. Published for the London School of Economics and Political Science by Harvard University Press. $7.

COMMUNISM AND THE RUSSIAN PEASANT. By Herbert S. Dinerstein. *MOSCOW IN CRISIS.* By Leon Goure and Herbert S. Dinerstein. Free Press. $4.50.

ADMIRAL AMBASSADOR TO RUSSIA. By William H. Standley and Arthur A. Ageton. Henry Regnery Company. $6.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION 1917. A Personal Record of N. N. Sukhanov. Edited, Abridged, and Translated by Joel Carmichael from Zapiski O Revolutsii. Oxford University Press. $10.

NINE SOVIET PORTRAITS. By Raymond A. Bauer with the Assistance of Edward Wasiolek. Published Jointly by the Technology Press of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and John Wiley and Sons. $3.95.

FACE OF A VICTIM. By Elizabeth Lermolo. Translated from the Russian by I. D. W. Talmadge. Harper and Brothers. $3.75.

By Mark Gayn

SINCE last fall I have read some forty books on the Soviet Union. When I think back on them now, I can name only two or three likely to survive the season and perhaps half a dozen others that might be remembered for their shortcomings if not for their merits. Again, as in the past few years, the cream of the crop comes from political scientists in England. In this country the lists continue to be dominated by memoirs, with their overtones of missionary zeal, high emotion, and, at times, questionable fact. The difference in the approach is not easy to explain. Why, for instance, is it possible to produce in this country outstanding studies of Red China—such, for example, as Benjamin I. Schwartz's distinguished "Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao"—but almost none of Red Russia? Does some of the blame rest with those American publishers who select the sensational in preference to the thoughtful and the dispassionate? Should Moscow's own mania for secrecy be blamed for the kind of rubbish put out in this country by alleged Russian eyewitnesses and their American ghost writers? (In 1953-54, the Moscow monthly, *Questions of History"* carried a number of articles attacking the barriers of secrecy and red tape which kept Soviet scholars from government archives in general, and from the old files of MVD in particular.) Or should the ultimate blame for the general mediocrity of American books on the Soviet problem be put on the fear and uncertainty that have become woven into the fabric of our intellectual life?

Apart from Isaac Deutscher with his brilliant biography of Trotsky, it is again Professor Carr who supplies one of the season's notable works. It is not only that his latest volume combines his customary lucidity and historical imagination with a staggering amount of research. It is also that if he ever completes his "History of Soviet Russia" he will have produced a monumental work that will influence historians for decades to come. The opening volume of Professor Carr's study appeared in 1950. At that time he intended to devote altogether two volumes to the 1917-28 period—no more, say, than Louis Fischer had done in his memorable "Soviet Russia in World Affairs." But the deeper Professor Carr probed into his sources the less he was inclined to "condense." Last year's "Interregum"—the fourth volume of the series—has only reached that fragment of time in 1923-24 when Lenin was out of politics with a stroke and his many heirs awaited his recovery, or death. The author now indicates that he will require two more volumes to carry his story to 1928,

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MARK GAYN is the author of "Japan Diary" and "The War in the Pacific."

under the general title of "Socialism in One Country.'

The material on the Soviet revolution available to the Western student is enormous. But research is worth little unless it is spiced with imagination and perception. In the hands of Mr. Leites and Dr. Bernaut, for instance, the material somehow remains a shapeless mass of quotations. Professor Carr, on the other hand, not only weaves it into a fascinating story but also binds it to the history of our own days. Who, for instance, can read his account of the Kremlin's half-hearted effort to organize an armed putsch in Germany in 1923—and in the process indicate readiness to surrender the about-to-be communized Prussia to fascist Poland—without linking it to Moscow's present complex maneuvers in that country? And who could read the intricate story of government-by-committee at the Kremlin of 1923-24 without wondering about the "collective leadership" at the Kremlin of 1955?

MR. SCHAPIRO'S work covers some of the terrain studied by Professor Carr. It seeks to be the story of "political opposition to Lenin" and "the history of the Bolsheviks and their opponents." This is a worthy subject, and Mr. Schapiro brings to it a great deal of rare material on Russian revolutionary parties other than the Bolshevik. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Schapiro carries a political chip on his shoulder. He wishes to tell his story "without the distorting Marxist framework," and he proclaims himself to be a man who likes the "established legal order" and "a minimum of government compulsion." This is a commendable political and moral platform, but the picture the author sees from its heights often seems unreal. The Bolsheviks may well have been "a handful of adventurers," but if they were, Mr. Schapiro fails to show convincingly why they had been able to destroy their rivals, who admittedly did much less to disturb "the established legal order." In general, can the history of 1917-23 be told in terms of political opposition to Lenin—who himself was at times overruled by his party colleagues? Can the story of the Russian Revolution be recorded in terms of personalities rather than in those of class conflict? And can *any* revolution be evaluated in terms of the established legal or moral code?

One of the season's better books originating in this country includes two studies in Soviet controls—one in the villages, the other in Moscow in the fall of 1941. The volume is a product of the United States air force research project carried out by the Rand Corporation. It may be wondered why the air force should finance studies of, say, the mechanics of Soviet purges or the administrative problems of a Russian *kolkhoz* —unless it be that its interests and ambitions have become truly global. Some of the Rand books represent pseudo-scholarly wastage. This, however, is not true of the Dinerstein-Goure studies. So voluminous is the detail presented by Mr. Dinerstein that his Soviet village comes alive, with its peasants, tractor drivers, bureaucrats, and party overseers. The job is done with detachment, skill, and lack of pretentiousness. The same qualities are displayed in the Dinerstein-Goure report on that period in October, 1941, when most of high party and even NKVD officials had been evacuated from Moscow, and the general public suddenly found itself free of the accustomed police and political controls. Based largely on interviews with Russians and Americans who were in Moscow that month, the study portrays the apathy, confusion, and even sporadic lawlessness that prevailed until the Kremlin again picked up the reins. The authors conclude: "The fact remains that at the height of the crisis the majority of the population of Moscow did not rebel against their rulers. And, on the basis of available evidence, they had no intention of doing so."

SO MUCH for the scholarly books. The most interesting of the season's memoirs, to my mind, is that of Admiral Standley, who served as United States ambassador in Moscow in 1942-43. The book does not help to clear up the old mystery of why the admiral was chosen for this crucial post despite his age—he was nearing seventy—his limited diplomatic experience, and his even more limited knowledge of the complexities of Communist theory and practice. ("Communism," he writes, "is a religion of the devil; it is a distillation of evil; it is the very anti-Christ. We will never be safe from this evil faith until it is driven back to the hell from which it came.")

Yet if the admiral seems out of his depth when he deals with theory, he does add to the record of President Roosevelt's inexplicable errors. The Soviet Union was our most important wartime ally. None the less, relations with it were conducted haphazardly, with no continuity of policy or even simple administrative efficiency. From the outset Admiral Standley found himself bypassed by a horde of special American envoys who seemed to have the authority to negotiate directly with Stalin and who often did not even bother to tell the ambassador of their mission. Within the embassy the admiral fought the lend-lease representative, Brigadier General Phillip Faymonville. Outside it, he found himself warring with a succession of visitors, from Joseph E. Davies and General James H. Burns to Wendell Willkie. All in all, a minor fragment of history, a lively book, and perhaps an unwitting demonstration that good admirals do not necessarily good ambassadors make.

SUKHANOV'S memoir—skilfully edited and condensed by Mr. Carmichael, a one-time *Nation* correspondent in Germany—is something else. A veteran Russian Socialist, a tireless diarist, and a man of endless curiosity, Sukhanov watched and faithfully recorded the course of the Russian Revolution. Although he sometimes sat in the inner revolutionary councils, Sukhanov at all times seemed to be more interested in observing than in doing. The result is what is perhaps the best eyewitness account of those eventful years. In 1925, when I first read it, Sukhanov's memoir was still in wide use in the Soviet Union. But soon afterward the gap between his observations and the "official" party history became too obvious to be ignored; the book was banned, and in 1931 Sukhanov himself was put on trial on charges of treason. The book is highly recommended to anyone interested in an undoctored Russian account of the revolution.

Dr. Bauer's "Nine Soviet Portraits" is an attempt to use fictional techniques to portray "typical" Soviet people—from a housewife to an NKVD agent. The "portraits" are based partly on interviews with Soviet escapees, partly on anti-Communist material available in this country. The author deserves praise for his attempt to make the Russians and their daily problems of survival comprehensible to the American reader. But unfortunately Dr. Bauer's literary skills do not match the demands presented by a study of this type. When an agent of the secret police "promotes" chickens from a farm, or thinks of telling his bosses to "shove it," or starts "dripping saliva from his thick lips" as he whips a prisoner, he belongs to a Mickey Spillane epic rather than a serious political and psychological study.

As for Elizabeth Lermolo's story, it defies classification. What it asks of its readers is to believe that a woman exiled to northern Russia as a "counter-revolutionary" can—through innocent involvement in the Kirov affair—become privy to most if not all dark Kremlin secrets. Charged with being an accomplice of Kirov's assassin, Mrs. Lermolo is interrogated personally by Stalin; she learns in prison that Stalin himself had organized Kirov's murder; in prison too she sees Zinoviev and Kamenev quarreling with a man who testified against them; she meets Lenin's chef, who confides in her that in his dying moments Lenin had thrust into the chef's hands a message, reading "I've been poisoned . . . tell Trotsky . . ."; she meets a woman who saw Stalin murder his wife, and another woman whose niece had been picked for Stalin's mistress, etc., etc. Eugene Lyons, who read the book, observes that this is "the kind of inside information that only the doomed dare talk about." Here is one reader who can't buy it.

A Montage of Film-Making

CINEMAGES. Nos. 1-5. Edited by Gideon Bachmann. The Group for Film Study. By subscription $3 a year for six issues.

By Vernon Young

GOOD talk about any art is rare; about film and film-making it is an echo heard in a petrified forest. That is why these publications, unevenly organized but arduously compiled and bravely mimeographed, serve a larger purpose than their contingent one of accompanying the G. F. S. screenings of films by great directors. The five numbers already issued comprise a loose-leaf and lively assortment of *obiter dicta,* eyewitness anecdotes, formal interpretations (reprints as well as assigned material), and biographical indices pertaining to the work and times of Griffith, von Stroheim, Murnau, Epstein, Pudovkin, Dreyer, Pabst and Bunuel. Subsequent copies will expound "The Dawn of the American Screen" and credos of experimental film-makers.

LEAFING through the assembled pages I had the agreeable sense of witnessing a social montage of the crucial years of film-making, between 1915 and 1935 especially, and largely in Europe. The contributors —many of them writers and technicians closely associated with the subjects of their discourse—have not only recounted in detail the careers of outstanding directors but presented tellingly the social and political background against which the "newest" art struggled to enunciate its terms. The effect is of a newsreel, chronologically relaxed, unfurling simultaneously with the dialogue.

The numbers devoted to the late Jean Epstein and G. W. Pabst have particular immediacy. Since most of the historians and critics of Epstein are French, and since the French remain the most lucid analysts of the cinema, the reader is given a rewarding view of this unjustly neglected artist. From 1922 to 1947 this protean yet incisive genius of the film, whose range took in romance, fantasy, realism, and the documentary, advanced from style to style, always surprising his admirers, refusing to capitalize on momentary successes. In 1947 he underlined his fabulous achievements with the last of his obsessive seascapes, "Le Tempestaire," filmed with slow-motion sound. (G. F. S. members have seen one sequence of this film; a complete print awaits general distribution.) Epstein's own definitions of the cinematic art, many of them quoted in "Cinemages 2," are perhaps the most perceptive ever written.

A half-dozen genial voices summarize the very different career of G. W. Pabst, the Bohemian-born director of such famous movies as "The Joyless Street," "The Love of Jeanne Ney," "Kameradschaft," and "The Threepenny Opera." They deal with his early development as an actor and stage director before World War I, the prodigality of his film output after 1923, his never quite consummated marriage with the social-protest film, his controversial association with Bertolt Brecht, his ambiguous return to Austria in 1939, and his current reappearance as director of "The Last Act" (1955), a film on Hitler's final ten days soon to be shown here. All this, and much more, provides an informal history of film production more vivid than any impersonal record of the period could be. It reminds those who have perhaps forgotten it that movie-making is a *craft* whose greatest practitioners have always fought to keep it from being big business and resisted the pressures of patronage, economic stringency, fashion, and political cur-

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VERNON YOUNG is on the staff of the Community Arts Center of Wallingford, Pennsylvania.

Communism in the United States

DIGEST OF THE PUBLIC RECORD OF COMMUNISM IN THE UNITED STATES. Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States. The Fund for the Republic. No Price.

Designed to encourage the serious study of communism in the United States, these two volumes should prove invaluable to students. The first volume contains digests of the most significant legislation, committee proceedings, judicial and executive actions pertaining to communism in the United States. An annotated bibliography comprises the second volume and lists virtually all articles and books relating to American communism since 1919, as well as a selected list of publications dealing with the ideology, communism in other countries, and Communist periodicals. In addition to these two volumes, the fund has also made available microfilm copies of the papers and testimony in twenty-three trials involving communism over the past twenty-five years.

rents—a craft that once was more adventurous and experimental than now, not only in technique but in subject matter, seeking to restate in fresh terms for a new audience the dreams and predicaments of man.

Seymour Stern in his amplified monograph on "The Birth of a Nation," an essay in fanatical devotion, is often shrill in his denunciation of anyone who would do less than his own notion of justice to the accomplishments of Griffith, that magnificent tactician and spiritual vulgarian. There are not a few other instances of heated partisanship in these pages, but they are refreshing through their very enthusiasm.

If Mr. Bachmann continues to publish these symposiums, either in the present format or in one more substantial, it is to be hoped that he will distinguish more sharply between a variety of coherent viewpoints and mere variety. "Cinemages," by inviting participation from those who know the craft as makers or viewers and are anxious to rescue its principles from the vacuity of the average press notices, could serve as a round table of film criticism in this country. Talk is good when those talking share certain assumptions concerning the role of intelligence, imagination, and goodwill. On the subject of movies we have never had enough of such talk.

Selected New Books

Fiction

THE GOOD SHEPHERD. By C. S. Forester. Little, Brown. $3.95. Suspense and sentiment in a pastiche of a war book thick enough to cloy the mind. The hero is a pious naval Babbitt incapable of either heroism or true despair. Mr. Forester has drifted periously close to a burlesque of his own fiction, if not to outright blasphemy.

THE TWO TOWERS. By J. R. R. Tolkien. Houghton Mifflin Company. $5. Part two of a delightful trilogy, the fantastic story of a world as real as the imagination. Readers who enjoy provocative fantasy will want to own this handsome volume.

THE VIRGINIA EXILES. By Virginia Gray Vining. Lippincott. $3.95. A neatly effective account of Quakers driven into exile during the American Revolution because of failure to sign loyalty oaths. Miss Vining does not belabor her point, but there is clear application to current problems.

NOBLE IN SEASON. By Phyllis Bentley. Macmillan. $3.50. A pretentious novel by Miss Bentley, set once again in the Yorkshire country of England. The clinical story told by the author-narrator is pedantic rather than perceptive; rhetoric and generalizations make this a stilted, foggy book.

THE LAST TEMPTATION. By Joseph Viertel. Simon and Schuster. $3.95. Survival, escape, and disaster in a thoughtful novel reaching from Vienna to Israel. Mr. Viertel closely examines the abuses of power in a new nation even while affirming its dream of freedom; his book will disturb romantic conceptions of the establishment of Israel.

STANLEY COOPERMAN

Belles Lettres

THE BROKEN CISTERN. By Bonamy Dobree. Indiana. $3. Suggesting that the gap between poetry and the public is partly due to contemporary poets' concern with arcane subjects, Professor Dobree examines the frequent appearance in poetry of three themes of common universal interest: stoicism, scientism, and patriotism. He concludes that poets may be able to establish a relationship with a broader public by treating "public themes" of general interest, and the many examples he quotes from classical and English literature show that these subjects have been made into magnificent poetry in the past.

WINTER NOTES ON SUMMER IMPRESSIONS. By Feodor M. Dostoevsky. Criterion. $2.75. These hitherto untranslated travel notes show that even while he toured France and England, Dostoevsky thought primarily of Russia. The social and political life of Western Europe seemed to his ironic eye a meaningless pageant of pompous and curious futilities.

NIGHTMARES OF EMINENT PERSONS AND OTHER STORIES. By Bertrand Russell. Simon and Schuster. $3. Lord Russell's satires are diagrammatic; fleshless in themselves, but amusingly meaningful in their reference to such modern shibboleths as existentialism, psychoanalysis, spiritual self-help, and automation.

JACOB KORG

Records

B. H. Haggin

A DOUBT about record guides in general was expressed once by Jacques Barzun in a review: things had reached the point where "a man is an ass who thinks of going into a shop and using his own ears, long or short, in selecting a disc." This doesn't take into account the realities of record-buying that cause people to depend on record reviews, and the fact that they are much the same realities as cause people to depend on reviews of books and plays.

The first reality is the many record-buyers whose ears cannot tell even an agreeable sound from an unpleasant one. Is it better for them to make their own choices, or to hear the good sound, the good music, the performances chosen for them by someone else, with the possibility that sufficient experience of the good may in time produce an ability to distinguish it from the bad?

And what now of the man who *can* tell good from bad on records—as he can in books and plays? He doesn't read every published book or see every produced play for himself, but makes use of the judgment of someone else—someone with the special powers of perception and judgment of the professional reader of books or observer of plays—the critic. Not that he passively lets his mind be made up for him by the critic; he tests the critic's evaluation with his own experience of the book or play; and he reads the critics whose judgments have been confirmed by his own experience in the past. So with music; and with records there is the additional reality that even today, and even in big cities, there are very few shops in which someone with judgment of his own can try records on a phonograph good enough for him to form dependable opinions about what is on the records; while in a country town the shop may not even have

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the records to try. In this situation he must depend on the professional listener to tell him at the very least whether the performance is reproduced with agreeable or with strident sound, and to give him at the very least similar factual information about the performance itself—that the voice is steady, full, warm, lustrous, or is tremulous, thin, cold, acidulous; that the inflection of phrase is powerful or delicate, is simple or intricate, gives the phrase a coherently proportioned or a distorted shape; that the performance moves flowingly or haltingly. Here musical judgment begins to be involved; and record reviews are depended on for evaluation of what is on the records, as well as for information.

These are the needs a record guide is intended to satisfy; and the reviewer must examine it to see how it does what it is supposed to do. Thus, concerning Philip L. Miller's "The Guide to Long-Playing Records: Vocal Music" (Knopf, $4.50) a reviewer must report that it gives the reader no warning about the high-frequency distortion on Victor's dubbings of the pre-war "Rosenkavalier" and Glyndebourne Festival "Figaro," "Cosi," and "Don Giovanni"—especially foul on side 1 of "Don Giovanni" and in the Marschallin's Monologue and third-act trio of "Rosenkavalier." Miller is a musically educated writer who studied singing and should be dependable on that subject; but his statement that Reining, the Marschallin of the London "Rosenkavalier," "though past the first bloom of her sweetly lyrical voice, is magnificent when the range of the music does not tax her" doesn't tell the reader of the actual pallid, quavering voice on the records. He is similarly uninformed of Hopf's shockingly deteriorated voice in the Bayreuth "Meistersinger" and Moedl's tremulous shrillness in the "Parsifal"; and is told nothing about the poor woodwinds of the Bayreuth orchestra, the poorly balanced reproduction of the "Parsifal," the recorded sound of the "Meistersinger," coarse, unclean in definition, unclear in contrapuntal texture, enveloped in a hash of high-frequency distortion near the centers of the records. The statement about de Sabata's "clean musicianship" in a performance of Verdi's Requiem in which "Verdi's indications as to expression and dynamics are respected, though the singers are allowed to spread themselves within the bounds of good taste" doesn't inform the reader of de Sabata's stretching out of much of the music with excessively slow tempos that disregard Verdi's metronome markings, of his fussing with dynamics and phrasing, of Schwarzkopf's contribution of *her* fussing, pouting, whispering, and gasping, of di Stefano's sobbing in the *Ingemisco*. And the statement that the Columbia records show Muzio's "artistry at its top" doesn't inform the reader of the constant swelling and contracting of vocal sound that is Muzio's singing on those records except in the "Otello" duets.

THE reader may not only acquire the bad but miss the good. On the one hand "a nicely paced production typical of the better-grade present-day Italian opera stage" gives him an incorrect idea of a "Traviata" in which the conductor follows where the singers' self-indulgence leads; on the other hand the statement that in "the much-heralded Toscanini recording" the singers "have little chance, led through their arias at such a pace. In the good old Italian tradition they want to spread themselves in their big moments, but the conductor keeps them strictly in line" gives incorrect impressions not only of the pacing of the performance, but of the nature of that "good old Italian tradition" and of Toscanini's violation of it. The Toscanini "Otello" is described as "one of the supreme examples of [his] clarity and mastery"; but from the statement "perhaps because of the influence of the clock, the interpretation, from the opening crash and tempest to the final collapse of the Moor on his sword, has an almost unbearable drive and nervous vitality" the reader will imagine Toscanini driving through the four acts like a bulldozer. And "hers is not the gift of simplicity" is only one of the references to Steber that do not correctly inform the reader about her singing.

In addition it is astonishing to see what he is and is not informed of: he is told about Zenatello, Russ, Reining, but not about the London Tebaldi recital, the Scala record of Schipa, the Deccas with Lotte Lehmann's early operatic recordings, including the *Komm', Hoffnung* from "Fidelio."

From my sampling of the book's guidance, of which I have reported only a small part, I would conclude: not recommended.

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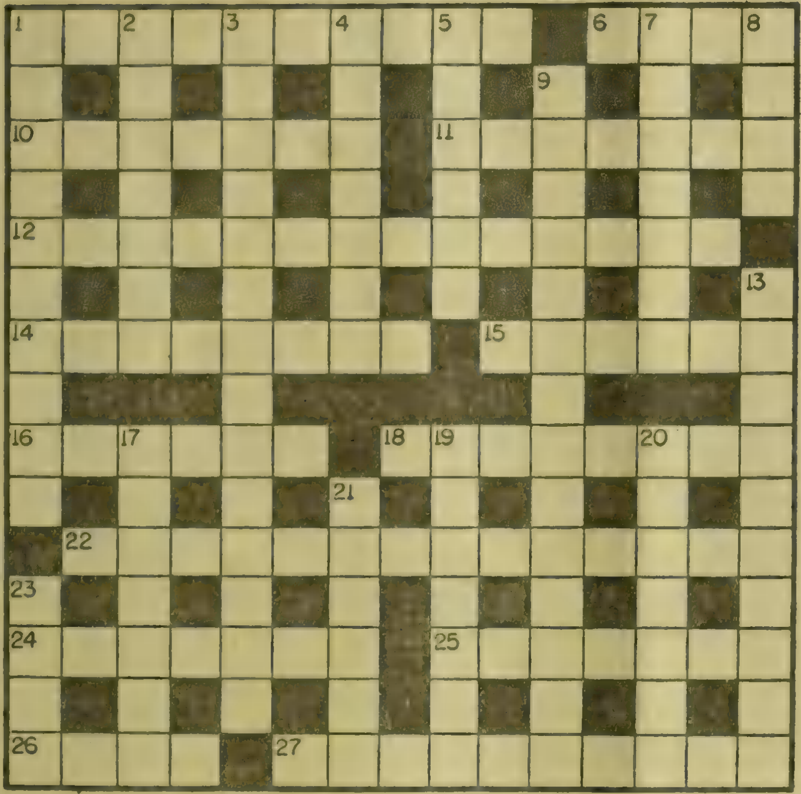

ACROSS

1 Hurry up with the carriages—the force may be there, but not apparently. (5,5)
6 See 5 down
10 It might be good to outlaw profit. (7)
11 Give at last, but give all. (7)
12 Official position with the captain and his craft. (14)
14 Henry in a little car on a little boat. (8)
15 Plot. (6)
16 To get intense might sound like this. (6)
18 What Key saw behaved like a gallant one. (8)
22 With a close look? (14)
24 Get back in the middle of something. (7)
25 You're likely to 26 things which are. (7)
26 Equivalent to 5,280 feet. (4)
27 A portion's a penny when growing up! (10)

DOWN

1 Nautilus, generically speaking? (10)
2 "A" is a street in Paris, if you care to look it up. (7)
3 How to call for a killing? (4,1,3,6)
4 Sound the dinner bell and sit down to eat! (5,2)
5 and 6 across You might, but some just salt and butter it. (10)
7 A rider shouldn't get on so, though there might be a different penalty on the line. (7)
8 Just average, when it comes to working. (4)
9 Hack saws? (5,9)
13 Fed up? (May get confused and tear around, but that's the way to pay expenses!) (10)
17 Coleridge's were gleaming. (7)
19 Pull successfully, like part of F. D. R.'s team. (7)
20 Bearer's assistant. (7)
21 Send to port. (6)
23 Proving it isn't always the best which rises to the top. (4)

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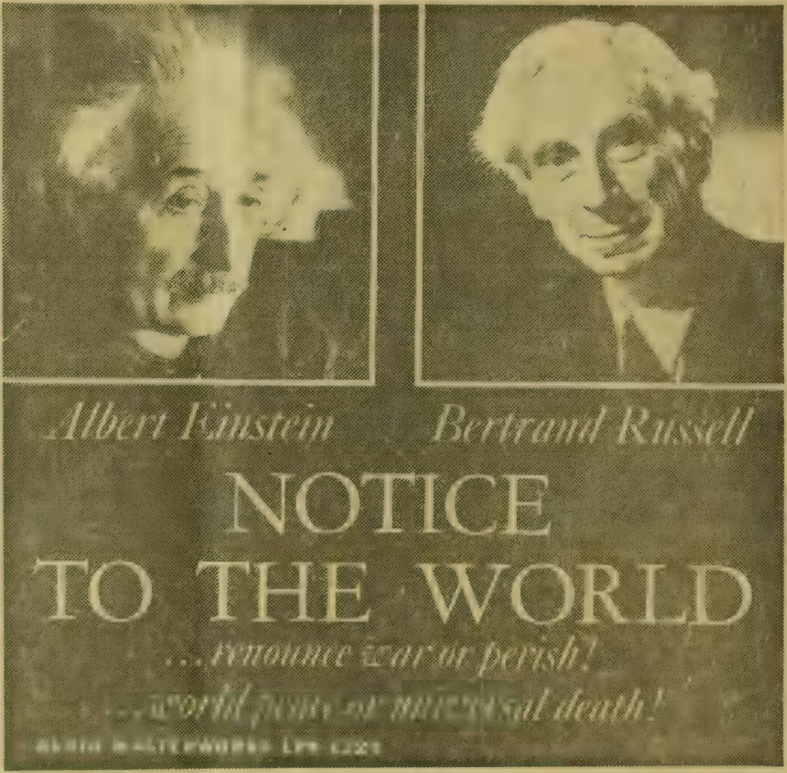

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Letters

Dishonorable Discharge?

Dear Sirs: I don't really know how to start to tell this story. I am not a writer.

I have lived in Milwaukee since 1918. I am an American citizen. I have three sons, two of whom served in World War II and received honorable discharges. My third son, Robert, enlisted in the air force in 1951. He was due to be discharged on August 27, 1955, but about a week before that he called me and told me the air force officials had questioned him and had classified him as a possible security risk.

I want to point out that my boy Robert never belonged to any kind of political organization in his life. However, I also want to explain why they are trying to punish him. In 1936 I was having a hard time getting food to live. I went to the Workers' Alliance, feeling they might help me. Also, I took out insurance with the International Workers Order a few years later for Robert, who was about ten years old at the time. Since then the I. W. O. insurance business has been taken over by the Continental Insurance Company. My boy Robert never knew anything about the I. W. O. or any other organization. Now the air force is threatening him with a dishonorable discharge. He has a good record in the service and is a loyal citizen.

I am ashamed of what our country is turning into, when innocent people can be punished for something they know nothing about. It's time people in our country knew what was going on.

MRS. MILDRED JONES.

Milwaukee, Wis.

[Since this letter was received, Representative Henry S. Reuss of Wisconsin has requested the air force to look into the Jones case.—The Editors.]

Emmett Lewis Till

Dear Sirs: Unless the state of Mississippi acts forthrightly to avenge the kidnapping and murder of fourteen-year-old Emmett Lewis Till and also to guarantee protection of all Americans who happen to be in that state regardless of color, the United States government is morally and legally justified in occupying the state with federal troops. The kidnapping and murder of the Chicago Negro boy is a crime that calls for the gravest consideration by all officials and every citizen.

When President Hayes in April, 1877, ended the military occupation of the rebel states of the South, he did so on the basis of a solemn pledge by Southern leaders that they would grant protection to the Negroes on the same plane as the whites. President Hayes was a man of principle and accepted the pledge of the Southern leaders at face value. He was betrayed by the South. This was a great tragedy in his life, and a greater tragedy for America. The murder of the Chicago boy is testimony that the South must somehow be made to realize that all America expects it to redeem its pledge to President Hayes.

The politicians of both parties have a responsibility for the villainy in Mississippi—Republican leaders who have pretended devotion for civil rights for the Negro in the South, and Democratic leaders who have either remained silent or have cooperated actively in the Southern idea of treating Negro Americans as second-class citizens. The misguided whites who perpetrated the crime were not alone in the guilt. Some of the blood of Emmett Lewis Till is also on the garments of the Byrneses, Talmadges, and Shiverses of the South. There are good people in the South. There are good liberals in the South. There are good Americans in the South. But Governor Byrnes of North Carolina, former Governor Talmadge of Georgia, and Governor Shivers of Texas have been setting the moral and cultural tone of the South and setting it so low that fratricide and homicide are predictable results.

There should be public meetings of protest in every enlightened community, North as well as South, on the murder of the Till boy. We may be sure the Communists will plan such demonstrations. But those of us who have faith in American democracy should not let the Communists take the lead.

HARRY BARNARD.

Chicago, Ill.

World Socialist Movement

Dear Sirs: Professor G. D. H. Cole's article in The Nation (April 23, 1955), together with two articles published in January of this year in The New Statesman and Nation inspired the establishment of a group called provisionally The World Socialist Movement. It is impossible here to go into any detail about its projected aims, or the means it will employ to achieve them. The intention is to make the movement truly democratic and international, which precludes us from dictating aims or means, or insisting upon prescribed standards of orthodoxy, although naturally insisting upon general agreement upon basic principles.

We feel that the sort of organization envisaged by Professor Cole should be formed as soon as possible—the need is unquestionable and the urgency compelling—and primarily its appeal must be worldwide; over the heads of all existing institutions and ideologies that talk in the passive cold-war terms of coexistence instead of the active dynamic terms of cooperation.

I should be very pleased to hear from all those who feel inspired to take an active part in such a movement and who wish to be put in contact with each other. I am writing this letter in my capacity as acting secretary. I can be reached at 11 Spring Street, London W. 2, England.

JOHN H. RODDAM.

London

Paperbacks

Dear Sirs: The reviews and article on paperbacks in your August 27 issue were very interesting. With one hour each day spent in commuting to and from work, I have found these small books easy to carry as well as economical. Recent "finds" included "Modern Art" by Reade, and "Creative Intuition in Art and Poetry" by Maritain.

I hope you will have more reviews on the paperbacks—they are much better reading than the Chicago Tribune!

BONITA HEFT.

Chicago, Ill.

The New Radicalism

Dear Sirs: Many sincere thanks for the publication of Waldo Frank's profound—if not always clear—article on Toward a New Radicalism in the September 3 issue. Certainly a new radicalism is being born. The old liberalism is bankrupt. It doesn't ask the right questions and consequently doesn't give the right answers. We are in the midst of a crisis that is far more significant than our political difficulties. To throw light upon this crisis is today the primary duty of the new radicals (many of whom would repudiate the label). To quote Mr. Frank: "This is certain: the old words, such as God, self, state, revelation, knowledge, faith, must be redefined—if we retain them." Truly, a formidable enterprise. How much agreement and cooperation can we expect from the "conscious" and "unconscious" radicals? Not much, I fear, but solid contributions like Mr. Frank's are invaluable.

We do not look for the old-fash-

(Continued on page 272)

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THE *Nation*
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Nation's Future . . *by Carey McWilliams*

DOWN THE years responsibility for the direction of *The Nation* has changed hands from time to time—in the 1930's it was sold twice within two years—but for long reaches of its history, ownership and management remained unaltered. Which is not to say that *The Nation* itself has been impervious to change. It changed radically when Oswald Garrison Villard became editor and no less radically when Freda Kirchwey succeeded him. Under Villard, *The Nation* ceased to be the largely literary journal it had become and dealt increasingly with social, economic, and political issues. With Freda Kirchwey's editorship, the rise of fascism and the sharp conflicts that came with the New Deal brought marked shifts in emphasis and direction. Despite all this, *The Nation* has managed to remain *The Nation*. Here is not, perhaps, so much another paradox of "permanence and change" as a reflection of the continuing influence of *The Nation's* tradition on succeeding editors. The 181 bound volumes of this magazine are more than a source of pride to the staff: they have a definite relevance to its future. They provide a touchstone, a guide, and, above all, a challenge to those who from time to time find themselves responsible for its management and direction. As a staff member for one decade and an occasional contributor for two before that, it should be fairly obvious that I honor the tradition of *The Nation* and intend to maintain it—come hell or high water.

Nevertheless, *The Nation* must change, as it has changed in the past, if only to encompass certain harsh realities of present-day American journalism. The constitutional guarantee of a free press finds justification in the obligation of the press to enlighten the people about their current affairs. But as Robert M. Hutchins has sourly observed, the great continuing debate which the framers of the First Amendment envisaged has in our time become a soliloquy. Within the last forty years, one-third of our daily newspapers and more than three thousand weeklies have ceased publication; at the moment ninety-four American cities are without competing papers. The same concentration of control appears elsewhere. In radio, one-fifth of the stations are interlocked with newspapers; four networks dominate national radio; less than two dozen advertisers account for 50 per cent of network income.

As the number of competing dailies and weeklies declines, the responsibility of the remaining independent publications increases. Today only a handful of national publications have been able to maintain complete freedom from business-office pressures in the face of steeply rising costs. Now more than ever before it becomes their special responsibility to report the significant happening that might otherwise go unreported, to air unpopular views and controversial issues, and, by careful selection and emphasis, to prevent the decisive considerations from being buried in an avalanche of irrelevant information. In these respects, *The Nation* is more urgently needed today than at any time in its history and, by the same token, its prospects were never brighter. For the same processes that have furthered and will continue to further monopoly control of the general press have created something very much like a monopoly for us. Never inclined to defy providence, we intend to exploit this opportunity to the fullest extent. In the future *The Nation* will devote even more space than it has in the past to unreported news of all kinds, local, national, and international. An independent national weekly is *not* the answer to the problem of a one-party press but it is part of the answer.

EVEN if *The Nation's* editors were inclined to evade the special responsibilities which new circumstances have imposed, its readers would not permit them to do so. These readers, as I can testify, are a special lot. One of the reasons why *The Nation*, with a small staff, has been able to provide a coverage of national affairs that publications with much larger staffs might envy is that its correspondents are about as numerous as its readers. *Nation* readers, moreover, are strategically well distributed, geographically and socially, vertically and horizontally. Despite an amazing range of differences of all sorts—racial, ethnic, religious, social, economic—they are alike in that they insist on doing their own thinking. No captive audience, this, but a live, responsive, critical, and exceptionally well-informed readership. With Brandies, our readers realize that "periodic, spasmodic indignation at wrong" is not enough; at the same time they would not want to see any wrong go unreported.

In the future as in the past *The Nation* will be consciously addressed to a special audience. It is an educated, intelligent audience, anxious to get the real facts, intensely interested in the free discussion of ideas on their merits, highly allergic to special pleading,

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propaganda, and double-talk. Readers of this kind are a permanent minority in any society. But they are more numerous in the America of today than they were thirty years ago, surface appearances to the contrary notwithstanding. Indeed, today's pressures for conformity are a measure of the respect reaction feels for their growing influence. Their ranks are swollen by those who are bored with most aspects of the mass media of communication. Here, too, is an opportunity which we intend to exploit. At the same time we hope to add recruits to the minority of independent liberals and give to American liberalism a new coherence and strength, thereby extending both their influence and our own. In neither case is influence a matter of numbers. By any reckoning the London *Economist* is one of the most influential journals in the world, yet its total circulation probably does not exceed 50,000. Editorial influence is a function not of mass but of quality. In much the same sense, the influence of an intellectual minority cannot be measured by counting noses; the thinking of this minority determines, in the caption of our editorial section, "the shape of things" to come.

THE intellectual needs and interests, always varied, always changing, of this selective minority necessarily determine *The Nation's* content and coverage. For example, a publication addressed to such an audience does not need to "present both sides" of a question unless it is one on which the audience itself is sharply divided; its readers demand critical evaluations and the kind of reporting that winds up with a conclusion. Besides which, radio and television newscasts, as well as the availability of national news weeklies that provide excellently organized summaries of most major news items, have to some extent relieved publications like *The Nation* of a function which once was theirs, namely, of summarizing news developments. The mass media themselves, in turn, have become a major subject of critical attention. Science is another growing interest among the readers we hope to reach.

These new interests, reading habits, needs, and outlooks will determine the changes in content and coverage which readers the *The Nation* will note in the weeks to come. For a reason once suggested by Cyril Connolly I am reluctant to spell these changes out in detail. As I remember, Connolly once said that everyone has been victimized at one time or another by three persistent illusions: falling in love, starting a magazine, and the notion that one can make a living by keeping chickens. Projecting blueprints for magazines, to be and in being, is an occupational disease of editors; better that the changes should appear without announcement, fanfare, or forecast. But a few comments may not be indiscreet. In the last few years, for example, the "back-of-the-book" section has been severely curtailed. As rapidly as circumstances permit this section of the magazine will be enlarged, with more space given to books, music, art, theater, films, records, and also to radio and television. More space, too, will be found for letters and communications. Developments at the United Nations and in Washington will be followed more systematically than we have been able to do in recent years.

NOW that Freda Kirchwey has been relieved of the publisher's burdens, she will be able to contribute more frequently to the editorial section than she has in the recent past. If ever an editor-publisher was entitled to surcease from the harassing responsibilities of management, Freda Kirchwey is that person. With courage, skill, and remarkable resourcefulness she has safely piloted *The Nation* through some of the stormiest years in its, and the nation's, history. During this period she has repeatedly had to withstand pressures that might well have broken the resistance of a batallion of stout-hearted editors. Everyone admires Freda Kirchwey's moral courage and intellectual integrity but only those who have worked with her on a day-to-day basis can properly appreciate the patience, good humor, and imperturbable confidence with which she has faced, and surmounted, the crises that have arisen under her editorship. Her devotion to *The Nation,* her faith in it, and her unshakable determination that it should survive, have moved mountains and worked miracles.

For most of the period of her editorship Miss Kirchwey enjoyed the able assistance of Lillie Shultz as director of activities for the Nation Associates. Like Miss Kirchwey, Lillie Shultz has earned surcease from a heavy burden of care and responsibilities. Taking over as director in 1944, Miss Shultz made the Nation Associates a potent influence in American liberalism and a valuable aid to *The Nation.* Under her direction, the educational conferences of the Nation Associates were memorable affairs—"America's Opportunity to Create and Maintain Lasting Peace" (1944), "The Challenge of the Atomic Bomb" (1945), "The Challenge of the Post-War World to the Liberal Movement" (Los Angeles, 1946), "The Palestine Problem and Its Relation to Peace" (1947), "The Atomic Era: Can It Produce Peace and Abundance?" (1950), "Freedom's Stake in the Middle East and North Africa" (1952), "Atoms for Peace" (1955). The immensely effective role that the Nation Associates played in the debate on Palestine before the United Nations and, in San Francisco in 1945, and later at the United Nations in New York, on the Spanish issue, was a reflection, also, of Miss Shultz's organizing drive and shrewd political judgment. Her services to *The Nation* cannot be adequately acknowledged in a brief note but they have been invaluable.

Changes in *The Nation's* editorship seem to have taken place, not too surprisingly, at key junctures in American life. Oswald Garrison Villard became editor during the last year of World War I—to face the fateful months of treaty-making, the revolutionary upheavals in Europe, the years of post-war corruption and reckless expansion, the predestined plunge into economic depression. Freda Kirchwey became editor in the middle of the depression decade—with the shadow of European fascism extending across the Atlantic, with Roosevelt battling for the New Deal reforms and collective security, with war in Spain and a new world war just over the horizon. This year, too, marks a watershed of a sort—the cold war shows signs of abating, the witch hunt is less frenzied, the atomic era was formally inaugurated at Geneva, domestic, social, and economic issues have taken on new dimensions, a "revolution of rising expectations" has everywhere inspired in people a new confidence in their ability to manage their affairs, while the achievements of science have given substance to the belief. The century of ideologies is about over. As David Thomson pointed out in our issue of September 10, the key to the politics of the future is to be found in "a more rational and effective democracy, linked to the actualist methods and spirit of science." American liberalism is emerging from a partial eclipse and should be the stronger for the experience of the last decade. Thus the general omens are good. With George G. Kirstein, I feel that the opportunity to achieve the long-sought goal of rescuing *The Nation* from the class of so-called "deficit publications" was never better and I share his feeling, too, that only by making the publication self-supporting—although it will not be that for some time—can we safeguard its future.

Not only are the political weather signs favorable, but we start with a clean slate. As readers will note from page 272 of this issue, a stipulation has been signed for the dismissal of the libel action which Nation Associates, Inc., brought against the *New Leader* in 1951. Negotiations to this end were initiated some months before the present reorganization of *The Nation* was even contemplated; the new management is glad the action has been dismissed by agreement of both parties.

It has been said that the only way American liberals can live in the present without repudiating the past is to believe in the future. *The Nation* is proud of its past and confident of the future. One of its best friends, the late Henry W. Nevinson, adopted for his motto words which *Nation* editors have appropriated on an occasion similar to this in the past and which is still a good motto for us in the years ahead: "The older, the bolder."

IN NEXT WEEK'S *NATION*

Edward Hallett Carr will analyze the structure of Soviet society.

Has the Soviet Union developed a "bourgeois" ruling class? Is there a parallel between today's U. S. S. R. and Victorian England? These are some of the questions to be discussed by the author of the widely acclaimed "A History of the Soviet Union," of which the fourth volume—"The Interregnum: 1923-24"—was published earlier this year.

TRANS-CURTAIN TRADE

Politics the Obstacle . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

Geneva

THE WORLD cannot live forever on the "spirit" of Geneva; something is needed to give the *detente* real content. Indeed, the need grows increasingly urgent, for even the Geneva spirit shows unhappy signs of mortality—witness Vice-President Nixon's tough speech on coexistence before the Philadelphia Bar Association and the tart reaction of the Soviet press. Yet the possibilities for substituting the substance for the shadow of agreement are limited. The disarmament talks in the U. N., while they have shown progress, have also shown that agreement in this field is still far off. Adenauer's visit to Moscow has done nothing to make the solution of the German problem any easier. There is, indeed, only one issue which promises fruitful and quick progress—the development of East-West trade. Here the desire to consolidate the *detente* must be coupled with Europe's interest in cutting down its economic dependence on the United States.

Let us take the case of England, for example, which in a way typifies all countries outside the dollar area. Prime Minister Eden, while emphasizing his government's determination to take all necessary steps "to insure the health and stability of our economy," did not hesitate to admit that "we are not, in fact, paying our way." The warning naturally provoked widespread discussion in the British press and radio, particularly in view of the Conservative Party's radiant optimism concerning the British economy during the last electoral campaign. Some observers have sought to find the explanation for Britain's difficulties in terms of low productivity; West Germany, for instance, shows a 6.5 per cent increase in man-hour output compared to Britain's 2.5 per cent. Others point to the vicissitudes of foreign trade, pointing out that while big British firms can survive such things as the tariff increase imposed by the United States on the import of bicycles, smaller firms find themselves hard-hit. Still others, fearing that Britain is heading for a trade Dunkirk, note the manner in which the German *Volkswagen* has replaced the British MG and Jaguar as the best-selling foreign car in the United States. Many British critics term their country's whole approach to foreign trade as "obsolete and unimaginative."

Yet there is perhaps a more fundamental reason for the country's troubles—the fact that it is buying in the United States rather than in Eastern Europe. The fact is stressed in the recently published United Nations Economic Bulletin for Europe (Vol. 7, No. 2). The bulletin's statistics show that Western Europe's tremendous increase in imports from the dollar area has been accompanied by only a small rise in exports. "The gap between dollar imports and dollar exports," the bulletin comments, "has therefore grown very considerably." In the United Kingdom the dollar gap rose from 40 to 60 per cent between the first quarter of 1954 and the same period this year.

Six weeks ago, during the last session of the Economic and Social Council here, I heard European delegates complain that the Organization of European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) was dominated by pro-Americans. In this connection, I quote again from the U. N. bulletin:

> . . . The OEEC decided that henceforth 75 per cent of European Payment Union's surpluses and deficits would have to be settled in gold and dollars. This will inevitably reduce the incentive to buy in European Payment Union countries rather than in the dollar area, but while such diversion of imports to the dollar area may seem advantageous for any single country, on account of lower import prices, the net result may well be to limit the growth of trade among the European Payment Union countries themselves.

This American commercial strategy naturally hinders the development of East-West trade, one of the objectives agreed upon by the Big Four at Geneva. The U. N. bulletin is very clear on this point: "... The longer-run benefits of dollar liberalization are much more questionable in the case of foodstuffs and raw materials, which have been previously imported mainly from the less-developed countries in Europe and overseas." The implication is clear that it would be in the interest of Western Europe to resume its trade with the countries of the Soviet bloc.

WRITING in the New York *Herald Tribune* of August 23, Marguerite Higgins pointed out that American proponents of rigid trade controls were worried about the pressures being exerted in the opposite direction by important financial men who hold high positions in the Eisenhower Administration. Indeed, many American business representatives with whom I have spoken here have told me that their colleagues at home are increasingly interested in East-West trade. On August 31, the *Wall Street Journal* said:

> If the Russians continue reasonable, even without giving much ground on such crucial questions as German unification, the State Department looks for more difficulties on an already troublesome front —Western trade controls against the East. Already there are clear signs that merchants in France, Britain, and other European countries, as well as in Japan, are putting their governments under heavy pressure to relax controls on shipments of strategic materials such as machine tools to the Soviet bloc and Red China.

But as Marguerite Higgins has pointed out, "Inside the United States Government the most determined opposition to any substantial relaxation of trade controls comes from the State Department and from the Pentagon."

East-West trade has nevertheless been increasing somewhat. East European exports to the West have increased 35 per cent in the last quarter in comparison to a similar period last year, while Western imports from Eastern Europe have increased 6 per cent. The most recent report to Congress on the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951—the Battle act—showed that from 1953 to 1954 Western Europe increased its exports to Eastern Europe by 24 per cent and its imports from the same area by 6 per cent.

The Soviet bloc, which maintains the position that there would be more trade if there were less politics, is pushing the issue energetically and with some success. Moscow is playing host to innumerable groups of foreign industrialists and business men. Bonn sees great possibilities in Eastern markets for disposing of their increased production (West Germany produced 16.4 per cent more goods in first quarter of this year than during the comparable period last year). The massive Thyssen works, only a few years ago a bombed-out shell, now looks forward to regaining its position as the continent's largest steel plant, and is counting on Eastern markets—including China—to help consume its anticipated annual production of 2.4 million tons of steel.

THE pro-Americans among the West Germans insist that their country's trade with the East could never be more than "marginal" and therefore not of great importance. But many German industrialists reject this thesis and have found support in the influential Frankfurt economic journal *Volkswirt*, which voiced approval of the Soviet leaders' plan to "reorganize and rationalize" Russian industry in order to "catch up with the West." Moreover, many Germans argue that Bonn has reached the limits of trade with certain Western countries and *must* look elsewhere for markets.

The Communist nations now include about 38 per cent of the world's population—about 924,000,000 people as against 1,524,000,000 in the non-Communist areas. And today India with its 367,000,000 people, Burma with its 19,000,000, and Yugoslavia with its nearly 17,000,000 can no longer be counted on for solidarity with the capitalist world. It is doubtful that a West hungry for new markets can long withstand the demand of so many hundreds of millions of people for more goods.

REVOLT IN QUEBEC

French Canada's Crisis . . *by Ross Harkness*

Toronto

WHAT MAY prove to be the most important social upheaval on this continent since the Mexican revolution is taking place in Canada's French-language province of Quebec. It is a twentieth-century renaissance that is shaking the one-time colony of New France to its foundations.

There is not an element of French-Canadian life that has escaped, but nowhere has the ferment had a more disturbing effect than on education and the church. Men whose Catholicism is unquestioned are defying their priests, priests are defying their bishops, and bishops are defying each other as the people who dream of a reborn Quebec and those who want things to remain as they always were strive for the soul of French Canada.

Universities such as famous old Laval, founded in 1663 by the first Bishop of Quebec, have sacrificed government grants in order to fight for social justice and teach what they believe are social truths. University professors are defying attempts by the reactionary government of Premier Maurice Duplessis to gag them, and are working for window-washer's wages so that academic freedom may not perish in the province. Burning-eyed young intellectuals are recklessly courting martyrdom in the labor movement. Many of them have been beaten up by Duplessis's kept police and imprisoned by his suborned courts, and they glory in their persecution by the provincial regime.

Novelists are writing books they would not have dared write five years ago. Canada's only native theater is producing drama in Quebec that ranks with France's best. French-language television programs make English-Canadian television seem amateurish. Architecture, particularly that of churches and public buildings, has been purified and cleansed, without becoming faddish or "modernistic." Commerce, finance, industry, and science, once occupations scorned as fit only for *primitives*, have become honored callings in which French Canadians are challenging English-Canadian supremacy.

FOR ALMOST two centuries after the British conquest Quebec lived behind a spiritual and intellectual iron curtain dropped by the ecclesiastics who controlled the colony's thinking and who sought to protect the simple *habitant* from the moral contamination of Anglo-Saxon heresy and materialism. In this they had the enthusiastic support of British colonial administrators who conceived a "divide and rule" policy in Canada as the best insurance against what Pitt called the danger of "another great Anglo-Saxon schism" like that of '76.

Only rural life was considered admirable, and clergy and intellectuals alike fought industrialization. When farm areas became overpopulated, priests led tragic migrations of their simple followers into the northern rocks and forests, there to live in log cabins and eke a meager existence from the barren soil. Their souls were safer than in the cities, whatever the estate of their bodies. Education was the exclusive domain of the church, from primary school

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ROSS HARKNESS is an editorial writer for the Toronto Star.

through university. Graduates of the classical colleges, which correspond to our secondary schools, could converse fluently in Latin, write Greek with ease, and were learned in the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas, but knew little else. Universities offered courses only in medicine, law, and theology. Science was ignored. It was dangerous, for it led to questioning of divine laws.

Then came the war with its consequent upheavals, and with jarring suddenness Quebec was jerked into the twentieth century. Hundreds of thousands migrated to the cities to work in the burgeoning new war factories, and industrialization continued at breakneck pace after the war. Young French Canadians who had never been more than ten miles from their farm homes were enrolled in the army and sent for training to Ontario and elsewhere in English Canada, and a wonderful new world whose existence they never suspected unfolded before their dazzled eyes.

Like young Marco Polos they returned home with wondrous stories to amaze their parents, and with a deep discontent at the prevailing order in Quebec. Soon Quebec students were enrolling in English-language universities like the University of Toronto, even in "foreign" universities like Harvard and Chicago, eagerly drinking of a culture so new to them, so old to us, and carrying their new knowledge back to Quebec. English Canada and the United States, which they had been taught were vulgar lands inhabited by barbarians whose chief aim in life was to deprive them of their language and religion, they found to be friendly, hospitable, and civilized.

WITHIN the church the struggle between the "progressives" and the old guard is bitter, but it is seldom permitted to appear above the surface. On the one side are the younger clergy, particularly the priests in urban parishes, the lay intellectuals, and urban workers. On the other side are most of the hierarchy, the older rural priests, and some business men.

"The church is experiencing a reformation similar to the counter-reformation which followed the Protestant reformation in Europe, with the difference that this time it is not coming too late," a prominent Catholic ecclesiastic told me. "The church is in need of reform; it is better the reform should come voluntarily from within than be imposed from without," remarked a Montreal journalist. "I am a protestant, but a protestant within the Roman Catholic church," a professional man explained.

Both laymen and clergy agree that the influence of Protestantism is considerable. A prominent lay Catholic told me that four years ago he was asked by a semi-religious review to write an article on "The Changing Psychology of the Church." In his essay he attributed much of the change in outlook to the influence of Quebec students who, emerging from their isolation to study in English-language universities, were exposed for the first time to Protestantism. They learned what a vital and dynamic force it is, and the extent to which it has molded American civilization. The article was returned to him as too "dangerous" to publish. A few months ago he was asked to resubmit it. Expression of such opinions is no longer considered dangerous in Quebec.

"We had been taught that the world was no more than the anteroom to heaven, that we must dwell only on spiritual things, that ambition was vain, and to crave worldly success was a sin," a Catholic college professor remarked. "The Protestant belief is that worldly success is a reward of Providence to be sought after. Because of this difference in our attitudes we lagged behind English Canada in material progress. Now we are teaching that God gave us our talents, whatever they are, to be used."

The religious reformation has had its effect on church architecture. The new churches are unostentatious, warm, and simple. Only by a life-sized crucifix over the altar and the stations of the cross on the wall can some of them be distinguished from a Protestant church. Even the patron saint of the parish may be represented only by a stylized head above the main entrance.

THAT the assault on old habits and beliefs resulted in renaissance rather than collapse was due in large measure to reforms in education that had their feeble beginnings in the 1920's. Nationalism was then the rage, but some of the younger men thought it rather a poor sort of nationalism that would keep the French Canadian in ignorance, doomed forever to be the hewer of wood for English Canadians. In the face of considerable opposition they persuaded the government to establish some technical and vocational high schools.

At the same time the study of English was introduced in the third grade of the elementary schools in the hope it would open the way to advancement of French Canadians in the business world, then strictly an English preserve. Today it is estimated that about a third of the residents of Quebec can speak English, while another third can read it with reasonable fluency. This has opened the door to the whole field of English literature, but what is even more important it has made English-language magazines and newspapers available. A result has been the breaking down of prejudices between English and French Canadians, and a new unity in the country.

Following the establishment of technical high schools, Laval and Montreal Universities introduced courses in science and engineering. Later Laval established a faculty of social sciences. Laval is a Pontifical college, under the control of the Archdiocese of Quebec, and most of its teaching staff are priests. Its faculty of social sciences based its teachings on the social encyclicals of the Popes, but its interpretation of them was so radical that before long it was being branded as a hotbed of communism. In an attempt to bring it into line, the Duplessis government stopped its grants. Since about half the French-language clergy pass through Laval or a Laval-affiliated classical college, there developed by the end of the war a numerous and cohesive corps of young priests who were convinced that the social order was all wrong and who believed they knew how to correct it.

It is in the field of industrial relations that Quebec is facing its most serious crisis. Until recently the 100,000-member Confederation des Travailleurs Catholique de Quebec has dominated the labor field. The Catholic unions, or syndicates as they are commonly called, had their beginnings in 1901 but remained feeble and neglected until the war-inspired industrial boom. Then suddenly management awoke to their possibilities as "company unions" to stave off the aggressive organizing of the big international unions. They proved God's gift to management. They stressed the duty of worker to employer. To strike was a sin. To be militant was wicked. To yearn for higher wages was un-Christian. Their chaplain, usually the parish priest, had an absolute veto under their constitution. But best of all, it was the workers' Christian duty to join them. Employers fell over themselves in the rush to sign contracts before the international unions could move in.

THEN THE unexpected happened. Zealous young university graduates, most of them from Laval, seized control. They did so by having their own men rather than parish priests appointed chaplains. They didn't know much about trade-union tactics, or for that matter about trade-union economics, but they were afire to set right the world's social problems.

The Catholic unions entered their militant phase with the 1949 strike in the United States-controlled asbestos industry. They had no strike fund but nearly every parish in the province held bazaars and bingo games for the strikers, and they won. Since 1949 they have been almost continuously embroiled in strikes, most of them ill-considered and unnecessary. Where an Anglo-Saxon labor leader would have compromised with management and awaited another day, the young Gallic-French idealists wouldn't compromise. They frightened the more responsible elements in the community with attacks on the capitalist system, which they equated with foreign or English-Canadian control of industry. Where once they had talked of reforming the existing social order along the lines of the Papal encyclicals, now they were preaching the necessity of totally destroying the present system and of building a fine new order on the ruins of the old.

Premier Duplessis

To Premier Duplessis and the hierarchy this sounded suspiciously like communism. Church leaders who had inveighed in years past against "neutral" unions began to suspect that an international union headed by a Catholic and conservative French Canadian, as is the Canadian Congress of Labor (A. F. of L.), was to be preferred to a Catholic union headed by firebrands. In time most of the church hierarchy, the provincial government, industry, and the international unions were arrayed against the syndicate leaders who at the same time lost the support of the workers because they talked too much about social justice and not enough about hours and wages.

Today the Catholic unions are at bay. A showdown was inevitable, and by a sort of common consent the workers in the paper mills of the St. Maurice River valley were the pawns. In the middle of negotiations for a new contract, management announced it was putting its offer into immediate effect. The unions accused management of bad faith in doing so and went on strike the next day, an illegal strike under the Quebec labor code. Events followed a fantastic course that would be incredible outside Quebec. When Duplessis threatened to decertify the union, it promptly mailed him its certificate. When he threatened to jail union leaders for calling an illegal strike, the workers formally resigned en masse from their jobs. By their reasoning that made it no longer a strike. The courts agreed and issued an injunction against picketing. Whereupon wives and children took the strikers' place, pregnant women lining up and defying police to treat them roughly. When union organizer Michel Chartrand told the women to go home he was fined and jailed for attending an illegal assembly. Other union executives were hauled into court and put under $200 bond to keep the peace for two years, a ruse to prevent them from engaging in union activity. Provincial police sent tape recordings of the speeches of labor priests to the Bishop of Three Rivers and several were hauled upon the ecclesiastical carpet.

MEANWHILE organizers of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphate, and Paper Mill Workers (A. F. of L.) were busily persuading strikers to desert their syndicates and return to work. About two-thirds of them have done so, so the strike may be considered lost. Its loss may signal the beginning of the end for the Catholic unions. But if the syndicates disappear, what will become of their leaders? Recently the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, the Canadian Socialist party, changed its name in Quebec to the Social Democratic Party in what has been interpreted as a bid for the enlistment of these frustrated young idealists. There are some, also, who wonder if Quebec's revolution will follow the classical course of such upheavals—started by moderates, taken over by intellectual idealists, finished by the sort of men who believe heads should roll. Already there have been bombings and dynamitings in the St. Maurice valley.

"Quebec is in the eye of the hurricane right now," an editor friend said. "For the moment there is calm, but tremendous forces are building up. Terrible things may happen if they get out of control, wonderful things if they are properly directed. But whatever happens, Quebec is going to be changed. That is certain."

U. S. SURPLUSES

And a Hungry World . . *by Mordecai Ezekial*

Two factors make this article extraordinarily timely: The presence in American grain elevators and warehouses of unprecedented food surpluses, and the recent European tour of Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson, who is in search of an agricultural program which will allay the increasing restiveness of the American farmer. The author of the article, one of this country's foremost economists, is on the staff of the U. N. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), with headquarters in Rome. The views he expresses, however, are his own and are not to be taken as the official views of the FAO.

Rome

THE U. N.'s Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) held a meeting here last fall on food and population problems at which great comfort was taken from the fact that world food production had overcome wartime setbacks and was at last increasing as fast as—or even a little faster than—world population. But this easy confidence overlooked two important points: first, food production is very unequally distributed throughout the world; second, food production must continue to increase faster than population over a prolonged period if the world is to be better fed. [The FAO's annual report, published as this article went to press, said that while there is slightly more food available per capita in the world today than before World War II, the average man is eating less.—The Editors.]

Let us look at the first point. The greatest postwar increases in food production have occurred, as a whole, in the countries which were already best fed—North America, Western Europe, Oceania—while in the underfed regions production has been slow to regain prewar levels and in some cases has not yet attained them. Moreover, the best food-producing countries have found it difficult to dispose of what they produce, and after storing large supplies and giving much away free or at reduced prices, they have reluctantly turned—as in both the United States and Cuba—to curtailing production below what their farmers can and would like to grow.

Meanwhile the countries with poorer food supplies—the underdeveloped areas of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and parts of Southern and Eastern Europe—are seeking to increase their production with technical help from the FAO and with technical and financial aid from the United States, the Colombo Plan, and other public or private bodies. But many of these countries have unfavorable growing climates, and most suffer from heavy population pressures on the land. Despite the help offered them, their economic progress is generally disappointingly slow and food production is overtaking population growth at a snail's pace.

We come now to the second point—the necessity for food supplies to increase much more rapidly than population. In many countries the normal diet for most of the people is far below minimum health needs. The average diet of the Indian or Filipino, for instance, is at least one-third poorer in calories than that of the American or West European. But the difference in quality is even greater than in quantity. Contrast the North American diet, rich in milk, vegetables, fruit, cheese, bread, and meat, with that of the Mediterranean peasant who subsists mainly on a few olives and bread twice a day, or perhaps a "pasta" dish with a thin dressing of tomato sauce flavored with a little cheese. Yet the Mediterranean diet (and that of the East European peasant, who subsists largely on black bread, potatoes, and cabbage, with meat eaten only on a few holidays) is by no means the world's worst. The Indian farmer or unskilled worker lives on a little rice or soggy wheat cakes, some beans or millet, and—as a rare treat—a sticky sweet made of flour or milk paste. Equally badly off are the maize and bean farmers of Central America, whose women often nurse their children for two years because there is nothing to wean them on except tortillas, beans, and peppers. It is not surprising that the death rate among children between the ages of two and five in this area is shockingly high. In a similar situation are many tribes of tropical Africa whose children languish and die of "khashiokor," a nutritional disease due solely to lack of proteins.

THE enormous dietary inequalities among the peoples of the world are revealed graphically in the daily per capita consumption of animal proteins. In the United States, Canada, and Northwestern Europe the average consumption is forty-five grams daily; in Southern Europe, twenty grams; in the arid plains of the Near East, fifteen grams. The protein diet is still lower in Central America, India, and much of the Far East; in many parts of tropical Africa it is practically zero. And what is true of animal protein is also true, to a somewhat lesser degree, of the fresh vegetables and fruits necessary for supplying minerals and vitamins.

In the decade since World War II the world has made great economic progress, due in substantial part to American help. But the progress has been much more striking in industry than in agriculture. In its first "World Food Survey" (1946), the FAO calculated that world production of "original calories" in food and feed crops would have to be nearly doubled by 1960 if less well-fed countries were to be brought up to anything like the nutritional level enjoyed by the richer nations. This enormous increase is required because it takes many pounds of grain to produce a pound of cheese, milk, or meat; and meat, because of its large water content, has fewer calories per pound than does the grain fed to produce it. FAO's second "World Food Survey" (1952) set more modest targets based on what countries might hope to achieve if reasonably attainable methods were applied to their resources. But even this smaller program called for an expansion of world food production of from 15 to 50 per cent by 1960 in various food categories to establish very moderate improvement in the diet of the "hungry" countries.

Only one-quarter to one-third of the world's peoples now enjoy a dietary sufficiency; the rest live below any adequate standard. That is what makes the whole problem so difficult. Food supplies must increase a great deal faster—say one and a half times faster—than the annual rate of population increase, and maintain this rate for a long period of time, before we can even begin to see the solution.

Two Worlds

BUT increased production is not enough, as is clearly evident in the towering food surpluses of the United States. It is also important that more be consumed. Farmers exchange what they produce for industrial products and services provided by city workers. The underdeveloped countries must produce not only more food but also more industrial goods so that city workers can provide a market for the commercial portion of the expanding agricultural production. And what is true within a national economy is also true internationally. If American ability to produce more food than it is ready to consume is to be utilized, the underdeveloped countries must be enabled to produce the raw materials and finished products with which to buy American surpluses. Only with such expanding markets can we take the wraps off the farmer and alleviate the qualms of conscience we suffer when we deliberately restrict food production in a world where so many are hungry.

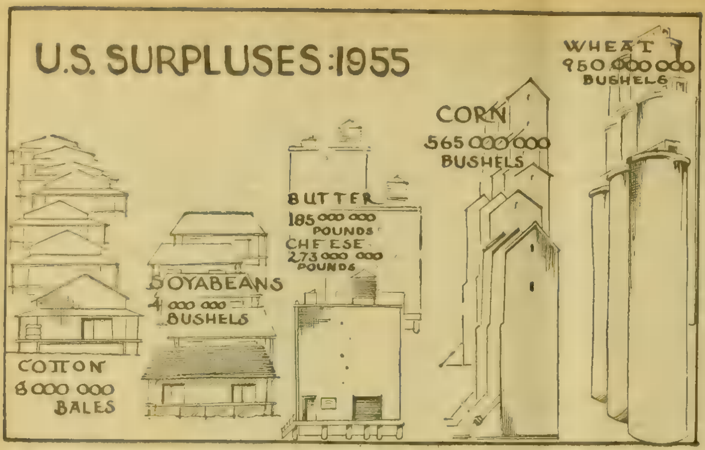
Fortunately, possibilities exist in the United States for an expanding and profitable two-way trade with underdeveloped areas. The United States needs to import many minerals, such as copper, mica, lead, bauxite, tin; it imports coffee, cocoa, bananas, cocoanuts, rubber, and many kinds of oils. The underdeveloped countries can produce many handicrafts that find a ready market in the United States: inexpensive knicknacks for five-and-ten counters, Italian gloves and handwoven fabrics, Indian curios, Japanese ornaments, Mexican silver jewelry, and the like. With modern air transport and increasing American incomes, the tourist trade has become an additional and very important means of payment for American exports.

Beyond this direct two-way exchange lie other exciting possibilities, especially for the American farmer who is seeking wider markets for his wheat, milk, pork, and cotton. Except for the Philippines and parts of Latin America, the underdeveloped countries have always looked to Europe as their chief source of heavy industrial goods. The demand for such goods will increase as living standards in the underdeveloped areas rise. But how to pay for the industrial products? Food is and will continue to be Europe's greatest need, but food is precisely what the poorer countries don't have for export.

Before the war this problem was met in part by an active three-way trade between North America, Europe, and the Far East. The Far East shipped rubber, tin, silk, and similar products to the United States; the United States shipped food to Europe; Europe, in turn, shipped industrial products to the Far East. With continued expansion of population and a rise in average levels of real income in North America and Europe, and with rapid agricultural and industrial development in the Far East and other underdeveloped areas, something like this triangular trade may reappear. In addition, the United States might send some foods, such as canned and dried milk, wheat, and other items directly to the underdeveloped countries.

TO achieve these goals, however, the less-developed regions will have to speed up their rate of progress, both in agriculture and industry. In the end, most of the food they need to establish better standards of living and increase working capacity will have to come not from foreign trade but from their own local production. They will have to move at an unprecedented rate just to keep pace with their more fortunate neighbors. Since the war the better-fed countries have been progressing faster than the less well-fed ones, so that the gap between them has been widening rather than narrowing.

Economic development is a slow process involving not only the introduction of modern production methods but the creation of skilled middle and upper classes to direct their use. It requires the creation of a whole fabric of transportation, communication, power, and distribution facilities, the transforming of social and educational institu-



tions, and an overhauling of administrative attitudes and techniques. Child marriages, feudalistic land tenure and fragmented land holdings, antiquated tax systems, widespread illiteracy, and a tradition of corruption among public and private officials still abound in many underdeveloped countries. They can be corrected only by long and diligent effort by public-spirited men and women working under the stimulus of some sort of overall program. While Greece and India have still far to go to achieve real prosperity, both have made rapid postwar progress with the help of American funds and technical guidance and show what can be done under favorable conditions.

THE United States has contributed unprecedented sums to other countries' development both through direct grants and through support of the U. N. Technical Assistance Program and loans made by the International Bank. While these sums, given alike to former allies and former enemies, add up to extremely large totals, they represent a relatively small proportion of the American economy and budget. They could be increased without strain, especially if and when a reduction of defense expenditures becomes possible.

Better living standards for the rest of the world are not the only things at stake. The United States is concerned with political and social as well as economic problems. Even if our military might has finally convinced the East that it is better to seek an accommodation with the West than to run the risk of atomic warfare, the struggle for the allegiance of men's minds is by no means over. Everywhere the common people, roused by prewar promises and tasting the first fruits of better times, are becoming increasingly restive. Colonialism is breaking down and native despotisms are challenged or overthrown. If democracy, private enterprise, and the American way of life are to maintain their hold on men's dreams, help must be forthcoming in the near future for masses of people who are now wavering between alternative political and economic philosophies and who may in desperation succumb to demogogic promises.

An additional one or two billion dollars a year in purely economic aid—sums quite insignificant in relation to America's total budget—could produce an enormous impact on the economic progress of the underdeveloped countries. This is especially true in Asia, where per-capita incomes are so low that progress must remain painfully slow under democratic methods. Investment capital is needed. In some instances, particularly in Latin America, investment programs have been pushed beyond domestic capacity. Overspending and inflation have been the result, while the continued growth of population generates further pressure for more production and more investment.

For the American farmer, a build-up of underdeveloped areas could mean not only greater world markets for his produce but also a partial solution, at least, for the farm-surplus problem. In a pilot study in India recently completed, the FAO has shown that a substantial part of external contributions to capital for additional economic development can successfully be made in the form of surplus farm products. The study showed how this would work in a variety of large and small projects in India. Food "scholarships" could be established to make possible an enlarged vocational-training program for Indian youth; food grants could be given to assist in local community projects such as small irrigation works and the building of schools, sewers, and roads. For larger projects—the development of afforestation and erosion-control facilities, the utilizing of forest resources through the improvement of roads, ports, and wood industries—the food could be sold for cash which would be used in turn to pay wages. In the dairy industry, surplus foods and fodder could be used in several ways. Cash derived from sales could help pay wages, and the fodder would assist in building up the herds of cows and buffalo. Dry skimmed milk could be mixed with whole milk to make the beverage available at a price which more Indians could afford to pay Since in all these instances, increased supplies would be balanced by increased consumption, the large-scale food "dumping" would have no tendency to depress domestic or international prices.

THE INDIAN studies revealed that utilization of surplus food in this manner would cover from 25 per cent to 75 per cent of the cost of a project, depending upon its nature. The particular projects examined in the report could effectively use nearly $100,000,000 worth of surplus food annually; the food thus made available would cover about 56 per cent of the projects' total cost. In other lands the proportion of cost that could be covered by surplus-food gifts or loans would depend on local conditions and particularly upon the place occupied by food in the workers' budget. The leaner and more expensive the normal diet of the worker, the greater the role that surplus foods can play in the underwriting of constructive development projects.

To make such a program work, the United States and other food-surplus countries would have to make available a wide variety of food products over a period of three or four years at least, since most development schemes take at least that long for completion.

But the disposal of our food surpluses is not the only benefit which American farmers could expect from an expanded foreign-aid program. Suppose the United States appropriated one or two billion dollars a year for economic aid to underdeveloped countries, delivering the aid half in cash and half in farm products? Under such a arrangement the surpluses would move first, of course, but soon we would be able to *raise* production goals instead of withholding from use some of the world's best agricultural resources. Economic aid based in part at least on increased production rather than disposal of surpluses would enable recipient countries to rely on future deliveries, a necessary element in long-range planning. This kind of economic-aid program would benefit everyone involved—the recipient, the American farmer, and the American shipping firms that would transport the cargoes in American vessels.

The FAO's Committee on Commodity Problems, after an initial review of the Indian Pilot Study, has requested that all FAO member nations study it in preparation for the organization's plenary sessions in November. In the meantime all surplus-food countries, such as the United States, might well consider what changes in legislation and in administrative procedures might be necessary to enable them to participate in plans for feeding the world's hungry millions at ultimate profit to themselves.

APPLES OF DISCORD

The Pickers Want a Union . . *by Gene Marine*

Sebastopol, California

AT 4:30 on the chilly morning of August 12, union organizer William Grami stepped onto the sidewalk on South Main Street in this tiny northern community, heading for his car. Suddenly a dark Chevrolet appeared and swerved to the curb. The door was flung open, and Grami was sure he saw a pistol in the hand of the man in the back seat.

"Get in, the man ordered.

Grami got in, knelt on the floor as ordered, his head against the floorboards. The car rode on for half an hour, twisting and turning until Grami lost all sense of direction. When it stopped, he was ordered out. "I thought they were trying to kill me," he said later, and once out of the car the stocky, 28-year-old Grami started to fight. But the driver of the car and the man who had been in the back seat overpowered him; a third man remained in the car. Grami's windbreaker was torn off, a gag shoved in his mouth. He was dragged to a telephone pole, and his hands bound around it. There, on a lonely back road six miles north of Sebastopol, Grami was found not long afterward. His shirt had been torn off, his arms slashed, his head bruised from having been beaten against the pole, his back a pulpy mass from a prolonged and vicious beating with a bicycle chain.

THE identity of the three men remains a mystery, but there was no question of the motive. Grami, who studies law and political science at the University of Santa Clara near San Francisco, had come to Sebastopol in the fall of 1954 to lead a Teamsters Union drive to organize the workers in Sebastopol's large apple canneries. It was a tough fight from the beginning, although Grami said, "These canneries are violence. Like other labor struggles across the country, this one has so far been fought more in the courts than in the streets, though nobody is taking any bets on the future tranquility of Sebastopol. The Western Council of Cannery Workers—representing cannery employees in eleven Western states and affiliated with the A. F. of L. Teamsters Union—decided to organize the Sebastopol apple canneries and processing plants last year because, as Grami said "These canneries are the last in the state to be organized. The workers here are underpaid, and the condition hurts our contracts in other canning industries." Grami came here after organization work in Watsonville, a hundred miles south of San Francisco, where he had been employed in the canneries.

After the organizing drive had been under way here for a while, the National Labor Relations Board last October ordered an election among the workers at the Sebastopol Apple Growers Union, an employers' "cooperative." The growers reacted by firing 142 of the workers just before the balloting. The NLRB charged the employers with an unfair labor practice (including a charge that the general manager had threatened an employee with assault for pursuing pro-union activities), and the employers took the NLRB to court. This legal maneuver has caused repeated postponement of the hearing on the unfair-practices charge.

In the meantime, three other elections were ordered. Two have been held with inconclusive results. In each case, the union has charged that the growers made a fair election impossible. Finally the union ordered four of the biggest apple-processing plants struck. Grami was on his way from the union hall to inspect picket lines when he was kidnapped.

The apple growers joined with the California Association of Employers—representing the processors—to get an injunction against the union, restricting picketing and restraining it from trying to get mem-

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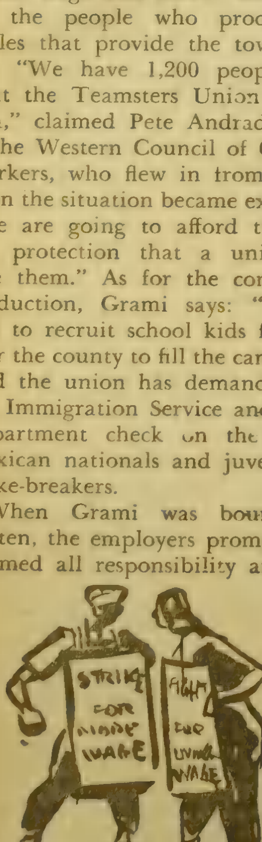
bers and railroad workers to refuse to handle the struck plants' products. The union is currently trying to beat down the injunction in court. (An employer request for an injunction to cover an extension of the strike to three more plants was turned down.) Employers have brought contempt charges against three of the union leaders, claiming they attempted to persuade truckers not to handle struck goods. The contempt charges are scheduled for hearing on September 26.

Meanwhile the strike continues, and apples and applesauce are still rolling out. For this last fact, the two sides have different explanations. W. M. Caldwell, head of the California Association of Employers, says applesauce production continues because the people want it that way. "Sebastopol is not ready for the Teamsters," he insists. "The apple business is just too close to the people for them to become restricted in their operations. This town lives and breathes apples." Nobody can argue the last sentence. But the union claims that the town wants a decent wage and decent conditions for the people who process the apples that provide the town's living. "We have 1,200 people who want the Teamsters Union in this area," claimed Pete Andrade, head of the Western Council of Cannery Workers, who flew in from Seattle when the situation became explosive. "We are going to afford them all the protection that a union can give them." As for the continuing production, Grami says: "They've had to recruit school kids from all over the county to fill the canneries." And the union has demanded that the Immigration Service and Labor Department check on the use of Mexican nationals and juveniles as strike-breakers.

When Grami was bound and beaten, the employers promptly disclaimed all responsibility and even offered a $1,000 reward for information leading to the arrest of the three attackers. Andrade, however, described the beating as a logical outgrowth of many threats made by employers in the past year. Of the proferred reward, Andrade, veteran of years of Western labor organization work, simply snarled: "An old gimmick."



Caldwell, whose headquarters normally is in San Francisco, has moved the fifty-odd miles north and set up headquarters for the duration of the conflict in the building of the Bank of Sonoma County. Andrade, on the other hand, has taken over direction of the union's effort, and the Teamsters have purchased a one-story concrete-block building on South Main Street.

Upon the purchase, undisclosed persons filed a complaint that union use of the building violated building codes, and an injunction was issued last month forbidding the union to use it for meetings of more than fifty people. However, city officials, determined to remain impartial, worked out a deal with the union whereby the hall could remain in use. A further example of harassment involved a small vinegar plant, employing only eleven workers—all of them union members—which agreed to negotiate with the union. Growers and processors promptly cut off the supply of the peels from which vinegar is made, and the plant remains caught in the middle despite its willingness to deal with its workers.

The growers, their cause obviously injured by public reaction to the Grami beating, have attempted to shift the onus of violence. When a $325,000 fire destroyed an apple-storage plant on August 30, the growers ostentatiously mounted a guard on other struck plants. However, insurance investigators stated that there is no evidence of arson, and that the building has been known as a dangerous fire hazard for at least two years.

The Teamsters—who claim to have the full resources of the huge international union, the world's largest, behind them—have hurt the apple growers to some extent. "As individual American citizens," Andrade points out, "anyone has the right to refuse to handle hot apples. And we're telling this to all union members in the West." Of the four plants struck, only one handles fresh apples; the others produce applesauce and other products. Elmo Martini, general manager of the "cooperative" that handles fresh apples (and the man charged by the NLRB with the assault threat), admits that he is having trouble with his major market—Los Angeles—because "clerks and other workers won't handle them." If the Teamsters really do choose to put their full resources behind the strikers, it won't be difficult to hurt the growers even more. All that is needed is to bombard the public with the simple slogan, "Don't eat applesauce." A full-fledged consumer boycott on a nationwide basis is under way now, and support has been reported from as far away as Montana, Massachusetts, and Montreal. Lists of brand names and leaflets urging consumer support are being circulated as fast as possible.

THE UNION insists that because of the attitude of the growers and processors, the only possible settlement now is an industry-wide one covering the entire Sebastopol area. Caldwell insists that such a settlement is impossible. In the meantime, the lines are sharply drawn. On August 15, twenty additional union officials turned up in Sebastopol to lend strength to the Teamsters' fight. Under-sheriff Andy Johansen has deputies, in pairs, patrolling the back roads at night; he has promised complete neutrality in efforts to keep the peace.

The quiet town of Sebastopol, caught up against its will in the striving of men for something a little better in their lives, waits apprehensively for what the future will bring.

BOOKS

The Court and the Cold War

THE SUPREME COURT IN THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT. By Robert H. Jackson. Harvard University Press. $2.

NINE MEN. A History of the Supreme Court. By Fred Rodell. Random House. $5.

By Norman Redlich

WHEN, in 1937, the Supreme Court made the historic switch in time that saved nine, and upheld several of the key New Deal laws, many students of the court felt that an issue which had remained unsettled since the founding of the Republic—the proper role of the Supreme Court in American government—had finally been resolved. These two provocative books, one by the late Justice Robert H. Jackson, the other by Professor Fred Rodell of the Yale Law School, demonstrate that the issue is still with us and is likely to intensify as more of the repressive legislation of the cold-war era reaches our highest court.

Justice Jackson was scheduled to set forth these views in the Godkin lectures at Harvard, cancelled by his death in October, 1954. But Jackson had completed several drafts so that we have one of the rare instances in which a Supreme Court justice sets forth his judicial philosophy. The book is a brief restatement of a theme which recurs through much of Jackson's writings—the theme of judicial passivism. He stresses that the judiciary is but one of three equal branches of government and that it has inherent limitations, such as an inability to enforce its own decisions. It must wait for a case to reach it and cannot instigate actions on its own. With due allowance for the rigged "controversies" which are frequently created to test political issues before the court, few would disagree with Justice Jackson when he says, in effect, that a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States is neither a President nor a Congressman.

But Justice Jackson enters the heated realm of controversy when he asserts that in those areas where justices do have a choice they should, in most instances, defer to the judgment of legislators and administrators. This blunt summation of Justice Jackson's views is perhaps an oversimplification of thoughts, which, in this book, assume varied legal and philosophical forms. He would have Supreme Court justices avoid "political" issues. Legislatures and societal influences, rather than courts, should be the principal guardians of civil liberties. The federal government should refrain from policing the court systems of the states. Elected representatives know better than judges what the people want. These beliefs, however rephrased, add up to a strong statement of the credo of judicial self-restraint, of which Justice Jackson, when he wanted to, could be the court's most eloquent spokesman.

IT WOULD be easy, and unfair, to criticize Jackson's belief in this credo by demonstrating the many instances in which he, himself, departed from it. Supreme Court justices are called upon to decide cases involving complex political, legal, and social issues. They frequently walk in shadowy and uncharted areas where two legitimate claims are in conflict. Complete consistency is impossible. Thus, Justice Jackson frequently, and unpredictably, abandoned judicial self-restraint to overrule a legislative or administrative act. When he did, as in the famous flag-salute case, he could be a most eloquent defender of the liberties guaranteed under the Bill of Rights.

The significance of this philosophy of judicial abdication is the insight it provides into the reasons why the judicial victory which the liberals thought they had won in the 1930's resulted in tragic judicial defeats two decades later. In his writings and speeches as Attorney General, Robert Jackson was Franklin Roosevelt's intellectual lieutenant in the frontal attack waged against the Nine Old Men. He was judicial liberalism personified, 1937 style. Regrettably, he also typified the failure of that type of judicial liberalism to meet the challenge of the cold war. Under the banner of judicial self-restraint Jackson and others like him had contended correctly that the courts should not interfere with legislatures in their attempt to solve economic and social problems. When called upon to solve different problems in different ways, Jackson brushed aside the doctrine espoused by Holmes and Stone, that civil liberties deserve special protection in our society. He found it easier to cling to the doctrine of self-restraint and conclude that Congress, which had the power to meet a labor-management crisis by passing the Wagner Act, could meet the threat of communism by passing the Smith Act—even in flagrant disregard of the First Amendment. In the majority of instances, Jackson would ask only whether government action was directed toward a legitimate end, such as waging war, raising taxes, preventing rebellion, or guarding school children from subversion. If the end was not explicitly condemned by the Constitution, Jackson would usually uphold the means lest he be unfaithful to the credo he had espoused in the court-packing fight. Thus, a talent which could have stirred people to defend the Bill of Rights, was too often heard asking protesting liberals, "Where, in the Constitution, does it state that a government cannot protect itself against its enemies?" Having asked the wrong question, in terms of this decade's Constitutional issues, it is not surprising that Jackson too often came up with the wrong answers.

IN CONTRAST to the judicial passivism of Justice Jackson is Fred Rodell's concept of the Supreme Court as a purely political institution. A caustic, sharp-witted writer, Fred Rodell is at his best when destroying myths, and no better target exists for a myth-destroyer than the Supreme Court. To those who might still think that the Supreme Court is ever was, or should be, an august judicial body removed from political passions and applying recognized precedents to current cases, Fred Rodell's book will be a salutary experience. Rodell disrobes the judges and

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moves them from their marble sanctuary into broad daylight where they can be seen as members of a political institution rendering judgments on issues every bit as political as those decided by legislatures. Ever since George Washington's first appointments, Presidents have based their judicial choices on the political views of prospective jurists. There have always been sharp differences among the justices. There have been frequent attempts at court packing. Justices have been avowed candidates for Presidential nomination, have been active campaigners for other candidates, and have even run for office without resigning the bench. Anyone who thinks that the court is more political today than it was in the "good old days" doesn't know his Supreme Court history.

IN contrast to Jackson's protestations about what the court cannot do, Rodell demonstrates its immense powers. It can declare acts of Congress and the states unconstitutional, or can interpret them out of existence. It can stay the hand of a President, or arouse the ire of great areas of the country by outlawing a pattern of racial segregation. History would sustain Rodell's version of the court rather than Jackson's. For the very decision to restrain oneself, a decision Jackson would have the court make more often, is itself the exercise of political power.

Having established that it is a political institution, Professor Rodell outlines a political history of the Supreme Court. Here the very premise upon which he operates makes success impossible. If the court is essentially a political institution and its judges ordinary mortals, a proper evaluation of its history must take into account the political issues which have swirled around the court since its founding, and should also provide fairly complete analysis of the individual justices. To accomplish this task within the confines of one short book would have been impossible. Only by dividing the justices into heroes and villains, and by reducing decades of history to a few simple issues can Rodell achieve even the semblance of historical narrative.

Justice John Marshall, one of the book's heroes because he used the law "to achieve the goals he was after," is explained as a man whose one interest was preserving private property. All of Marshall's writings defending the power of a strong central government are viewed as mere rhetoric, an excuse for the protection of private property. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney is described simply as a spokesman for the "Old South." From the Civil War to the court revolution of 1937, the Supreme Court is pictured as representing the vested interests by squelching the aspirations of the common people over the protests of Justices Samuel Miller, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Louis Brandeis.

Although there is historical truth in these generalizations, history is not so simple. Fred Rodell is too ready to assume a complete lack of intellectual integrity on the part of certain justices. However, this technique can be a double-edged sword. If Justice Marshall really cared only about private property and used the doctrine of a strong government as a legal decoy, why not say that Justice Holmes actually favored the social legislation he voted to uphold, even though he couched his opinions in terms of the doctrine of judicial self-restraint? Or, to take Rodell's current hero, it would be possible to say that Justice Douglas is sympathetic to communism because, when faced with the civil-liberties claims of Japanese-Americans or General Yamashita, he did not demonstrate the passionate concern for human liberty that has marked his decisions in recent years. Sincere men can be subjected to varying pressures and are motivated by numerous factors. To attribute a person's conduct solely to any one of them is a dangerous business.

Rodell's historical narrative improves as it approaches the present. His description of the battle of 1937 is excellent and his analysis of the discords in the New Deal court helps explain a puzzling period in the court's history. Here the justices lose their two-dimensional quality and become real persons. A serious attempt is made to understand and explain their differences.

In condemning the sorry record of the Vinson court in civil-liberties cases, however, Rodell fails to come to grips with an important question that underlies this unfortunate era. Why did a court composed entirely of appointees of liberal Presidents disintegrate under the pressures of the cold war? To have answered this question would have made villains out of some of Rodell's heroes. It would, furthermore, have exposed the serious gap in Rodell's analysis. It is not enough to say the court is a political institution like a legislature or an executive agency. Roosevelt viewed it as a political institution when he appointed Black, Reed, Frankfurter, Douglas, and Jackson to uphold New Deal legislation. Truman viewed the Supreme Court in a political light when he appointed Fred Vinson to perform the political job of healing an embarrassing breach among the justices The Roosevelt-Truman method failed in most instances because judges were appointed for a short-run political job instead of for the long pull that is a justice's career.

OF WHAT political stuff is the great judicial statesman made? Rodell says he should be "a direct, plain-spoken politician, who knows that his is primarily a political job." He should "combine humanity and honesty." If this is the criteria, no wonder the liberals failed so miserably. Where in this definition is the intellectual stature and integrity, the fierce devotion to human liberty, and the ability to withstand the overwhelming pressures on individual freedom generated by a divided world? Of this stern and noble stuff are great justices made. The American people, and liberals in particular, have paid dearly for the failure of two Democratic Presidents to understand the proper role of the Supreme Court in the American system of government.

COMING

"The Restoration of Learning"
By Arthur Bestor
Reviewed by Harold Taylor

"Band of Angels"
By Robert Penn Warren
Reviewed by Maxwell Geismar

"Collected Poems, 1955"
By Robert Graves
Reviewed by John Ciardi

"Confessions of Felix Krull, Confidence Man"
By Thomas Mann
Reviewed by Carlos Baker

An Honest Autobiography

IT'S ME O LORD. The Autobiography of Rockwell Kent. Dodd, Mead and Company. $10.

By Elizabeth McCausland

AT SEVENTY-THREE Rockwell Kent presents his self-portrait. Into those seventy-three years the well-known American engraver-lithographer-painter-illustrator-writer-lecturer has crowded many other occupations: working as a lobster fisherman and carpenter on the coast of Maine, as a ship's carpenter at sea, and farming at Au Sable Forks, New York. He has written and illustrated at least half a dozen books, as well as illustrating many classics such as "Candide" and "Leaves of Grass." He has lived, loved, worked, and explored in Labrador, Alaska, Greenland, and Tierra del Fuego. Any one of these activities could be a life's work, but Kent has found time and energy to champion liberal causes in art and in society, even when these were unpopular. So energetic and vocal has Kent been in all these fields that his artistic achievement has often been overshadowed; but his autobiography suggests that he would prefer to be judged as an artist. For its "ninety-six new drawings; 170 reproductions of the artist's best drawings of the past; photographic reproductions of paintings; [and] eight reproductions of paintings in full color" hold up the mirror to Kent the artist.

The cold, sometimes mechanical line of Kent's book and advertising illustration is the quality which lays him open to challenge. Critics write favorably of landscapes he painted in Maine, Newfoundland, Labrador, and the Berkshires almost half a century ago, but disparage such graphic work as "This Is My Own." However it should be remembered that Kent was educated as an architect. He later studied painting with William Merritt Chase and Robert Henri; but it is the mark of Henri rather than of Chase which makes his early oils human and active. In the 1900's and the teens Kent was allied with movements of esthetic protest like The Eight and the Society of Independent Artists; and here he found further motivation for a kind of humanist realism. But when he turned to the graphic arts, his architectural training asserted itself. Even as Philibert Delorme lectured the good architect and the bad architect in engravings not unlike architectural elevations, so Kent rotated the linear idiom of the ground plan into the vertical plane. This is an explanation, however, of but one phase of Kent as an artist. To understand the man and his work it is necessary to read the 617 pages of text and scrutinize the more than 300 illustrations in "It's Me O Lord."

The autobiography is probably the most difficult literary form. It may be a fabricated facade, or it may be a revelation spoken as if in a dream. The latter kind has to be searched for names, dates, places, facts, and even sometimes for feelings and thoughts. In a way Kent's is reminiscent of Gertrude Stein's. The title seems to bear no relation to the subject portrayed, and "The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas" is of course *not* the autobiography of Miss Toklas. Why Kent should be "standing in the need of prayer" is not evident. Like Stein, Kent makes it hard for the reader to follow the space-time continuum in which a person's life inescapably evolves. For the most part the graphic illustrations are uncaptioned and unsourced; and captions for the oils do not give the dates when painted. There is no list of illustrations, nor is there an index. A serious mistake, in the reviewer's opinion, is turning the color plates sidewise. Incidentally in the count quoted from the jacket, is the word "drawings" correct? Most of the line cuts have the appearance of lithographs or engravings.

Despite these objections, Kent has produced a creditable self-portrait. One gets the "feel" of the man—his aggressive assertion of personality, his abounding energy, his determination to defend that which he believes to be worthy of defense, his stubborn resistance to unwarranted violation of the areas of conscience, his outward-goingness, his generous enthusiasm for the underprivileged. Besides that, one gets a source from the illustrations for a better judgment of the strengths and the weaknesses of his work. It is evident that Kent has learned not only from his early twentieth-century American teachers but also from masters of the past, notably Blake. Since a memoir is not an encyclopedia, the lacks pointed out are outweighed by positive values, such as sincerity. For Kent's is the second kind of autobiography, the honest kind.

ELIZABETH McCAUSLAND is a well-known art critic and historian specializing in the field of American art.

A Mythological Detective

THE GREEK MYTHS. By Robert Graves. Penguin Books. Two volumes, 95 cents each.

By Moses Hadas

BEGINNING with the classical Greeks themselves, sophisticated observers have been puzzled by the anomaly of an intelligent and sensitive people revering a mythology that seems puerile and brutal and scabrous. From the Homeric poems onward, literature sought to refine crudities by sublimating and harmonizing, or, in desperate cases, pretending that they did not exist or inventing allegorical explanations. Our earliest literary texts, indeed, are likely to give the most refined version, and the primitive myth must then be enucleated from some obscure phrase in a commentator or divined from the disguised version on the basis of analogy with the support of archaeology, anthropology, and psychology. And since the adherents of these ancillary disciplines are by no means at one on the relative significance of their several factors there is likely to be little agreement on the original forms of the myths and less on their interpretation.

Because a reference work should present an acknowledged consensus we have had no modern comprehensive and adult presentation of Greek mythology. Nor is it likely that a scholar with professional responsibilities and loyalties who pos-

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sesses the essential philological equipment will feel sufficiently competent in the less definitely charted areas to venture such a work. But in the nature of the case, and in the experience of the naive generations for whom they were merely esthetic formulations of edifying fables, the myths can be quickened into meaningful life only by imagination; all that we can ask is that the imagination be informed and controlled by scholarship. Here it would be hard to name Mr. Graves's rival. The range of his learning compels respectful attention to his hypotheses; all we need do is distinguish one from the other.

This the arrangement of his book makes easy. Each of its 171 sections is divided into three parts: (1) a narrative of the myth, divided into lettered paragraphs for easy reference; (2) documentation from ancient sources (very few modern works are mentioned, and there is little polemic); and (3) Graves's own interpretation, clearly indicated as such typographically, also divided into numbered paragraphs. Only rarely is the narrative in the first part slanted to provide a text for Graves's favored interpretation.

WITH A regularity that may invite suspicion Graves explains his myths as reflections of the change from matriarchal to patriarchal organization of society combined with the vegetation cycle involving king, tanist, and surrogate, with the periodic killing, real or simulated, of the old king by various specified means. Back of the change are folk migrations and the concomitant emergence or suppression of deities. The elements in this hypothesis are not new; for the matriarchate we have long had Bachofen and Briffault, and for the vegetation cycle Frazer, Jane Harrison, and their followers. What is unusual is the consistency and the ingenuity with which Graves applies his formula. If sleight-of-hand is employed it is less obtrusive and hence more plausible than the acrobatics of the Jung-Kerenyi school, which is equally consistent in assimilating all myths to archetypes of the collective unconscious. The one comfort the psychological school affords, that of making all mankind a cosier group, Mr. Graves does also by invoking parallels, with the Semitic Near East, where he posits origins, and the Germanic North, where he suggests influences.

A sound premise in Mr. Graves's interpretation is that the language of myth, properly understood, is as explicit as our own rational language; it is to be read, not exploited as a text for subjective elaboration, and the ancients themselves were frequently unable to read it. This principle, again, is not peculiar to Graves; what is striking is the extensive use he makes (as he did also in "The Nazarene Gospel Restored") of the parallel hypothesis that works of plastic art were similarly misread. A specific disharmonious myth, he will suggest, rests on a misreading of a painting or sculpture; on the basis of the misreading he reconstructs the picture and then interprets it according to his conviction.

As ingenious detective work, then, Mr. Graves's book makes absorbing reading. But even if we rate much of the fine type in this book, as we prudently should, no higher than virtuoso ingenuity, we must still be grateful to Mr. Graves for his solid and systematic larger type, and to his publishers for putting his book within everyone's reach.

Selected New Books

Poetry

POETS OF TODAY II. Poems by Norma Farber, Robert Pack, and Louis Simpson. Edited with an introduction by John Hall Wheelock. Scribner's. $3.50. The most exciting new series in poetry publishing: three first books in one binding affectionately and discriminatingly edited. All the poets presented earn their praises, but comparison being as inevitable as it is odious, Louis Simpson, in my reading, clearly sings his way ahead of his cellmates to end up with probably the best first book of the year.

THE PRECISIONS. By Cid Corman. Sparrow Press. No price listed. Corman's modest pamphlet (sixteen poems) earns its title, and probably earns him another as best-least-known-poet now writing. A real assurance working. Corman waves away the strict forms of the tradition, but only to hold more faithfully to the strict form of things. Rare when it happens, but it happens here. (Sparrow Press, not listed in "Publisher's Annual," is at 111-13 38th Avenue, Corona 68, N. Y.)

THE NIGHTFISHING. By W. S. Graham. Grove. $2.50. Graham's introspective roam on a night-sea of images is tuned to fine ear. I stumble now and then when the poet's frame of imagery fails him, forcing him to come out of the poem to assert his meaning rather than letting it happen inside and I stumble, too, over the schooling of some of the phrases; but these cavils aside, a motion happens, and I find myself waiting a chance to reread.

POETRY AND CIVILIZATION. By George Frisbie Whicher. Published for Amherst College by Cornell University Press. $2.50. Selected essays and speeches by a master humanist. Professor Whicher was that reading and asking man of spirit that collegiate generations honor themselves in revering. Essential reading for every member of every faculty, for every student who wonders what a college is for, and for every other who values mind in its graces.

LOVE POEMS. By Gloria Vanderbilt. World. $2.50. A "diary of feelings," probably intensely felt but slack in the making: a difference between self-expression and the re-created thing.

FIGURES FROM A DOUBLE WORLD. By Thomas McGrath. Swallow. $2.75. Winner of the Swallow Poetry Book Award for 1954, McGrath is a poet declaredly of the left, who starts by making all the mistakes of proletarian satire in the first section of poems here presented, but with a difference that begins to find real rewards in the later more personal poems. Too many bosh adjectives throughout, but an ear, an eye, and a feeling for the language moving that make me wish McGrath would unload his damned pamphlets and come home to some personal dying.

I LAUGH THROUGH TEARS. The Ballads of Francois Villon. Edited and Translated by G. P. Cuttino. (No French text.) Philosophical Library. $3.50. Mr. Cuttino's prefatory arrogance toward "Rosetti, Swinburne, and their ilk" set my teeth a bit, but the translations win. I am not exactly left slack-jawed with admiration, but respectful and well rewarded. Mr. Cuttino moves gracefully through the heavy demands of the rhyme and manages an English that does nice justice to both the tavern slang and the university.

JOHN CIARDI

Books in Brief

Arctic Adventures

MEN FROM THE SEA. By K. M. Wallenius. Translated from the Finnish by Alan Blair. Oxford. $4.

To these five adventure tales of the Arctic seas K. M. Wallenius, a retired general of the Finnish army, brings superior skills of story-telling, characterization, and poetic feeling. His whalers, sealers, skippers, and the men and women of the fishing villages among the fiords, emerge through their stirring adventures as real, individualized persons. Their struggles against the harsh elements on sea and land have developed in them a fatalistic philosophy which accepts death as a commonplace companion of daily life. Each of these stories is a small masterpiece of vivid narration and drama, involving battles in which human beings put up a valiant fight against nature at its grimmest, with all the odds against them.

Mankind on Trial

NINE RIVERS FROM JORDAN. By Denis Johnston. Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown. $5.

An Irishman, who has been a lawyer, writer of two acclaimed plays, B. B. C. news broadcaster, and now English professor at Mount Holyoke College, brings his native wit and imagination and trained judgment to this remarkable account of experiences, both factual and subjective, in the last world war.

As correspondent for B. B. C. he covered the North Africa, Italy, and German campaigns. His straight reporting is vivid and hardboiled, his very personal reactions sensitive and satiric. But all his cynicism, criticisms, and doubts fall away before his view of the horrors of Buchenwald which he is shown just after its abandonment by the Germans. Then he realizes at last just what the war has been all about and that there is a definite right and wrong in life.

But even after this emotional and spiritual catharsis his intellectual honesty forces him to a further evaluation. In one of the final chapters almost every person and episode he has encountered throughout the war come together in a brilliantly conceived play-fantasy. The entire human race is brought to trial and found guilty of a suppressed death-wish which accounts for all the inanities, confusions, and horrors of the war. The judge wisely refuses to pass sentence, knowing that humanity can confidently be left to find ways of destroying itself.

At the very end the reporter describes his own death. It is the only logical denouement, as he explains in a preface which he inserts two-thirds through the book because, as he says very sensibly, a reader cannot be expected to understand a preface before he knows a great deal about the book.

There may be a trace of pedantry in the chapter headings, classical allusions, and naming after the Greek muses the nine rivers he crosses during the campaigns. But there is complete honesty in his reporting of factual events and his emotional reactions to them—and a great deal of outstanding imaginative writing.

A Great Crusader

HENRY GEORGE. By Charles Albro Barker. Oxford. $9.50.

This long biography contributes important facts and insights to an understanding of the anti-monopoly tradition in American politics. Although Henry George is now known almost exclusively for his chief book, "Progress and Poverty,' and for his advocacy of the single tax on land, Professor Barker also shows his significance in other respects. George was an ardent advocate of free trade; he was a leading champion of the Australian ballot; he spoke for public ownership of natural monopolies; he made a magnificent campaign for mayor of New York on a labor ticket in 1886.

Henry George's ideas on land rent did affect tax policies in many American cities, and his influence was perhaps even greater in Australia and England than here. But his main significance was as a crusader against social evils, and the roots of his crusade were moral ones: Christian egalitarianism, and Jefferson's natural-rights philosophy.

George's career is described at full-length in Barker's book, which is based on a staggering amount of research. The clarity of presentation goes a long way to atone for the general drabness of style.

How free are Russian writers?

Many words have flown from the Russian pen since the Revolution in 1917, and much controversy has raged in Britain as to the influences that surround the Soviet writer.

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Theater

Harold Clurman

NO WONDER there are so many fantasies about the authorship of the most beautiful plays in the English language. Impossible that a single Shakespeare could have written all those masterpieces. It must have been the intellectual giant Bacon, or the brilliant Earl of Oxford, or the fabulous Marlowe. When Shakespeare is done in a manner that makes each scene intelligible and permits one to hear the torrent of words as part of a human action, one is led to marvel and conjecture about the magnitude of such genius. No one man could have created all these riches: it must have been a committee.

Let others cavil at the Brattle Shakespeare Players' production of "Othello" (City Center). The cast reveals no exceptional players—they are almost all young, able, devoted, and intelligent—but the line of the play is so well articulated that a sense of what the play means to communicate is rendered. We should be grateful for this: I have seen more elaborate productions with acclaimed actors in which there were greater effects but less play.

"Othello" is Shakespeare's tragedy of sensuality. The chief fault of the Brattle production is that it misses this crucial element of Othello's character. Here, as in most productions of this play, the emphasis is largely on Othello's "nobility," which is mainly the mark of his simplicity and massive forthrightness. Othello is not noble in any truly moral sense: he is demonically possessed by that sort of fierce lust which always contains within it the seeds of destruction, a violence of passion that must ultimately consume and shatter both the lover and the beloved.

A psychologist has recently described love as the ability to connect oneself with a second person in a unit which still preserves the integrity of both partners. It is a sound definition. It explains why love is so rare and why the capacity to achieve is one of the human goals most difficult to attain. But amorous passion by itself—and this too is not as common as we suppose—can never be altogether satisfied. While it rages, it must create chaos in the person who experiences it, as well as ravage and annihilate the person who is its object. For what passion tends toward is the elimination of both the selves involved in the mating. That is why Tristan and Isolde must dissolve in a love-death, and Othello, who at the play's peak speaks of "that whiter skin of hers than snow/And smooth as monumental alabaster" must do away with both Desdemona and himself. "I kissed thee ere I killed thee: no way but this,/Killing myself, to die upon a kiss." That is what he (and Shakespeare) mean when they speak of "one that loved not wisely but too well."

The play is not so much about jealousy—as such it might be considered trite—it is the tragedy of the flaw within love as sheer desire. Othello needs his jealousy; he needs it, so to speak, to fulfill his passion, needs it, in fact, to make it reach its highest point of ecstasy.

BECAUSE of this theme and the agonized violence of Shakespeare's expression of it, Othello is a part very few actors have succeeded in portraying successfully. That is why the flashier part of Iago, which requires mere skill and personality, is usually sought by stars and applauded by audiences. The part of Othello is so physically and emotionally demanding that Stanislavsky once said no actor could do it justice more than twice a week—very few have been able to play it at all. I have seen only one actor who approached a realization of the part, and he was aided by the support of Verdi's music.

I shall not discuss the detail of the performance at the City Center. I will only repeat that since the performance succeeded in making me think of the play's theme—usually in the production of Shakespeare's plays, I take the theme for granted, which means I do not think of it at all—I was stirred by it and elated to

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have some contact with its greatness.

"Catch a Star" (Plyhouth Theater) is a modest musical revue, and, as someone said in another connection, it has a lot to be modest about. It offers four or five entertaining numbers and some talented performers: Elaine Dunn as dancer, Helen Halpin as crooner, Pat Carroll as comic. Indeed, what kept flashing across my mind as I watched the show was the fact that the American theatrical profession numbers so many gifted people: the combination of good looks, ability to put over a song and to dance with fresh energy, eagerness of spirit, and muscular fun is more frequent on our stage than on any other. What these people need to extend their talent and make it flower is a culture in which to function. We might then have some real theaters rather than a series of shaky show windows.

Films

Robert Hatch

IN A picture soon to be released there is said to be a moment of drama so exquisitely intense that for the duration of the episode—some four or five minutes— musical accompaniment is to be suspended. The studio making this announcement apparently feels that the innovation is daring and so *outre* that an unprepared public might fail to grasp the artistic intention and complain of faulty engineering. I wish that some producer would now have the boldness to drop the symphonic background entirely, even if a standby orchestra had to be paid to keep Mr. Petrillo tranquil.

Modern pictures carry music on the sound track because their forerunners had no sound track. It was thought that the atmosphere of a dead silent theater was not festive, so a piano or other more elaborate music was provided to give the ears something to do while the eyes scanned the subtitles, and incidentally to cover the whir of the projector and the rustle of candy wrappers. It may have been a proper solution to the screen's vexing dumbness. I recall silent movies at camp that were accompanied by no sound except the laughs, cheers, and strangled cries of the campers, and they were vivid beyond anything I saw in those years at conventional theaters with conventional mood music. But these treats were festive by long anticipation and the audience boiled as soon as the light went out. In any case, music on the sound track is as clearly an anachronism as the buggy-whip sockets that were installed in the earliest automobiles.

It is more than an anachronism, though; it is a real disfigurement of the movies as a form of art or a means of entertainment. The screen is cousin to the stage. It has its own genius (actually, it has a more particular genius than Hollywood, devoting its major energy to "adapting" from Broadway, is willing to recognize); nevertheless it too is engaged in arresting our attention with selected and selective fragments of experience. Music in its own right is an expression of experience, but it is not used in its own right when it drones along behind some picture that was conceived and executed entirely in non-lyric terms. No sane theater producer would suggest that "Death of a Salesman" or "The Shrike" or "Julius Caesar" should be performed before such a background, but when these plays are moved to the screen—meticulously decked out with the bits of verisimilitude that the camera makes possible—a score is provided and everyone loves and suffers, triumphs and dies to music.

In one way—a bad way—the orchestration makes the job easier for directors and actors. If the heroine has no passion in her heart or in her voice, violins filling in behind her can raise the pitch as she plods through her lines. If a moment of suspense has failed to reach its calculated tension, oboes and a staccato beat in the bass will do much to make the audience crane forward. But this is encouraging actors to be incompetent and debases the movies even as an industry.

Movie music is rarely music in any real sense, but has a quality of its own. The men who write it try to fit their notes and phrases to the galloping of hoofs, the lingering kiss, the death, and the lifted mortgage. But above all they struggle with the problem of keeping an orchestra at work on some kind of intelligible sound for a stretch of two hours or more without giving them anything to play that would really catch the hearer's attention. So the score for one picture is about as appetizing and arresting as that for another—it is the cream sauce that does as well for chicken or lamb croquettes or cauliflower or the hanging of wallpaper.

Pictures, I think, have more individuality today than they once had. You cannot type them as easily as Westerns, domestic comedies, gang thrillers, or whatever. This does not mean, unfortunately, that there is more inventiveness in the studios; rather that pictures are being borrowed from somewhat more inventive sources. But the music which is poured over them indiscriminately and which encourages the actors to lean back and ride on the tremolo does a good deal to blur the originality that the movie scouts so industriously smell out.

I do not advise a return to the silent screen. Voices should be heard, obviously, and so should music, when it can be used as music and not as an absence of silence. More than that, the movies can use sound with a virtuosity impossible in the theater. All the noises of life—large crashes and the faint clink of glass, city chatter and the chatter of the fields—are available to them. What you hear can be edited as shrewdly as what you see, and for the same narrative and emotional purposes. Of course such sound is used now, but it cannot be used very well when it is carried along in a wash of ambitionless instrumentation.

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Letters

(Continued from Inside Cover)

ioned revolution. It is not a question of barricades, of learning to use arms, of preparing for violence and bloodshed. It is a question of intellectual and spiritual apprehension of perplexing tendencies. The few who understand must educate the many who are unequal to the task of facing them. Two generations ago Matthew Arnold called upon the intelligentsia to "educate our masters"—the baffled majority. A similar task is clearly confronting us today. The problems are not getting easier and simpler. We must tackle them bravely and with some confidence in human nature.

VICTOR S. YARROS
La Polla, Calif.

Appreciation from a Soldier

Dear Sirs: Your publication was especially appreciated during my tour of duty in Europe where a conservative Stars and Stripes and the Armed Forces Network were the primary sources of daily news coverage.

JOHN M. ENGEL, JR.
Alexandria, Va.

More on Nixon's "Man to See"

Dear Sirs: Mr. McCall's efforts to defend and win sympathy for Mr Nixon in his letter in the September 3 issue are almost as touching as Mr. Nixon's own earlier efforts in that direction—but, like Mr. Nixon's, they touch the wrong places!

No one, I'm sure, doubts Mr. Nixon's industry in building up Mr. Nixon. But many dangerously misguided men have been equally industrious. Since Mr. Nixon's "man to see" probably is Mr. Nixon, as Mr. McCall says, and he's misguided only by himself, the situation is even less hopeful than Mr. Roper suggested in his article in the July 2 issue. Someone else might be more approachable, and less a victim of what has been called "invincible ignorance."

But the real payoff in the defense was that last line in Mr. McCall's letter: "Let's build up, not tear down!" That certainly has not been Mr. Nixon's practice—with regard to anyone who gets in Mr. Nixon's way.

Chicago, Ill. HELEN BUGBEE.

A Generation of Half-wits?

Dear Sirs: This month an additional 250,000 new students will surge into the high schools of the United States, while our elementary schools will be registering 1,200,000 more pupils than a year ago. Where will they all find the classrooms they will need? Are we going to provide—with or without federal aid—the necessary buildings and equipment for them and the ever-increasing waves of students to follow, or are we going to be caught in the undertow?

Must we rear up a whole new generation of half-trained, half-taught half-wits?

ERNEST W. MANDEVILLE.
Allenhurst, N. J.

Libel Suit Settled

The libel suit instituted by The Nation against The New Leader as the result of a letter which appeared in the March 19, 1951, issue of the New Leader, has been settled on the basis of the following stipulation agreed upon by both sides:

WHEREAS plaintiffs assert that they brought this action because they believed that the matter published and circulated by defendants in the March 19, 1951 issue of The New Leader, which dealt with the views of plaintiff Del Vayo expressed in The Nation, contained improper charges and allegations beyond the area of legitimate discussion and dissemination; and

WHEREAS defendants assert that they published said matter not with the intention of committing an act of defamation but, according to their conception of free journalistic discussion, to express their vigorous objection to the contents of the Del Vayo column in The Nation; and

WHEREAS the parties to the litigation desire to compose the issue that has arisen between them; now

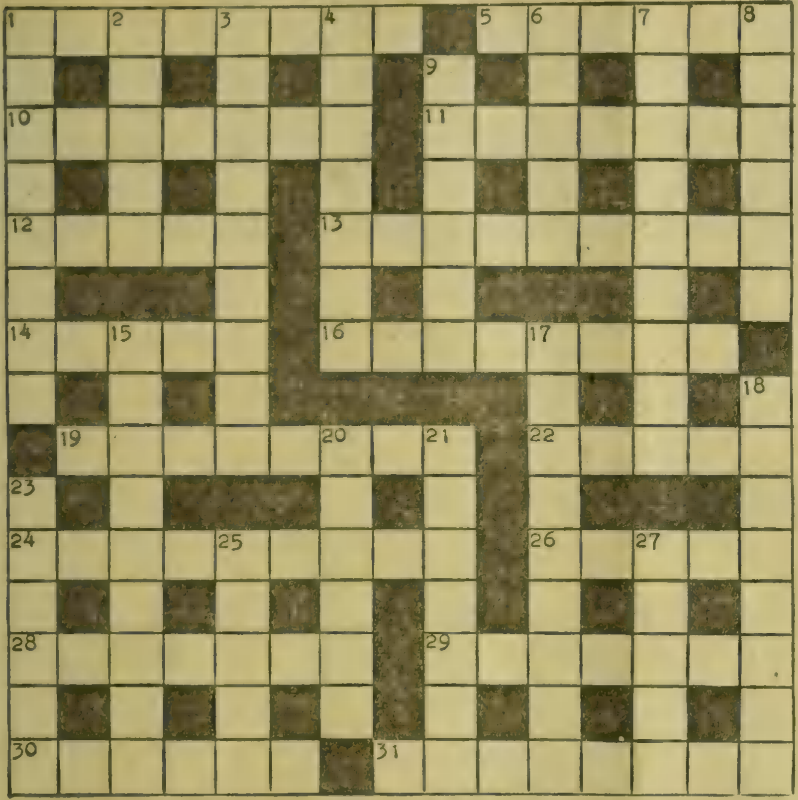
IT IS HEREBY STIPULATED AND AGREED, by and between the parties hereto, that the above-entitled action be and the same hereby is settled and discontinued without costs to any party as against any other party, upon the following terms:

1. Any party hereto may enter an order ex parte providing for the settlement and discontinuance of this action, without costs;

2. The plaintiff The Nation Associates, Inc., and the defendant The New Leader Association, Inc., shall publish the text of this stipulation in their respective periodicals The Nation and The New Leader, in the issue of the week of September 19, 1955.

Crossword Puzzle No. 638

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Noise, I conclude, un-tidy, for it bothers some. (8)
5 Two kinds of engine, but the pilot could be lighter. (3,3)
10 and 7 down Heading for town to see the game? (5,2,9)
11 Where to find copper, and a lot of it! (2,5)
12 What a mocker does, perhaps. (5)
13 Their patrons should look well, at any rate. (9)
14 Turning native—or am I? (5)
16 Poe's 27 was this. (8)
19 They might be in bad taste, and in wrong class (8)
22 Beat me in? Little such to be read! (5)
24 Baby Bunting wouldn't have been well covered with this in effect. (9)
26 Let there be light! (5)
28 Scout warning of what's to come? (7)
29 To achieve capital results, sort of spoil the end of it. (7)
30 Evidently the deck has a fancy cut. (6)
31 Human social engagements which make heroes assemble? (8)

DOWN

1 Made by Brodie. (8)
2 In short, the state of egotism. (5)
3 One digit's certainly appreciated, if good. (9)
4 and 25 down (a) Make sure your shoes fit; and (b) Change your socks often. (3-4,5)
6 Hand over the people in the "Recessional"? Like this! (5)
7 See 10 across.
8 To make them is to get religion. (6)
9 The staff is called to bring it out. (6)
15 The fans point first one way and then another thus. (9)
17 Inclined to pull? A slight disturbance would make it freakish. (3-6)
18 Are tents made of this? (8)
20 You might get stuck with this at short notice, and like it. (6)
21 You can probably stay with it. (7)
23 Put forth like our country? (6)
25 See 4 down.
27 Don't forget what you learned by it! (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE 637

ACROSS: 1 SPEED TRAPS; 10 BARGAIN; 11 PROFFER; 12 POSTMASTERSHIP; 14 CHALOUPE; 15 SCHEME; 16 ENCAMP; 18 STREAMER; 22 SHORTSIGHTEDLY; 24 CORTEGE; 25 ELUSIVE; 26 MISS; 27 ADOLESCENT. DOWN: 1 SUBSPECIES; 2 EURASIA; 3 DIAL M FOR MURDER; 4 RINGS UP; 5 and 6 PEPPERCORN; 7 OFFSIDE; 8 NORM; 9 HORSE CHESTNUTS; 13 DEFRAYMENT; 17 COHORTS; 19 TUGWELL; 20 MIDWIFE; 21 OSTEND; 23 SCUM.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York

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Joseph Lewis, after years of painstaking research maintains that he has uncovered indisputable evidence that Thomas Paine wrote the original draft of the Declaration of Independence and that Jefferson, as a member of the Committee appointed to draft the document, "mangled" it, according to Richard Henry Lee, and left out the "most manly parts," according to Abigal Adams.

Why did Jefferson do this? That Jefferson did eliminate more than 25% of the original text, including the Slavery Clause, is now a verifiable fact. Joseph Lewis gives the answer to Jefferson's action in his book, "Thomas Paine—Author of The Declaration of Independence."

The book also contains a facsimile reproduction of both the Adams' copy of the Declaration of Independence and Jefferson's so-called "Rough Draft." A comparison of these documents reveals the startling truth that it was *utterly impossible* for Adams to have made his copy from Jefferson's Rough Draft. From what manuscript then did Adams make his copy—since his copy contains the *complete* text of the Declaration and was made *before* Jefferson made his copy!

Overwhelming evidence in favor of Thomas Paine's authorship is revealed in Mr. Lewis' book.

Mr. Lewis now offers to contribute $5,000.00 to the American Red Cross, if any reputable historian will debate with him the authorship of this immortal document; the debate to be held either in a public hall or over television or radio. If the audience, after the debate, does not feel that Mr. Lewis has proved his case and a majority vote against him, he will contribute $5,000.00 to the American Red Cross. The time and the conditions of the debate are to be mutually satisfactory to Mr. Lewis and his opponent and a chairman agreeable to both will preside.

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IS THERE A RUSSIAN BOURGEOISIE? BY E. H. CARR

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Lessons of the Revolt

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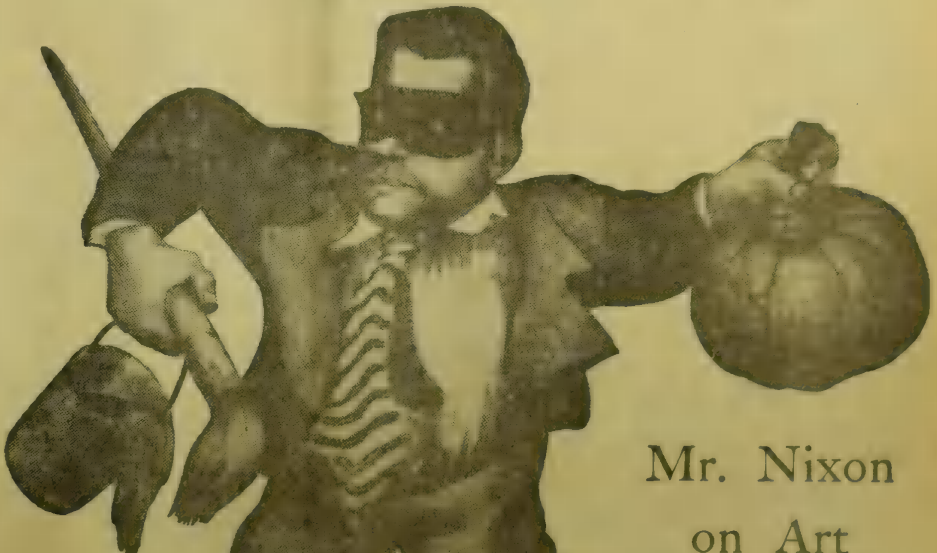
JUSTICE IN SUMNER

Land of the Free



Mr. Nixon
on Art
(See p. 274)

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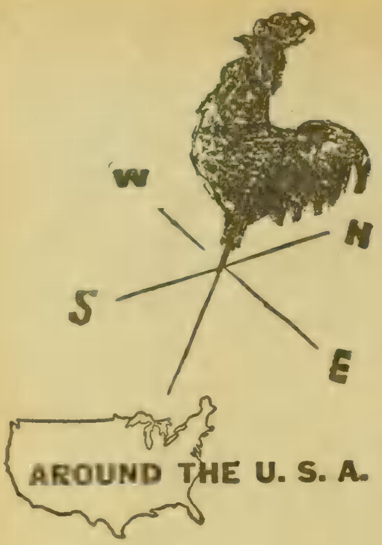
W
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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Fresh Breezes on The American Campus

Minneapolis

A NEW forthrightness in the area of civil liberties marked the Eighth National Student Congress of the United States National Student Association (N. S. A.), held from August 21 to 31 on the campus of the University of Minnesota. The organization, representing 300 schools, attempts to crystallize the opinion of American students as a group rather than to carry out a specific program. Delegates range from the crusading liberals to the ultra-conservative. There is a large minority of delegates from Roman Catholic denominational schools.

For the first time in its history, N. S. A. this year opposed "political test oaths" for faculty and students on campuses and in the R. O. T. C. and draft programs. Its resolution declared that "oaths which require individuals to indicate political beliefs, affiliations and associations" are "procedurally ineffective and create an atmosphere of fear and insecurity which inhibits the exercise of rights of free inquiry and association which are essential to academic freedom." But the group did not oppose investigation, "where relevant," by an employer of a person's political background nor the use of a "positive oath of allegiance" to the state or federal Constitution.

N. S. A.'s academic-freedom resolution of last year, which viewed membership in "totalitarian conspiratorial groups" as casting strong doubt on the academic competence of a faculty member, was changed in a new statement, carried by a plenary vote of 168-108, which declared that membership in such "groups or organizations that advocate violent overthrow of the government is not, in and of itself, sufficient grounds for dismissal from a university position, but that dismissal is justified only after investigation of each individual case proves professional incompetence or lack of integrity." The declaration further condemned the methods of "some of the current investigations into education" and recommended that "Congress change its methods so as not to endanger freedom in the academic community," and, while noting the desirability of a cooperative attitude toward investigating committees, stated that refusal on constitutional grounds to testify regarding "views, affiliations and associations . . . is not justifiable cause for dismissal."

A RESOLUTION criticizing the Attorney General's list as a denial of "the full benefit of constitutional protection to organization around certain political principles" passed the N. S. A. Educational Affairs Commission, but the congress accepted a milder substitute condemning "the placing of any organizations upon any list of subversive groups, without due process of law," and opposing "use of the existing Attorney General's list as a determinant of the loyalty of citizen-students." At the same time, the substitute opposed "discrimination" against *past* members of subversive organizations and those who associate with present or past members.

Discriminatory practices and segregated education were of considerable concern to the delegates. A lengthy model code of practices for educational institutions was adopted which opposes discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin, sex, creed, religion, political belief, or economic status in admissions, classroom procedures, scholarship grants, teacher training, employment, student placement, housing, health, and recreational facilities. The code suggests specific policies in accordance with this principle, as, for example, in the area of admissions where quota systems, the requiring of photographs with applications, and inquiries concerning such matters as race or religion are opposed as "not in keeping with fair educational practices." Debate was most heated in regard to a section calling for the establishment of specific time limits for the removal of discriminatory clauses from the rules or rituals of student organizations. Fraternity advocates, delegates who opposed the principle involved, and those who feared "compulsion" joined to lead a move to delete this section and won their point, 160-147. The code as a whole carried overwhelmingly.

A STATEMENT on desegregation, calling for compliance with the Supreme Court decisions and opposing legislation or action intended to thwart desegregation, such as discriminatory zoning of school districts, was carried with only about seven negative votes. This resolution, presented as a "compromise," stressed the recognition of local needs and problems and a gradual approach.

Policy in the area of international affairs, where N. S. A.'s program is most extensive and expensive, was determined for the most part without plenary debate. As each International Affairs Commission resolution was read a delegate moved acceptance by acclamation, which of course placed critics of the proposed policies on the defensive. Academic relations with Russia, a highly controversial issue at previous congresses, was disposed of with almost no debate in a resolution stating that "attempts should be made to realize the improved prospects for successful student exchange with this area in the form of practical programs for the coming year, emphasizing especially long-term academic exchange." The same motion included a plan for establishing scholarships for exiles from "certain totalitarian countries."

McCarthyite attacks, which have troubled N. S. A. in recent years, were noticeably absent although some of the more conservative delegates continued to express worry lest their organization be labelled "radical."

PAUL BRESLOW

[Paul Breslow is a student at the University of Chicago.]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1955
VOLUME 181, NUMBER 14

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

A Bundle from America

IT LOOKS AS IF Secretary Dulles were enlarging his reputation as the only bull who carries his own china around with him. This time it is his German policy which shows signs of cracking. The story began with Adenauer's visit to Washington in mid-June. At that time, Dulles and Adenauer produced an unwritten understanding to the effect that (1) if there were to be a major settlement with Soviet Union, it must be a package deal including German unification; (2) neither Bonn nor Washington would conclude a separate peace with Moscow in the cold war. In short, the United States and West Germany undertook to refrain from coming to terms with the Russians except in consultation with one another.

A couple of days later, Dulles and Adenauer met Harold Macmillan and Antoine Pinay in New York and persuaded the British and French foreign ministers to join the American-German arrangement.

The significance of these moves emerged sharply at the Geneva summit conference in July. There it became plain that the West's price for a new European security system was Soviet assent to unifying Germany. Russia insisted that European security must come before German unification, while the West demanded a simultaneous approach to both issues. The Geneva discussions ended with the pivotal question unresolved.

The United States-British-French package deal with West Germany was never officially announced. Britain and France were said to have joined the agreement with some reluctance; neither Macmillan nor Pinay liked being asked to associate themselves with a ready-made deal hatched by Dulles and Adenauer. But there were graver reasons for Anglo-French misgivings. The deal meant that any security pact that the West could negotiate with Moscow would have to be shelved until Russia acquiesced in Germany's unification. Sir Winston Churchill long ago proposed a Western Locarno with Russia—a treaty under which each member would aid any signatory power if attacked by another. At last July's Geneva gathering, Sir Anthony Eden renewed the suggestion and defined it more precisely, nominating five nations for membership: United States, Britain, France, Russia, and Germany. The crux of his proposal was that the other three would guarantee Germany against Soviet aggression and Russia against a German attack.

But Premier Bulganin clarified the Soviet position in Geneva and again to Adenauer in Moscow, once more stressing Russia's refusal to countenance a unified, rearmed Germany tied to the Western military system. So the Churchill-Eden pact plan is left dangling.

LATELY developments have taken a new turn. A few weeks ago the United States produced the draft of a security pact for Europe. Britain also presented written proposals. The documents were exchanged among Washington, London, Paris, and Bonn. Senior diplomats of the four Western powers discussed them last week in the United States capital. This week they were before Dulles, Macmillan, and Pinay as they conferred in New York, where they were joined by West German Foreign Minister von Brentano. The relevant papers are labelled top secret, but their essentials are known.

The German unification and European security package is falling apart. As this is written, it is too early to ascertain whether the Western foreign ministers have managed to repair the wrapping. They are bound to patch up a common front before they face Molotov on October 27 for the second round in Geneva. The crux is a basic difference between the American and British approaches. Britain's plan lends itself to certain advances in the field of European security even while there are two Germanies. The United States, on the other hand, makes the whole security treaty conditional on Russia's assent to a unified Germany free to belong to the Western military camp.

Britain envisages two separate accords. One is the five-power Locarno-type pact already mentioned, postulated on a unified Germany, which could be expanded to include other countries. The second envisages the limitation of armed forces in the heart of Europe. It would establish two zones. One would be entirely demilitarized and would reach 100 miles on each side of the iron curtain in Germany, bisecting Berlin and including segments of Poland and Czecho-

The effects of President Eisenhower's illness on American policy here and abroad, as well as the new turn it has given the election picture for 1956, will be dealt with at length in coming issues of *The Nation*.

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slovakia. The second, known as the "zone of control," would reach further to the East and in the West would extend to Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg, its deepest point penetrating some eighty miles into France. Troops, armaments, and military installations in the second zone would be reduced.

Both the American and British plans provide for exchange of military information on the level of forces and their movement, as well as for joint inspection teams. Unlike Britain's scheme, the American draft is said to omit any call for the numerical reduction of forces in the treaty area. The British regard their buffer-zone plan as a military measure to be considered apart from German unification. The implication is that it could provisionally be applied to a divided Germany. That is why diplomats regard it as partly untying the Dulles-Adenauer package.

Dulles may already have induced his British and French friends to go on making German unification the key to European security. But warning signals indicate his policy may prove to be a fragile one.

Mr. Nixon on Art

In a telegram to Harold Zellerbach, president of the San Francisco Art Commission, Vice-President Nixon urged that the public should be given a "full opportunity" to see Victor Arnautoff's caricature of him as "Dick McSmear" which, at Mr. Zellerbach's request, had been removed from the San Francisco art festival. In the Vice-President's view, Mr. Arnautoff has "the right to express his opinion and . . . the people should not be denied a full opportunity to hear or see his expression of that opinion." Mr. Arnautoff's standing as an artist "is attested by the fact that he is on the staff of one of America's great universities [Stanford] . . . And because of the position he holds, his views on any subject have particular significance."

While we applaud the Vice-President's magnanimous attitude, and agree that the public has a right to see Mr. Arnautoff's work (see cover), we cannot refrain from pointing out that Mr. Nixon's views on art have undergone a remarkable transformation since the tide turned against McCarthyism. As long ago as July 18, 1949, Mr. Nixon, then a member of the House, wrote to C. E. Plant, past commander of an American Legion post, about the Anton Refrigier murals in the Rincon Annex of the San Francisco Post Office. "I realize," he said, "that some very objectionable art, of a subversive nature, has been allowed to go into federal buildings in many parts of the country. . . . At such time as we may have a change of Administration and in the majority of Congress, I believe a committee of Congress should make a thorough investigation of this type of art in government buildings with a view to obtaining removal of all that is found to be inconsistent with American ideals and principles" [see *The Nation*, January 10, 1953].

WHO WON IN ARGENTINA?

In The Nation *of June 11, Lisandro Montes wrote from Buenos Aires: "Peron is finished as a political equation." Five days later occurred the unsuccessful putsch against the dictator. In* The Nation *of September 17, Arturo Frondizi, leader of Peron's chief political opposition, the Radical Party, gave warning that the Argentine people would not continue to tolerate Peron's tyranny. The day the issue appeared on the newsstands, the second successful revolt had begun.*

What were the causes of Peron's downfall? Who will gain by it? The following two articles give some of the answers. Carleton Beals, author and lecturer, spent many years in Latin America: Francis Dane, a European journalist with a Latin American background, recently visited Argentina and has followed the story closely.

At The Crossroads

by Carleton Beals

WHEN public leaders utilize the well-worn slogan "for God and Fatherland," they are usually up to no good. Such were the noble words of the leaders of the Argentine military revolt which centered in northwestern Cordoba, the "city of monks and churches." But neither God nor the Fatherland are likely to be overjoyed at the rivalries bound to occur among the generals and admirals for power over the Argentine nation. Whatever the crimes of Juan Peron, it is still too early to tell whether the armed uprising represents freedom or progress.

The revolt sought, first of all, to conserve army-navy privileges menaced by Peron's plans for a counterbalancing labor militia and by the growing disintegration of the political and social coalition he had held together for twelve years by contradictory concessions and balance-of-power-tactics. What made the revolt possible was the military men's knowledge that the country as a whole had turned against the dictator. When on August 31 Peron appealed to his *descamisados*—the "shirtless ones"—to throng the streets in his behalf, the response was poor. It was even worse during the early days of the recent and successful revolt; pro-Peron union leaders, calling for demonstrations against "reaction" by the rank and file, succeeded in bringing out only a few hundred *desperados* instead of the hundreds of thousands of *descamisados* they hoped for.

But if armed force has now rid Argentina of Peron, it has not rid Argentina of the many problems of the industrial revolution. The country's great stresses spring from its rapid industrialization since the beginning of World War II. Then it was still predominantly agricultural and ruled by a feudal pattern. Today only twenty per cent of the people are employed directly in agriculture. The new native industrial class is now more potent economically and politically than the old wheat and meat barons, and a new labor and peasant movement, which has grown from a few hundred thousand to six million, also represents new power, though it has been channeled under Peron into serving the state.

Where does Argentine business—Peron's great ally—now fit into the picture? Peron took over the conservative blueprints for a self-sufficient Argentina—lessened dependence on foreign trade, reduced influence of foreign capital, planned promotion of native industry, and Argentine ownership of resources. At once he bought out the British railroads and utilities, as well as the I. T. and T., and made foreign banks and insurance companies handmaidens of his new policy of industrialization. He revised tariffs, monetary controls, shipping rates.

Such a program called for war on the old feudal aristocracy, symbolized by his suppression of the Jockey Club and *La Prensa*, owned by the richest landholding clan. He promoted Argentine's first peasant organization and enacted his *Ley de Peon:* minimum wage, eight-hour day, proper food and housing, vacations, and medical care. Further to break the feudal hold, he nationalized foreign trade in farm products, using the profits to promote state-private industries, and took over all farm-equipment imports, utilizing distribution as a punitive weapon.

The third step in promoting native industry was to make labor an effective instrument of the state. Strikes then could be directed against foreign enterprise, or if against native industrialists, the state could subsidize either the entrepreneur or labor or both. This pattern is like the one used early in the Mexican revolution and in other southern countries attempting to emerge from colonial dependency. Peron's speeches and legislation suggest that, though with him it was a power game, he was aware of the role he was playing.

Certainly much of his strength was due to the fact that he always had a social program of some sort, and until recently most of his opponents never espoused anything but civil liberties which they never had respected when in office. This was why he was able to split every party from the extreme right to the Communist Party. Long ago the more social-minded in the right-of-center Radical Party went over to him. So did the younger members of the Socialist Party; in one state the entire organization did so. He won to his side the Catholic extremists.

But his recent head-on collision with the church—which has been political, and concerned with privileges, not in any way with religion—was inevitable, for it involved the modernization of the Argentine state in line with his own dictatorial aims and with the new industrialization. His "betrayal" might have been carried through successfully had not the fight coincided with the weakening of his controls in other directions.

Long ago he purged the army, but an army never stays purged. He had "sidetracked" the navy, or so he thought, but its officers are the elite from the wealthiest landholding families, are very pro-Catholic and also super-nationalists. Finally, his church fight coincided with the proposed concession to a Standard Oil company, a touchy matter in Argentina. Many supporters had become disturbed by other concessions also—as those to Kaiser and Odlum of Atlas for rights over resources such as uranium.

And so, at the end, the "nationalists" who as anti-imperialists honestly believe in Argentine economic independence, and the "nationalists" who follow the Spanish phalanx and hate the "Protestant-Jewish-capitalists" of Gringoland, join hands, and the meteoric Juan Peron finds himself outward bound. The question is whether the provisional military government—pro-Catholic, pro-landed aristocracy, and anti-labor—which today rules the country will make good its pledge for free and democratic elections. In other words, which kind of "nationalists" ultimately will come out on top in Argentina?

The Role of Oil

by Francis Dane

WITH Peron out, Standard Oil of California has reason to worry about some of its own plans in Argentina. At stake for the oil company was an agreement with the Peron regime, which needed only the approval of the Argentine Congress to become effective, to explore and exploit the oil potential of an area in Patagonia more than three times the size of Massachusetts—31,000 square miles, more or less. And it is perhaps worth noting that the latest rebellion against Peron broke out a fortnight before the September 30 deadline fixed for legislative approval of the oil deal.

Early this year Arturo Frondizi, leader of the Radical Party opposition to Peron (see his article in *The Nation* of September 17) published an interesting review of the role which oil has played in the political and economic life of Argentina. The study covers the period up to 1943, the year of the military *coup* which culminated in Peron's ascension to power. What emerges clearly from Dr. Frondizi's book is that every Argentine regime since the beginning of the century showed greater zeal in protecting the country's oil resources than has the Peron government, despite the latter's professed devotion to the principles of "economic nationalism" and "anti-imperialism."

Supplementing Dr. Frondizi's book is a pamphlet recently published in Buenos Aires which cites the facts on Peron's oil policy. What is remarkable about this study is that its author, Silenzi de Stagni, was himself a Peronist; he was given a professorship of agricultural and mining law at the University of Argentina during the Peronist regime. Yet the implications of the pamphlet are profoundly anti-Peronist. The author points out that since 1949 the YPF—the national agency set up to exploit the country's oil resources—has been urging that it could cover all domestic oil needs with its own production if the government would supply the necessary equipment. YPF estimated its financial needs at $25,000,000 in foreign currency, a sum which the government consistently refused to advance even though dollars were being squandered for the importing of luxury goods, automobiles, etc. Further, the Peron regime instituted a policy of repression toward the YPF, curtailing its powers, dismissing its workers in arbitrary fashion, and in general destroying its morale.

Since the first of the year rumors began to circulate in Argentina that Peron was preparing an oil "give-away" to American interests. Peron's propagandists set the climate in shrewd fashion: Oil was useless so long as it remained underground, they declaimed; foreign capital and equipment must be brought into the country so that Argentina's oil resources could at last be realized. Peron created the impression that the capital and equipment could be obtained only from the United States. Then, in April, came the agreement signed by Peron's Minister of Industry, Orlando Santos, and the Compania California Argentina de Petroleo S. A., a subsidiary of Standard Oil of California. Some details of the agreement, as reported by J. H. Carmical, petroleum editor of the New York *Times*, are worth giving. Under it the Argentine government

> . . . . will have no control . . . over the administration of the Standard of California subsidiary incorporated in Delaware to direct the Argentine project. . . . For the life of the contract, the company has free import rights for all equipment needed. . . . Funds may be brought into the country without restriction or taxes. All sums received by the company in local currency may be freely remitted abroad at the exchange rate provided in the contract. . . . The company is exempt from all contributions, taxes, and charges, direct or indirect, except income and excess-profits taxes. These are limited to 50 per cent of net profits in any year. . . . No royalty payments on oil are to be exacted. . . .
>
> If the government should terminate the contract, it would have to make payment to the company in dollars of the unrecovered part of the total investment, the probable net profit, based on existing reserves, that the company would have obtained during the remaining life of the contract, and 25 per cent of the field value of the crude oil produced after cancellation from the zones considered to be promising by the company at the time of cancellation. . . .
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> Provision is made for the settling of any disputes regarding economic, financial, commercial, or accounting matters by arbitration.

It is not surprising that an agreement such as this, which virtually creates a state within a state and robs Argentina of sovereignty over some of its own territory, should have aroused bitter and widespread opposition even among Peron's own supporters. A conservative Argentine economist expressed the opinion that the agreement "very nearly creates a new Republic of Panama within the political borders of Argentina."

In any case, many of the military as well as the civil leaders of the revolt of June 16, and also of the latest rebellion, are opposed to the agreement as a surrender of national sovereignty. The conservative Miguel Angel Ortiz, member of the right wing of the Radical Party and a former national deputy, told *Accion* of Montevideo: "National independence cannot be maintained by bartering away the national wealth in a manner reminiscent of a hapless Asia of bygone days." But United States Ambassador Nufer, stationed in Buenos Aires, felt differently about the agreement. In a July 4 speech in the Argentine capital he called it a symbol of the new era of friendship between his country and Argentina.

Once the document was signed, attention focused on its fate in the national legislature. It was not surprising that the main Peronist opposition, the Radical Party, should have made non-approval a primary issue both within the Congress and before the Argentine public. But even the Peronists split wide on so flagrant an issue. Under pressure from both the opposition and its own rank and file, the government announced that it was willing to "reconsider" certain aspects of the contract in the light of parliamentary debates. Renegotiation was under way when the second revolt broke out on September 16.

Meanwhile *Business Week*, in its September 10 issue, had an interesting and highly relevant comment to make in its column headed International Outlook:

> Instability and hatred in Argentina pose a tough problem for the United States. Washington's policy of cooperating with Peron was based on the assumption that he was solidly in control. . . . But if he is ousted only after a long period of repression—and if the United States continues to support him—the next Argentine government may be deeply embittered.
>
> Meanwhile, Peron is continuing to play ball with the United States. Important business interests are at stake.

SOVIET SOCIETY

Is There a Bourgeoisie? . . *by E. H. Carr*

London

A GOOD deal of attention has been given lately to the question of the structure of Soviet society. In a recent B. B. C. broadcast Professor Seton-Watson attempted to establish an analogy between the present ruling class in Soviet society and the ruling class of Victorian England. It was, he suggested, a "state bourgeoisie" instead of a "private bourgeoisie," but still a bourgeoisie—a bourgeois ruling class; and he went on to make comparisons between Soviet and Victorian tastes in architecture and music, to which he attributed a specifically bourgeois character. I may perhaps differ from Professor Seton-Watson less in substance than in terminology. But confused terminology leads to confused thinking, and I want to show here why I find his terminology misleading and suggest some reflections of my own on the structure of Soviet society.

Let us agree, to start with, that every organized society, including Soviet society, throws up a ruling group. Let us also agree that contemporary Russia, like Victorian England, is the product of an industrial revolution. (Incidentally, Great Britain and Russia are the only two great countries which have carried out their industrial revolutions without the aid of foreign capital—a fact which may account for some of the unlovely features which have disfigured both.) I shall refrain from speculating about architecture or music. But it seems to me that it is this common background of industrial revolution which provides the explanation of certain analogies between Victorian literature and current Soviet literature. Both show the same crude moralizing tendencies, the same inclination to paint human conduct in sheer black and white, the same simple, unsophisticated eagerness to reward energy with success and to punish sloth with disgrace. Both inculcate the same virtues of industry and application in work and of respectability and restraint in living. These are the virtues which the ruling group in any rising industrial society will want to inculcate in the rank and file of its people—the duty to work as a service to the community, the duty to save, the duty not to squander scarce resources. This is, broadly speaking, what the Victorians called leading "a godly, righteous, and sober life"; and these are the ideals which Soviet moralists also infuse into Soviet literature for the edification of the Soviet worker.

These are no doubt what we commonly call bourgeois ideals or bourgeois values. But this merely begs the question. These are the ideals and slogans of the industrial revolution; and, with us, the industrial revolution, following hard on the French Revolution, was associated economically with the rise of capitalism and politically with the rise to power of the bourgeoisie or middle class. But in Russia the industrial revolution was associated with a totally different political revolution which inaugurated a totally different economic system. The revolution of 1917 overthrew not only what was left of the old feudal aristocracy, but also the new rising industrial and commercial bourgeoisie; it put into power an entirely fresh group of rulers.

QUARRELS about the use of words are generally pointless; and if Professor Seton-Watson wants to affix the bourgeois label to the ruling group of every industrial society and to define the word "bourgeoisie" in that way, I suppose he is entitled to do so. But to call the Soviet ruling group a bourgeoisie seems to me to have two particular inconveniences. The first objection is that the words "bourgeois" and "bourgeoisie" have

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a specific, and in my view honorable, place in modern history.

The bourgeoisie was the ruling class, and provided the leadership and driving power, in that very great period of history which we sometimes call nineteenth-century civilization. Its twin pillars were the Rights of Man and the Wealth of Nations. It was the great age of the individual. All men were free and equal in the sense that all had equal civil rights. The sole function of the state was to guarantee and protect the enjoyment of those rights. Any organic view of the state, any collective conception of society, was rejected. And the economic order was equally based on the free initiative of the individual in competition with other individuals: "combination" was in principle something bad. In this economic order, private ownership occupied a central place; and this was partly because wealth was the reward and tangible evidence of virtue ("what is a man worth?" meant "how much property does he have?"), and partly because ownership was the essential basis of that private enterprise which made the wheels of industry go round.

PROPERTY was for a long time the condition even of political rights: Marx described forms of property as "the solid basis of the political organization." And this was not a specifically Marxist view. To "have a stake in the country," in the famous Victorian phrase, meant to own property. The last traces of the property franchise did not disappear in this country till well on in the present century. Individual ownership was the basis of bourgeois civilization. "Civil life," says Hauriou in the most famous French nineteenth-century text book of jurisprudence, "consists in the right to utilize *(faire valoir)* one's property." It seems to me that a bourgeoisie which controls neither means of production nor commodities and draws profits neither from production nor from trade is a contradiction in terms. In Soviet Russia we are dealing with a system which, both in theory and practice, rejects every one of the characteristic values for which, historically, the bourgeoisie has stood.

The other objection which I see to this usage is that there was, and to some extent still is, an element in Soviet society which is by common consent properly called bourgeois. When Lenin described the social structure resulting from NEP (the New Economic Policy) he referred to "the cooperation of two classes—workers and peasants—to which are now admitted on certain conditions the nepmen, that is, to say, the bourgeoisie." For Lenin in 1921 the bourgeoisie consisted primarily of the nepmen; the next few years saw the rise of another bourgeois group in the country—the well-to-do peasants or *kulaks*. But the point is that these bourgeois elements in Soviet society—the nepmen and the *kulaks*—were outside the ruling group, and were in the position of members of society who enjoyed temporary toleration because the regime was not strong enough to do without them.

It is true that in the middle-nineteen-twenties some of the Bolshevik leaders, notably Bukharin and Rykov, for a time were indulgent to the claims of the *kulaks*. But this so-called Right opposition was put out of business in 1929. The introduction of the first five-year plan and the collectivization of the peasant sealed the issue. If Soviet Russia had been ruled by a bourgeoisie these events would have been inconceivable. The ruling group in Soviet society was decisively and irrevocably anti-bourgeois. There may still be bourgeois elements in Soviet society today—speculators, contact men, and private traders in town and country. But in so far as these bourgeois elements exist, it is notorious that they exist not because the ruling group likes them or wants them but because it is not strong enough to get rid of them. There are enormous inequalities up and down the scale; the ruling group lives better, far better, than the masses. But this is characteristic of any ruling group in any kind of society. It does not entitle the ruling group in the Soviet Union to the bourgeois label.

BUT let us get away from these questions of terminology and look a little more closely at the composition of this ruling group. I will begin historically. The victors of 1917 thought they were establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat, or, a shade more realistically, a dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. Just as the peasants were encouraged to seize the land, so the workers were encouraged to take over the factories. "Workers' control" was the slogan of the hour. Workers' control did not work, and without it the dictatorship of the proletariat ceased to be a reality and became a symbol. It was replaced by what? The answer is clear. By the dictatorship of the party (a phrase used at the time by Lenin and others, though afterwards rejected as heretical) and later by the dictatorship of the party machine. In other words, if we want to identify the ruling group in Soviet society, we have to look not for a class but for a party.

THE MARXIST class analysis of society was a product of the nineteenth century. Few people are convinced by the famous generalization with which the Communist Manifesto opens, that all history has been the history of class struggles. Marx took what he correctly diagnosed as the most significant feature of contemporary society in Western Europe and sweepingly extended it to other periods, where its application was by no means so clear. Marx never explained what he meant by a class: it probably seemed so obvious a phenomenon of the world in which he lived as not to require definition. But I will take Lenin's definition: "Classes are groups of people of such a kind that one group can appropriate the labor of another, thanks to the difference of their position in the specific structure of the social economy."

This takes account of the two cardinal factors in class. Class is primarily based on common economic interest, but it also acquires a quasi-permanent character conferred on it by social tradition or convention. I have never been altogether happy about the application of the class analysis to countries like the United States where, for historical reasons, this quasi-permanent character is weak or non-existent, or to countries like Czarist Russia where the major divisions of society were not economic, but legal and constitutional; and I feel sure that it is altogether misleading as an explanation of the structure of Soviet society. There is no ruling class in Soviet Russia. There is a ruling group which finds its institutional embodiment in the party.

This is, I think, significant. A

class is an economic formation, a party a political formation. I shall not argue that economic factors play a smaller role in the life of society than in the nineteenth century. But what I would maintain is that the clear-cut line of demarcation between economics and politics which dominated all economic thinking in the nineteenth century, including that of Marx, is out of date. In Soviet Russia, at any rate, economics means politics, and the structure of Soviet society must be analyzed in terms not of economic class but of political party.

AS I HAVE said, the dictatorship of the proletariat was replaced by the dictatorship of the party when workers' control collapsed in the factories. And workers' control collapsed because the workers lacked the necessary technical engineering and managerial skills. One of the first tasks of the party, of the ruling group, was to find the technicians and white-collar workers of all grades to put industry back into production; and the attitude to be adopted to these "specialists," as they were called, was a constant preoccupation of party literature. And when, a few years later, the even more desperate problem was tackled of mechanizing agriculture and introducing modern methods of cultivation, the difficulty once more was to provide not only machinery but skilled personnel to use it and organize its use. It was precisely those specialists who, being indispensable to the regime, came to occupy a leading—and sometimes equivocal—position in the ruling group of what was still called a workers' state; and to study the party's attitude toward them is an important part of the analysis of Soviet society.

From the outset the attitude of the party toward specialists was utterly different from its position on the nepmen. The nepmen, and *a fortieri* the *kulak,* was *ex hypothesi* an enemy of the regime, pursuing aims incompatible with it, tolerated only so long as he had to be. A loyal nepman or a loyal *kulak* was an impossibility; no nepman or *kulak* could conceivably be admitted to the party. The specialist, on the other hand, though by his origins he might be a class enemy like the nepman, was pursuing the aims of the regime whose servant he was. His origins might make him suspect. But he could be, and often was, loyal; and as time went on more and more specialists became party members. Thus, for the specialist, origin was not the determining factor. He might be bourgeois by origin but he was not bourgeois in function. He did not enjoy the economic independence of the *entrepreneur.* On the contrary, he was politically dependent on the government and on the party. If he was successful, success was rewarded not by increased profits but by promotion to a bigger and better job. The soft-pedalling of world revolution, the proclamation of "socialism in one country," and the policy of industrialization eased the process of the assimilation for the specialist. By the end of the nineteen-twenties he had become, by and large, a loyal servant of the regime; the avenues of promotion and of party membership were wide open to him.

I do not think that up to this time the specialist had any important influence on decisions of policy. These were still taken by the old party leadership, by the survivors of the pre-revolutionary party intelligentsia. But in the nineteen-thirties, when a new generation grew up which had never known pre-revolutionary Russia, and when sons of workers had clambered up the educational ladder to the top, the distinctions began to fade. The taint of bourgeois origin was no longer acutely felt; and the whole group of white-collar workers—party officials, government officials, managers, technicians, teachers, doctors, lawyers, and intellectuals of all kinds—began gradually to coalesce. Official pronouncements began to extol the member of this new intelligentsia; the Stalin constitution enfranchised him irrespective of his origin; the party statute of 1939 gave him a

status in the party side by side with the worker and the peasant.

It is in this new intelligentsia, recruited from different class origins, and not constituting a class in the Marxist or Leninist sense of the term, that we must look for the ruling group in Soviet society. This is the group which has substituted itself for the dictatorship of the proletariat; the only theoretical justification for the substitution is that its *raison d'etre* and its purpose—the cementing force which holds it together—is the industrialization of the country. In this respect, it still carries the dynamic of the proletarian revolution; and to this long-term purpose the immediate welfare of the worker, to say nothing of the peasant, will be ruthlessly sacrificed. The ruling group remains pledged to the eradication of everything bourgeois from Soviet society. If it still tolerates a handful of nepmen, it tolerates them because it must. It is engaged in a desperate uphill struggle to turn the *kolkhoz* worker into a good Socialist—a struggle only halted by the still more desperate need to induce him to feed the towns for a meager return in the form of consumer goods. This is the core of the problem which any ruling group that stands for industrialization has to face.

ONE MORE question: How far does this ruling group constitute a closed and privileged social order? Professor Seton-Watson lays stress on the growth of educational privilege. I think too much can be made of this argument. Every ruling group looks after its own, including its own children; and, when good educational facilities are scarce, it will see to it that its children get the best. But the essential fact about Soviet society is that it is the society of an expanding economy; and educational facilities, too, are expanding rapidly. In an expanding society policies of exclusion do not work and do not last. The child of the worker does not, it is true, start level with the child of the party official or of the industrial manager. But the gulf is not unbridgeable, and it seems likely to narrow if the Soviet economy continues to expand at anything like its present rate. So long as this goes on, Soviet society and the ruling group will remain fluid and we shall see further changes. Meanwhile, we only confuse ourselves by attempting to equate the present regime in Russia with anything we have seen in the past—whether with a Czarist autocracy or with a Victorian bourgeoisie. It is a new phenomenon in history, with new merits and new vices, and we had better try to see it for what it is.

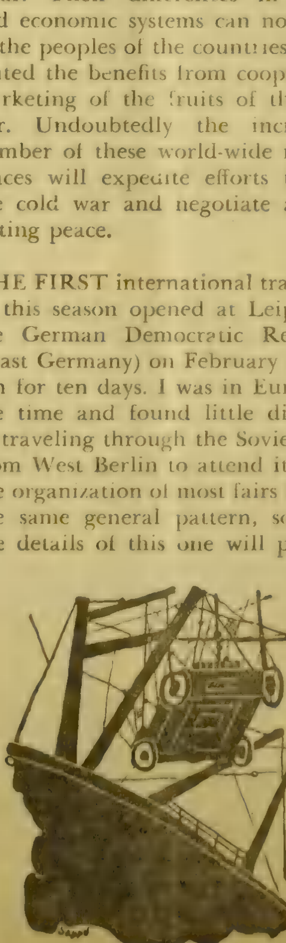
EAST MEETS WEST

Harmony at Trade Fairs . . *by Helen Alfred*

WHILE governments of the East and West are considering positive steps to ameliorate diplomatic relations and halt the mad and burdensome arms race, economic collaboration across the iron curtain is increasing. The many mutual advantages of such cooperation are being demonstrated through the 1955 international trade fairs that have been held during the past spring and summer or are scheduled for the autumn. These great marketing centers are on the calendars of nearly forty European cities, from Britain to Bulgaria and from Sweden to Greece, as well as of Casablanca, Izmir, New Delhi, Tokyo, and Toronto.

European governments and industries have long depended on trade fairs as an effective medium for distributing the food, goods, and services produced in their countries. This year, perhaps more than at any time since World War II, special value attaches to the fairs as they serve to advance the normalization of East-West trade. There is wide participation by buyers and sellers from both capitalist and Socialist countries. All products are exchanged—whether between governments, or between governments and private industries—on the basis of common standards and mutual agreements with respect to trade and payments. The millions of visitors who attend this season's fairs can scarcely fail to be heartened by the fact that the goods on display have been produced, through the enterprise and labor of men and women in all parts of the world, for peaceful purposes. Indeed each international trade fair, even in this period of continuing economic warfare, is a challenging peace show. Its message is clear. Their differences in social and economic systems can not deny to the peoples of the countries represented the benefits from cooperative marketing of the fruits of their labor. Undoubtedly the increasing number of these world-wide market places will expedite efforts to end the cold war and negotiate a firm, lasting peace.

THE FIRST international trade fair of this season opened at Leipzig in the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) on February 28 and ran for ten days. I was in Europe at the time and found little difficulty in traveling through the Soviet Zone from West Berlin to attend it. Since the organization of most fairs follows the same general pattern, some of the details of this one will perhaps serve as an outline of the rest. It was in this handsome old Saxon city that world trade fairs had their beginning some seven hundred years ago when the good burghers decided to open their local *markt* to merchants from beyond the city's walls. For the past century, save for temporary lapses during war periods, a full-blown international trade fair at Leipzig has annually provided common ground for exporters and importers from many countries to exhibit and exchange their wares. In fact residents of Leipzig like to say that their lives have become so conditioned by fair plans and activities they no longer reckon time from month to month but from fair to fair. This year, for the first time since 1945, both spring and autumn fairs were held, the latter one taking place September 4 to 9. Autumn as well as spring fairs are also on the calendar at Cologne, Frankfurt, Utrecht, and Vienna the ostensible purposes being to meet seasonal demands more effectively and to accelerate the progress of national plans and trade objectives.



The fairs are usually sponsored by governments and have financial aid from national and local treasuries. A large share of the overall costs is met through the rental of space to exhibitors and the admission fees of visitors. While the latter may view the exhibits to their hearts' content, and as potential customers are made more than welcome, they may not buy—save eventually, at their hometown shops. While Milan has reputedly the largest fair, at Leipzig the record of attendance this year was 500,000 persons from fifty-four coun-

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HELEN ALFRED, a contributor to The Nation, *attended the Leipzig fair at the request of the Citizens Conference for International Ecoomic Union.*

tries. Among these, 10,687 visitors were from West Germany and 9,912 from other countries of the East and West.

The Leipzig fair is frequently referred to as the gateway to East-West trade. This spring, despite the limiting effects of the cold war, a total of thirty-six countries were represented through 9,767 exhibitors, of which 1,662 were from West Germany and 1,096 from foreign countries—997 from Western ones. Needed to display all these products were thirty-two buildings and halls, covering an area of 307,300 square yards, and an additional 98,000 square yards of open ground.

Viewed as a whole, an international trade fair is a dramatic exposition of the world's economy. The joint exhibits of each country are, for the most part, comprehensive in character but each tends to emphasize some special line of production reflecting the economic geography and the special skills typical of its area. The Leipzig fair was really three fairs in one: the extensive technical fair where emphasis was on heavy machinery and machine tools; the sample fair with varied displays of handicrafts, toys and Christmas decorations, and musical instruments; and the excitingly interesting book fair, housed in the Book Publishing House, showing samples of the fine printing and publishing that long have held a prominent place in Germany's foreign trade. Visitors were given an excellent opportunity to examine, discuss, and close deals for the delivery of a wide variety of products.

EASTERN and Western Germany displayed their impressive machine and engineering exhibit, housed under the same roof, and with the black, red, and gold flag of the old Germany waving harmoniously overhead. However partitioned a nation may be, its divided people still trade with each other, it seems. France, for the first time since the war, took part with a joint exhibition of French industries. There were also nationally sponsored joint displays by Great Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, Argentina, Uruguay, Luxembourg, and other countries of both hemispheres. Indian industries were represented in a charming pavilion of their own. Sweden was there with ten exhibits and 340 buyers. The Soviet Union and the Peoples Republics of China and Czechoslovakia have their own permanent handsome pavilion at Leipzig. Their exhibits of consumer and heavy industrial goods, as well as those of Poland, Rumania, and other countries of the Soviet orbit, manifested the marked industrial progress they all are making.

It was disappointing to an American visitor at Leipzig to find no displays of our nation's farms and factories. However, some of our industries, in cooperation with the Department of Commerce, are participating with exhibits and information booths at twenty-five of the other fairs of Europe and the East this season, though in none of the Soviet orbit. Also, at the last session of Congress, funds were voted for promoting wider representation of American industry at next year's fairs. It is to be hoped this action may be taken as an earnest of the intention of our representatives to take the initiative in promoting other forms of world economic unity. Trade fairs are important, but they must be supplemented by the lowering of artificial barriers to trade. Especially pressing is the need for lifting embargoes on trade between the East and West, including those between the West and the Peoples Republic of China.

THE TOUGH TEAMSTERS

A Study in Pragmatism . . *by Richard Sasuly*

THE fanciest of the new crop of union headquarters in Washington belongs to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. The building is relatively small, but it is heavy with wood and marble adornment. Given a different locale, it could house a movie star or a Middle Eastern oil potentate. As it happens, though, the Teamsters' building stands almost at the foot of Capitol Hill, and its location is perhaps the most impressive thing about it. A strong-armed teamster with a silver dollar to waste could very nearly throw the coin from his union's front steps to the Senate Office Building.

The immediate conclusion drawn by observers is that the Teamsters have set up their legislative representatives for an assault on Congress. This conclusion has one flaw. The I. B. T. has no legislative representative.

It might also be thought the new building has something to do with lobbying by Teamsters from other parts. But this idea also contains a flaw: the Teamsters do not bring delegations to Washington.

Some organizations launch national organizing drives from Washington. And certainly any director of organization would be happy with an office in the new Teamster building. Only: the Teamsters have no director of organization.

None of this in any way suggests that either the size or strength of the union is an illusion. Neither does it mean the Teamsters are politically ignorant. They are not. They already knew something about politics —in distinction to what has come to be known as "political action"— back in the days when the head office was in Indianapolis and President Dan Tobin's brother did the shopping for the I. B. T. on the Hill in Washington.

A good deal has been written about the current boom in union-headquarters buildings in Washing-

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RICHARD SASULY, author of "I. G. Farben," writes frequently on labor topics.

ton. The A. F. of L. will move from a small, dowdy, old-fashioned building in a corner of downtown Washington to a handsome pile scarcely a block from the White House. Among others, the International Association of Machinists (A. F. of L.) has nudged its way into an area bordering on Embassy Row and its building site proclaims the I. A. M. as America's fastest growing union. It has been assumed that finally the unions are going into politics on a more professional basis. Actually they have been there for some time, and the physical appearance of headquarters in Washington will not materially change matters. But the union building boom does tell something about the labor movement today — and the Teamsters union is a good case in point.

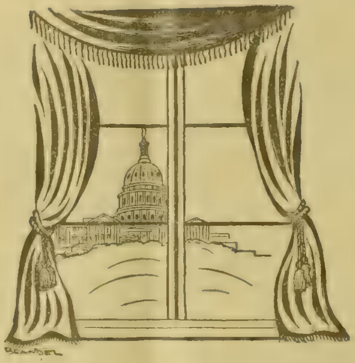
In the past twenty years, unions led by such men as John Lewis, Philip Murray, Harry Bridges, or Walter Reuther have often made front-page news across the country. Not so the Teamsters, and yet today the Teamsters union is in a fair way to overshadow them all.

THE very name of the union indicates this was not always so. Well within the memory of living men, the union's full name was International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen, and Helpers. Dan Tobin took over the presidency in 1907, just four years after the union was founded in 1903. He remained chief until he was drydocked as president emeritus to make way for Dave Beck.

The union reacted rather phlegmatically to the gasoline engine and the power which trucking would bring it. In due course it dropped the word "stablemen" from its name and added "warehousemen." Then for the most part it continued in its original way, which was to smooth out competition among the various crafts associated with horse-drawn vehicles.

When Dan Tobin began his forty-five years as I. B. T. president, the membership totaled about 116,000. For the next twenty years it stayed at about the same level: it rose to 137,000 by 1910, fell to 111,000 in 1920, dropped to a depression low of 82,000, and rose again to 161,000 in 1936. Within the A. F. of L., it trailed behind the Mine Workers and the Carpenters.

In 1937 something happened to change the drift of American labor history. The I. B. T. had nothing to do with the change, and yet it turned out to be one of the chief beneficiaries. After some months of intermittent conversations, John L. Lewis and Myron Taylor announced on March 2, 1937, that they had signed a labor contract for United States Steel. The agreement between the head of the C. I. O. and the chairman of the nation's greatest steel concern at one blow fixed a pattern for a quarter of a million workers in basic industry. Within a year, the C. I. O. Steel Workers Organizing Committee had roughly 500,000 workers under contract. It far outdistanced the I. B. T., though at the time no one would have thought of making the comparison. During the winter of 1936-37, the C. I. O. had broken into the automobile industry through the sitdown strikes and thereby served notice that for the first time all basic industry in the United States faced organization. The C. I. O. by no means proved that it could organize any given corporation. But it did demonstrate that American labor had found a workable formula which would succeed in most plants most of the time.



THE Lewis-Taylor agreement symbolized a decision evidently reached informally by most American employers. The decision was to live with labor on some new terms, since in most places unions could no longer be kept out altogether. Experiments with company unions generally failed, leaving employers with one alternative: to exercise choice and to do business with legitimate but conservative unions where possible. This became a chief by-product of the steel agreement. It explains the fact that during and after World War II the A. F. of L. overtook the C. I. O. in membership, passed it, and eventually outnumbered it 2 to 1. In area after area the C. I. O. sent in the organizers and did the basic job of organizing the big plant, while the A. F. of L. picked up everything else in sight automatically.

The A. F. of L. unions reacted in various ways to the windfall which lay in the wake of the Lewis-Taylor agreement. They had different capabilities and they lived in different situations. But the one union above all others in a position to profit by the new prosperity was the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. For the I. B. T. held the crossroads. It had the economic leverage to pull big weight in any situation. Because trucks move in and out of every plant its jurisdiction reaches everywhere. No other union can so speedily cut off such an overwhelming variety of businesses by striking.

There is nothing to indicate that the old Teamster leadership set out to exploit the union's power to the utmost. The potential, though, was great enough so that the union grew steadily once the C. I. O. and John L. Lewis had set the new pattern. By 1940, the Teamsters approached a half million. By 1948 they passed 900,000. They crossed the million-member mark in 1950. Today the union totals about 1,400,000 and has outstripped all other A. F. of L. unions. In size it at least equals and has probably moved ahead of the two big C. I. O. unions, the auto workers and steel workers.

In due course Dan Tobin was pushed aside by Dave Beck, the hustling, eager, self-made business man who ran the I. B. T. in the West and built up his region into the strongest in the union. Beck in national office has not turned out to be another Lewis, however, and attention is centering more and more on his apparent heir and rival, James R. Hoffa of Detroit. Hoffa heads the Midwest teamster conference, parallel to Beck's old organization in the Far West. At present he stands only ninth among the union's vice-presidents, but he is stamped with the pattern that typifies eminence in the Teamsters.

Beck, as he rose to power, seemed to embody every booster-club virtue to be found in a union head. The

Western teamsters under him used rough methods where they worked, but Beck himself followed Chamber of Commerce precepts. He smiled and slapped backs and joined organizations and amassed personal property, and in due course he arrived at the station of president of the board of regents for the University of Washington.

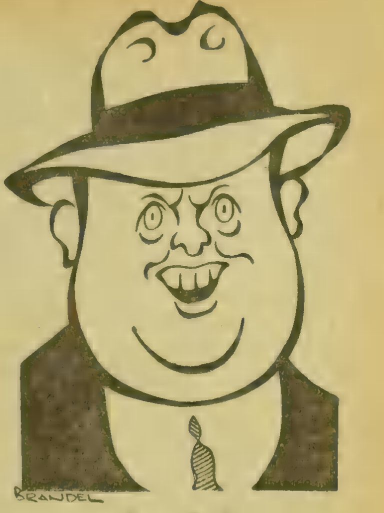
Hoffa, too, has every quality of a rough-hewn young executive. He has drive and ability and is still in his forties. One union official described Hoffa as having a record of "no drink, no chase—he just likes money." It is also acknowledged that Hoffa has had questionable associations, as in his pension-fund dealings. But he has made other connections in the course of throwing the weight of pension money around. Beck flew out to sign the Teamsters' contract with Montgomery Ward, but Hoffa had done the ground work. For the first time on a grand scale, labor intervention in a management fight within a big corporation led to the signing of a union contract. It has been pointed out that the money Hoffa could put into Montgomery Ward stock at the height of Sewell Avery's proxy fight with Louis Wolfson, while it ran into seven figures, amounted to very little in percentage. However, according to one plausible report, Hoffa was able to use various business connections and leverages to line up a bloc of pro-Avery votes far larger than his own holdings.

Business connections like this must have some political effect. And the effect is not New Dealish. Hoffa backed Homer Ferguson's unsuccessful attempt to retain his United States Senate seat in Michigan in 1954. Apparently this resulted not from any great dislike for P. V. McNamara, the man who won with United Auto Workers backing, but from Hoffa's greater obligation to Ferguson and his friends. Beck did not interfere in Hoffa's bad guess in the 1954 campaign. Beck goes eagerly to the White House when bidden, and the relatively quiet opening of the Teamsters' Washington building in July may have reflected a hope that President Eisenhower might make the formal unveiling speech on Labor Day. As a point of reference, it may be recalled that Franklin D. Roosevelt's political masterpiece was a speech he made at a Teamster banquet. Dan Tobin was the solidest Democrat in the A. F. of L. high command, but the Teamsters are nothing if not realists.

In dealing with other unions, the Teamsters follow a course of their own. Beck has paid lip service to the merger between A. F. of L. and C. I. O. But the I. B. T. alone among the leaders in both camps refused to sign a no-raid pact. The C. I. O. continues to complain about Teamster raids. And the Teamsters continue to work out pacts of their own devising. For example, the I. B. T. does have a joint organizing agreement, which is also a no-raid pact, with the Amalgamated Association of Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen. It has similar arrangements with several construction unions, aimed principally at District 50 of the United Mine Workers. It seems to have such an agreement in effect with the independent International Longshoremens Association, no matter how much George Meany and the A. F. of L. leadership may lambast continued corruption on the New York waterfront.

WHICH way is the Teamsters union headed now? For one thing it can be assumed that the Teamster heads will make some effort at centralization. Whatever else it may be, the handsome new building in Washington is a tangible and expensive gesture toward pulling the huge, sprawling union together, whether under Beck or Hoffa. National coordination is also provided by no less than fifteen trade departments. Legal angles bulk large in the work of a businesslike union, and the Teamsters' lawyers meet annually in what amounts to a convention of their own. No less than eighty lawyers who represent the Teamsters in one place or another attended the last such meeting, in Washington during May.

Beyond this the roads divide. Pointing one way is the union's record on a long list of topics: It organizes from on top. It practices high corporation politics, in the same way as big business concerns. It has a history of thuggery. It does not hesitate to endorse anti-labor politicians. Its constitution is no model of democracy. It spends lavishly for the comfort of its officials. In all these respects the I. B. T. could serve as a model for something like an anti-democratic labor front, if the United States is to have one.



Dave Beck

And yet the I. B. T. gropes in another direction too. Like all unions, the Teamsters have long made motions toward organizing the South. So far the South has yielded little ground to organizing drives. It thus remains a constant threat and pressure on the flank of any union which operates on a national scale. The Teamster union's own expansion has inevitably made it Southern-conscious too.

The possibility of an organized South brings up a dizzying prospect of profound changes nationally. Union organization might be the key to revamping the Democratic Party in the South. And, in their own curious way, the Teamsters could be the spearhead of a successful Southern organizing drive. They have long since demonstrated that they don't care whom they do business with, so long as there is something tangible to gain. Hoffa supported Republicans in Michigan. Hoffa is the strong man behind the Southern Conference of Teamsters, and at its annual meeting last May, the chief political speaker was Judge Ralph Yarborough of Austin, Texas, the liberal who nearly broke the Shivers machine in the last gubernatorial race in Texas. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters grew strong as the union of choice of conservative business, yet it might still provide the leverage for breaking into the open-shop preserves of the South.

JUSTICE IN SUMNER

Land of the Free . . *by Dan Wakefield*

Sumner, Mississippi

THE CROWDS are gone and this Delta town is back to its silent, solid life that is based on cotton and the proposition that a whole race of men was created to pick it. Citizens who drink from the "Whites Only" fountain in the courthouse breathe much easier now that the two fair-skinned half brothers, ages twenty-four and thirty-six, have been acquitted of the murder of a fourteen-year-old Negro boy. The streets are quiet, Chicago is once more a mythical name, and everyone here "knows his place."

When the people first heard that there was national, even worldwide publicity coming to Sumner and the murder trial they wondered why the incident had caused such a stir. At the lunch recess on the first day of the trial a county health-office worker who had stopped by to watch the excitement asked a visiting reporter where he was from, and shook his head when the answer was New York City.

"New York, Chicago, everywhere," he said. "I never heard of making such a mountain of a molehill."

The feeling that it all was a plot against the South was the most accepted explanation, and when Roy Bryant and J. W. Milam ambled into court September 19 they were armed not only with their wives, baby boys, and cigars, but the challenge of Delta whites to the interference of the outside world. The issue for the local public was not that a visiting Negro boy named Emmett Louis Till had been dragged from his bed and identified later as a body that was pulled from the Tallahatchie River with a seventy-pound cotton-gin fan tied around its neck with barbed wire—that issue was lost when people learned that the world was clamoring to have something done about it. The question of "nigger-killing" was coupled with the threat to the racial traditions of the South, and storekeepers set out jars on their counters for contributions to aid the defense of the accused murderers.

Donations to the fund disqualified several prospective jurors, as prosecutors Gerald Chatham, district attorney, and Robert B. Smith, special assistant attorney general appointed to the case, probed carefully at every candidate for a day and a half before accepting the jury. Judge Curtis Swango, a tall, quietly commanding man, combined order with a maximum of freedom in the court, and when he had Cokes brought in for the jury it seemed as appropriate courtroom procedure as pounding the gavel.

WHILE the jury selections went on inside, the crowds outside the building grew—and were automatically segregated. Aging, shaggy-cheeked Anglo-Saxons with crumpled straw hats lined a long wooden bench. Negroes gathered across the way at the base of the Confederate statue inscribed to "the cause that never failed." The Negro numbers increased, but not with the Negroes of Sumner. A red-necked deputy whose pearl-handled pistol showed beneath the tail of his sportshirt explained that the "dressed-up" Negroes were strangers. "Ninety-five per cent of them's not ours," he said. "Ours is out picking cotton and tending to their own business."

Moses Wright, a Negro locally known as a good man who tends to his business, was the state's first witness. He pressed his back against the witness chair and spoke out loud and clear as he told about the night two white men came to his house and asked for "the boy from Chicago—the one that did the talking at Money"; and how the big, balding man came in with a pistol and a flashlight and left with Emmett Till. Mose fumbled several times under cross-examination but he never lost his straightforward attiture or lowered his head. He still of course was "old man Mose" and "Uncle Mose" to both defense and prosecution, but none of that detracted from the dignity of how he told his story.

The rest of the week he was seen around the courthouse lawn with his pink-banded hat tilted back on his head, his blue pants pulled up high on a clean white shirt by yellow-and-brown suspenders. He walked through the Negro section of the lawn with his hands in his pockets and his chin held up with the air of a man who has done what there was to do and could never be touched by doubt that he should have done anything less than that.

When Mose Wright's niece, Mrs. Mamie Bradley, took the stand it was obvious as soon as she answered a question that she didn't fit the minstrel-show stereotype that most of Mississippi's white folks cherish. Nevertheless, the lawyers of both sides were careful to always address her as "Mamie," which was probably wise for the favor of the jury, since a Clarksdale, Mississippi, radio station referred to her as "Mrs. Bradley" on a news broadcast and spent the next hour answering calls of protest.

J. J. "Si" Breland, dean of the defense attorneys, questioned her while he remained in his seat, occasionally slicing his hands through the air in the quick, rigid motions he moved with throughout the trial. She answered intelligently, steadily, slightly turning her head to one side as she listened to questions, replying with a slow, distinct emphasis. "Beyond the shadow of a doubt," she said, "that was my boy's body."

AT lunchtime recess the crowds around the soft-drink and sandwich concession debated her identification of her son, and many were relieved in the afternoon session when Tallahatchie County Sheriff H. C. Strider squeezed his 270 pounds in the wit-

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DAN WAKEFIELD is a free-lance writer who was assigned by The Nation *to cover the Sumner trial.*

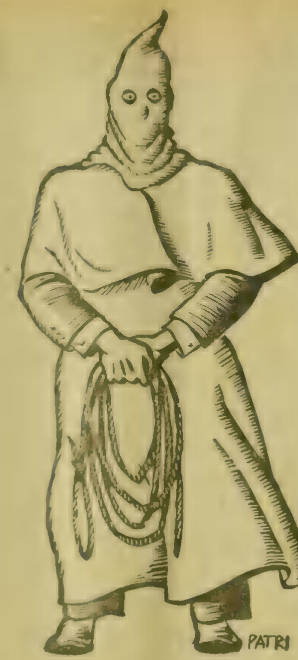
ness chair and said the only thing he could tell about the body that had come from the river was that it was human.

Sheriff Strider, who owns 1,500 acres of cotton land, farms it with thirty-five Negro families, has the grocery store and filling station on it, and operates a cotton-dusting concern with three airplanes, is split in his commitments in a way that might qualify him as the Charles E. Wilson of Tallahatchie County. What's good for his feudal plantation is good for the county, and his dual role as law-enforcement officer and witness for the defense evidently didn't seem contradictory to him. His commitments were clear enough that prosecution lawyers once sent two state policemen to search a county jail for one Leroy "Too-Tight" Collins, a key witness for the prosecution who was missing (and never found).

There were still missing witnesses, dark, whispered rumors of fleeing men who saw the crime committed, when Gerald Chatham tugged the sleeves of his shirt and walked over to the jury Friday morning to make the summation of the case for the prosecution. Both he and Smith, who is a former F. B. I. man, had followed every lead and sent state policemen driving through the countryside in search of the Mississippi witnesses, but only two of the four who were named—Willie Reed and Mandy Brandley—were found. The time had come for Chatham to work with what he had.

IN A matter of minutes from the time he started talking the atmosphere of the court was charged with tension as he raised his arm toward the ceiling and shouted that "the first words offered in testimony here were dripping with the blood of Emmett Till." The green plaster walls of the room had grown darker from the clouds of the rain that was coming outside, as Chatham went on with the tones, the gestures, the conviction of an evangelist, asserting that "the guilty flee where no man pursueth," and retelling the story of the boy's abduction in the dark of night.

J. W. Milam, the bald, strapping man who leaned forward in his seat during most of the sessions with his mouth twisted in the start of a smile, was looking at a newspaper.



Roy Bryant lit a cigar. With his eyebrows raised and his head tilted back he might have been a star college fullback smoking in front of the coach during season and asking with his eyes "So what?"

When Chatham was finished, C. Sidney Carlton, the able attorney for the defense whose large, fleshy face was usually close to where the cameras were clicking, poured a paper cup of water from the green pitcher on the judge's desk, and opened his summation. He spoke well, as usual, but after Chatham's oratory he was doomed to anticlimax. There had been a brief rain and the sun was out with more heat than ever. Defense attorney J. W. Kellum, speaking briefly after Carlton before the noon recess, had the odds of discomfort against his chances of stirring the jury, but he did his best with the warning that the jurors' forefathers would turn in their graves at a guilty verdict. And then he asked what was undoubtedly the question of the week. If Roy and J. W. are convicted of murder, he said, "where under the shining sun is the land of the free and the home of the brave?"

The question was a fitting prelude to the harangue of John Whitten, the defense's last speaker. The clean-shaven, pale young man in a neatly pressed suit and white shirt that defied perspiration announced his faith that "every last Anglo-Saxon one of you men in this jury has the courage to set these men free."

Mr. Whitten went on to declare he had an answer for the state's most convincing evidence—the ring of Emmett Till that was found on the body discovered in the Tallahatchie River. The body really wasn't Emmett Till, Whitten said, and the ring might have possibly been planted on it by the agents of a sinister group that is trying to destroy the social order of the South and "widen the gap which has appeared between the white and colored people in the United States."

He didn't name any group, but the fondly nurtured local rumor that the whole Till affair was a plot on the part of the N. A. A. C. P. made naming unnecessary.

It took the twelve jurors an hour and seven minutes to return the verdict that would evidently help close the gap between the white and colored races in the land of the free and the home of the brave. Tradition, honor, God, and country were preserved in a package deal with the lives of Roy Bryant and J. W. Milam.

REPORTERS climbed tables and chairs to get a glimpse of the acquitted defendants, and the newspaper, magazine, and television cameras were aimed at the smiles of their wives and families in a flashing, buzzing finale. Then the agents of the outside world disappeared in a rush to make their deadlines and the stale, cluttered courtroom was finally empty of everything but mashed-out cigarettes, crushed paper cups, and a few of the canvas spectator chairs that the American Legion had sold across the street for two dollars each.

The trial week won't be forgotten here soon, and glimpses of the "foreign" Negroes who don't till cottonfields but hold positions as lawyers, doctors, and Congressmen have surely left a deep and uncomfortable mark on the whites of the Delta. But at least for the present, life is *good* again. Funds are being raised for separate-and-equal school facilities in Tallahatchie County and on Wednesdays at lunchtime four of the five defense attorneys join with the other Rotarians of Sumner in a club song about the glad day "When men are one."

BOOKS

Education by Escapade

CONFESSIONS OF FELIX KRULL, CONFIDENCE MAN. By Thomas Mann. Translated from the German by Denver Lindley. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.50.

By Carlos Baker

WHEN Thomas Mann died in Zurich last August 12 at the age of eighty, he had roughly planned out the second part of his picaresque novel about Felix Krull, son of a petty bourgeois vintner from a town in the Rhineland near Mainz. This was to have covered another twenty years in the felicitous career of Felix, taking him into and out of marriage, into and out of prison, and up to the point in London where the hero, a trifle jaded like Byron's Don Juan in England, would sit down to make a final accounting of his gentlemanly progress through the capitals and boudoirs of Europe. Death intervened before Mann was ready to set pen to paper. The present volume incorporates, with minor changes, the fragment on Krull's early life up to the death of his father, which was composed as far back as 1911. So this is the sum of what we are going to learn of the fortunes of Krull the Magnificent who, by dint of self-discipline and the intuitive ability to manipulate the ruling passions of other people, rises rapidly from the position of waiter in a Paris hotel to that of a simulated marquis who enjoys a carefully calculated social triumph among the upper classes of Lisbon.

"Confidence Man" is not a good designation for Krull. It is in fact a questionable translation of *Hochstapler*, which means a non-criminal adventurer, a gentleman of fortune, a polite pretender who takes esthetic delight in living above his social means and birthright, an opportunistic assumer-of-guises, skilled in quick invention and always ready to seize the advantage of luck when it arises. "Semper Paratus" might be his motto. The first twenty-odd years of his career form a *Bildungsroman* whose subtitle could be Education by Escapade. Though most readers are likely to begin by detesting the boy Krull was in the 1880's, they may well conclude with at least a grudging admiration for the ironically droll means by which he achieved the status of the man he became in 1895.

For Krull is the type of the artist. Though he dabbles at drawing, his real medium is neither charcoal nor paper. It is rather his own person, his special identity both as body and as personality. This he regards as something to be cared for, hung with fine raiment, guided, disciplined, and trained, and brought finally to the highest point of development of which he is capable. Like many other artists, Krull is a complete egotist who not only takes the world as his oyster but also insists that the sauce must be of the best quality and freshly made. His joy comes in watching the process of self-transformation, as if the first mere blocked-in sketch of a self-portrait were to be gradually enriched and deepened with subtle modulations of color ever more subtly laid on.

IF HE develops his self-portrait in the manner of a painter, he is a veritable musical virtuoso in his ability to command the responses of others. "Do you think that I am easier to be played on than a pipe?" cries Hamlet to Guildenstern. Krull early finds that he knows the kind of sounds others can be made to emit if he presses the proper stops and employs just the right pressure of breath. Some of the best comic scenes in the book show his usage of this power. By means of it he secures such diverse ends as rejection from service in the German army, easy passage through the customs at the French border, and full conquest of one Mme. Houpfle, the adventurous wife of a manufacturer of bathroom equipment, while Felix is serving as elevator boy at the Hotel Saint James and Albany in Paris. Between this artist and society no rift exists. Society is his instrument, responding precisely and predictably to his operations, whether in gently deflecting the advances of the Scottish lord who wishes to adopt him or neatly falling in with the plan of a French marquis who wishes to exchange identities with him.

But Felix Krull is chiefly an actor, continually engaged with that highest point of the actor's art, the ability not merely to play a part but rather to become, through and through, the personage whose qualities he assumes. He feels only scorn for his unprepossessing mother and his self-indulgent father whose life begins with feasting and fireworks and ends with bankruptcy and suicide. They are victims of selfhood where their son's whole orientation is toward victory through selfhood. This is why Felix makes such a point of criticizing the champagne called Loreley, a poor wine dressed out in the richest-looking of bottles with the most ostentatious of labels, and gleaming with silver foil and golden tassels: the *chef d'oeuvre* of the firm of Engelbert Krull. Nothing will satisfy Felix but an absolute high conformity and even identity between that which a thing pretends outwardly to be and that which the thing inwardly is. This again explains his shocked apprehension, during his first visit to the theater, of the gap between the actor on stage and the actor in his dressing-room. The great Muller-Rose utterly charms his audience with the fluid grace of his performance, the nicety of his every gesture, the *joie de vivre* which he projects across the footlights without seeming effort. Afterwards Felix disgustedly breathes the foul eighteenth-century stench of the actor's dressing-room, watches him remove layers of greasepaint with a filthy towel, and discovers that the arms and shoulders of his paragon crawl and bleed with pustulent infections. Krull's whole future life, so far as we know it, might be described as the effort to close the gap between appearance and reality: to make appearance such a work of art, in fact, that reality could not help conforming to it.

Mann's craft, in both senses, is everywhere evident. He constructs his picaresque novel, a notoriously loose form, with classic symmetry and organic unity. Nothing in Krull's youth but what prepares him to assume the role of the Marquis

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de Venosta, and the easy domination of Portuguese society from the king down. It is not too far down, either, for the capitulation of both the proud Zouzou Kuckuck and her queenly mother brings the novel to something like a Byronic climax. Moreover, it is Mann's semi-private joke to tell this story of a highflying dissembler in a parody of Goethe's autobiographical style, a fact which multiplies ad infinitum the novel's incipient ironies. One may even suspect that Krull is meant as an example of the Daemonic element on which Goethe comments at the end of *"Dichtung und Wahrheit."* Those who possess it, says Goethe, "exercise an incredible dominion over all creatures." Against it, the combined moral powers of society are of no avail. Such men "are to be overcome by nothing but the universe itself." When we leave Felix Krull, the universe has shown no signs of punitive action whatsoever.

Agile Pen and Dry Mind

BAND OF ANGELS. By Robert Penn Warren. Random House. $3.95.

By Maxwell Geismar

MR. WARREN'S new novel has been described as a major work, the best book of the year, a magnificent epic, etc., by a group of reviewers who should know better. Mr. Warren has never been a primary fiction writer: that is to say, either a writer whose primary source is life experience, or a writer whose work is of major importance. His talent is literary and derivative; it is often only a bright mirror of the fashionable influences of his period. He is a formalist and conceptualist—the perfect example of the dry mind—who writes very well indeed, but who views life in terms of abstractions.

His earlier novels showed this very clearly. He was submerged in a Faulknerian decadence which he presented in a diluted and more analytical form. His emotions as a novelist were never related to people or to life situations, but floated, desperately, in the air. In his best work, "All the King's Men," the dramatic situation and the richness of the material—and Mr. Warren's more genuine and poetic sense of *place*—compensated in part for these limitations. But since then his work has declined sharply, even while it has slid in the general direction of Hollywood. I have always had a certain respect for Mr. Warren's intellectual force, but "Band of Angels" seems to me a low point.

At best it is a sophisticated revival of the Southern romances of the 1900's. The heroine is the daughter of a Kentucky landlord who discovers, on the eve of the Civil War, that she has Negro blood, and that her father was bankrupt at his death. She is sold into slavery as a result—but a very benevolent kind of slavery. Her new owner, Hamish Bond, becomes a father-lover symbol to her, because he has himself indulged in the slave trade and knows its horrors and is full of repentance. So full! He has adopted another regal black soul, Rau-Ru, as a foster son; his slaves are almost—if never quite—free men. What Mr. Warren creates here is practically an idyll of slavery in the Old South, and it certainly seems so when the war does break out.

The scene has shifted to New Orleans, where the radical Northerners incite the ignorant ex-slaves to violence which leads to their own destruction. Whatever could be said against the slave-owning class, so Mr. Warren implies, they knew how to handle their Negroes. The Northerners are very ignorant about this. The carpetbaggers cheat and abuse the black workers even more; the Northern generals who occupied New Orleans are stupid and corrupt. The heroine, Amantha Starr, marries a New England idealist who becomes a drunkard when he sees his illusion of the liberation vanish in the face of reality.

But is this reality—or the product of a mediocre fancy? I have summarized "Band of Angels" a little bluntly perhaps, but this is the true import of the novel underneath the rhetorical eloquence and the philosophical disquisitions. Since the people are puppets, the historical background of the story becomes its single virtue. But since Mr. Warren's basic sympathies lie with a literary legend of the Old South, it is difficult for him to describe the real issues of the Civil War in an intelligent light. That this picture of a fratricidal conflict should be called the product of a brilliant historical imagination, as it has been, seems to me a measure of an epoch which is busily revising the whole meaning of our national heritage.

On a symbolic level, "Band of Angels" is a study of Amantha's struggle for "freedom," which comes to her finally not from the North or the South but from her own heart. Yet the core of Mr. Warren's work has never been the search for, or inquiry into, any kind of social or human liberation: but rather a kind of corrosive cynicism and despair about all forms of freedom. This sense of self-imprisonment is never really related to the present heroine, who has no heart to begin with, but it is the one genuine thing in the book.

MAXWELL GEISMAR is the author of several volumes of literary studies about the American novel, and a contributing editor to The Nation.

Naples

A man-face gathered on the eyes of a child
measures me from an alleyway. The child
stirs, but the face has lost its motion:
the face stares at the traffic and the child
picks with one finger at a scab on his knee.
Not looking at it. Not knowing it is there.

He stares at me. I am part of what he knows.
I am the traffic forever in his eyes
and damnation, the way all worlds go
leaving him neither admission nor understanding,
as somewhere in a thicket like the mind
a gargoyle might stare down at running water.

JOHN CIARDI

Unsuccessful Reverse

WATERFRONT. By Budd Schulberg. Random House. $3.95.

By Bernard D. Nossiter

REVERSING the usual order, Budd Schulberg has fleshed out his commercially successful scenario to produce a novel. Most of the scenes and large chunks of dialogue that mesmerized movie audiences are here reduced to the printed page. The book, like the picture, hurries from event to event, almost as if Elia Kazan were peering over Schulberg's shoulder muttering, "Make it move, make it move."

Once again, that unlikely trio, an ex-pug longshoreman, a pretty Catholic virgin, and a colloquial priest team up to save the waterfront for clean, Catholic-American unionism. But events have a way of outrunning the slickest writers. Instead of the fight between good (Marlon Brando) and evil (Lee J. Cobb) that climaxed Kazan's waterfront western, the novel ends on a puzzled, querulous note with Schulberg imploring us, "What Hoppen?"

The picture at least caught for us the sight, smell, and taste of the longshoreman's setting. The novel lamely tells us most Americans don't live in railroad flats.

At a time in our literature when most talented young men are concerned with intimate dissections of fragile psyches, the gentle reader waits impatiently for novels of three-dimensioned characters interacting with a real world. But Schulberg offers us outsized screen figures. The great naturalists awakened our understanding of life with fresh insights into the human condition; perhaps today writers are afraid to describe a social reality unless it is a state-sanctioned aspect.

Can anyone believe a priest in a dockside parish could know nothing of the way his parishioners live and work until a young girl taunts him? Is Terry, the fighter who finally tells all to the crime commission, man or Marlon? Does Schulberg really think Terry acquiesces in waterfront violence and extortion because his "inability to look into himself or experience anything other than immediate pleasure or pain was nothing but sloth?" Equally improbable is Katie the virgin's literal Catholicism being fired into militant revenge by the murder of her brother.

To be sure, the author of "What Makes Sammy Run" is a polished technician with a knack for taut, dramatic dialogue. There is poignancy and tense understatement in the duet between Terry and his brother, the fast-talking henchman of the racketeer unionist, as they ride to the brother's doom. Father Barry's moving speech to the longshoreman, "Christ stands alongside you in the shapeup," is a stunning piece of imagery and polemic.

SCHULBERG, too, has a reporter's eye. He reproduces accurately the dock worker's sense of being outside the pale and his solidarity against even well-intentioned intruders. His novel exploits some of the freedom that taboo-ridden movies are denied. Mr. Big, a shadowy figure before a TV set in the picture, here is boss of a stevedore concern, bribing union officials because "it was quicker and cheaper to pay ten thousand on the line than to deal with the complicated demands of a genuine union." Schulberg explicitly states one of the waterfront's surface axioms, "Politicians, shipowners, and racketeers, that was the axis on the waterfront." He even allows himself to observe that a Monsignor supports this alliance, but mutes the thrust by concluding that the church is really on Father Barry's side if only he wouldn't move so fast.

But underneath this skin lie some very brittle bones. Father Barry looks to a Christian revolution to rescue the docks from communism and the International Longshoremen's Association. In an age when organized religion is a vestigial institution, manipulated by other, more powerful social and economic forces, the Barry-Schulberg mystique is singularly fanciful. Again, Father Barry urges the dockers to cooperate with the crime commission because it is the "state—which is after all only you and you and everybody else." When it comes to political science in the raw, uneducated waterfront workers could tell Schulberg a thing or two about the nature of the state and whose side it is on. If, in his Hollywood youth, Schulberg had visited San Francisco and other West Coast ports, where a rotary hiring hall and stiff contracts have been routine for a generation, he might have written a different book.

But instead, he is forced to tack on a bewildered ending. He reads the newspapers and discovers that the investigation was held, all the forces of the state and some labor respectables combined to oust the I. L. A., and yet the men, in two secret ballots, stood by their old union. In Father Barry's final words, "Had the mountain strained to bring forth a mouse?"

BERNARD D. NOSSITER was recently on the staff of a New York metropolitan daily.

Accidents Make History

CHANCE OR DESTINY. Turning Points in American History. By Oscar Handlin. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. $3.75.

By Ray Ginger

THIS is a little book, some 50,000 words, but it propounds an enormous thesis. Mr. Handlin, winner of a Pulitzer Prize for History in 1952, argues that those who have sought to make history a science have been bemused by the search for order and inevitability, for historical laws. They have not sufficiently heeded the influence of individuals and of blind accident.

American history has been, in Handlin's view, "a succession of points, with every point a turning point." And at the turning points, chance and individual personalities have exerted a decisive force. He illustrates this thesis by discussing eight diplomatic and military episodes: the Battle of Yorktown, the Louisiana Purchase, the explosion of a cannon on the *Princeton* in 1844 and the subsequent naming of Calhoun as Secretary of State, the battle of Gettysburg, the purchase of Alaska, the Pacific phase of the Spanish-American War, the sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1915 by a Ger-

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RAY GINGER formerly taught at Harvard University.

man submarine, and Pearl Harbor.

On each of these occasions, so Handlin tells us, chance was the thing. If an accidental freeze had not locked a French fleet in a Dutch harbor in 1802, plus a couple of other fortuitous occurrences, "Louisiana might long have remained foreign soil, an imposing barrier in the way of any future thrust to the Pacific." If that gun had not blown up on the *Princeton*, the annexation of Texas, the Mexican War, the Civil War itself, might not have happened. If a Russian adventurer had not fallen in love with the shape of a Spanish girl's face in California, a Russian army might today be poised at Juneau. A French Louisiana, a Mexican California, a Russian Alaska: only a series of accidents saved us from this. It fairly makes the blood curdle.

It does, that is, if you believe it. And readers whose knowledge of these incidents is limited to Handlin's accounts may well believe it. He has chosen his facts with a keen eye to his thesis, and his dramas march to the appointed goal with the steady tread of a Dreiser novel. Chance has become inevitable.

Handlin's thesis cannot be thoroughly examined here; any one of the episodes he discusses would be worthy of a multi-volume work. I can only state my view that the westward movement would have proceeded at pretty much the same pace, in the same general way, even if Napoleon had not sold Louisiana to us in 1803. Further, I think the United States would have entered World War I even if the *Lusitania* had not been sunk, and that the Civil War would have happened even if Calhoun had died in 1840. And so on.

In claiming a social function for his argument, Handlin says: "It may help men to remember now that if nothing is inevitable, and chance within the limits of the situation is everywhere a possibility, then there is always scope for the assertion of man's influence." How so? It would seem just the opposite. If the inevitable is not subject to human influence, surely chance is equally immune. We are become as pebbles in a flood. And "if nothing is inevitable," rational action is impossible, since acts become rational to the degree that we can predict their effects.

Books in Brief

Antidote for Inaction

THE PEOPLE ACT. By Elmore M. McKee. Harper. $3.50.

Three important frustrations which plague the members of a mass industrial society trying to sustain political democracy are the loss of a sense of community, a widespread feeling that there is little the individual can do, and political apathy and inaction. In some measure this book is an antidote for all three. It contains eleven case studies (selected from thirty-eight presented in a radio series with the same title) of American communities where people have worked together to solve common problems. The communities range from tiny hamlets to cities the size of Seattle and Baltimore. The issues tackled include economic and social stagnation, the provision of hospital facilities for an area which had none, better schools, racial barriers, organized crime, and substandard housing. Unfortunately, no case is included where a community successfully fought attacks on the civil liberties of its citizens.

In all the cases, even in the large cities, a most important by-product was a renewed sense of community—an improvement in civic morale with lasting benefits for all citizens. No less important was the discovery by those participating that the individual really can accomplish something. For what marks these communities from thousands of others is that one or two or a dozen persons took the initiative, overcoming apathy or opposition, and led the community to a solution of its problem. For individuals similarly inclined these cases provide pointers on how to go about it, and perhaps even inspiration to do so.

In Defense of Somervell

THE ORGANIZATION AND ROLE OF THE ARMY SERVICE FORCES. By John D. Millett. United States Government Printing Office. $4.25.

Although this history of the organization which was responsible for military supply during World War II is well below the high standard of objectivity set by previous volumes in the army's history of the war, it is still of interest. Written from the point of view of the late General Brehon B. Somervell and with full access to his personal files, it is the only presentation we are likely to get of the wartime views of the controversial and significant figure who headed the ASF during virtually its entire existence.

Tough, hard-driving, ruthless, General Somervell was one of the ablest administrators in wartime Washington, and students of administration will find much of value in the description of the organizational and administrative techniques used in discharging the tremendous responsibilities of the ASF. Of more general interest, however, is the account of relations between the Army Service Forces and the War Production Board which were characterized by a series of struggles over which of them was to control how much of the industrial mobilization, the WPB accusing the ASF of trying to control the civilian economy, and the ASF accusing the WPB of trying to dictate military strategy. On balance, there would seem to be somewhat more substance to the charges of the WPB.

Mr. Millett is a wholehearted advocate of General Somervell. And, despite the value of having Somervell's views presented, that is a serious shortcoming of the book as history. A central problem of public administration is how to use the ad-

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ministrative talents of men like General Somervell without permitting their authoritarianism to encroach upon democratic policies. That problem Mr. Millett does not face—in fact he may not recognize it.

Inside the Witnesses

JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES. The New World Society. By Marley Cole. Vantage Press. $2.95.

For every hundred persons who have encountered Jehovah's Witnesses and their dogged evangelism (see Mob Rule in Crossville by Marley Cole, *The Nation,* June 9, 1951) there is possibly one who has some idea about what doctrine they are propagating. This book supplies that information with as great a clarity as the subject permits. It also gives a history of the sect and its trenchantly anti-clerical leaders, and summarizes the legal battles for religious freedom the Witnesses have fought all over the world.

The Witnesses derived their impetus from the prediction of a self-taught Bible scholar that the world would end in 1914. World War I didn't quite do it, so the date was then declared to mark the start of the "premillenium period." Armageddon—the time of terrible destruction when Jehovah will redeem the earth from the Devil's dominion—is nigh. The Witnesses' job is to spread the word of this incipient event, because those who get the word will be saved to rebuild a happier, holier world. The Witnesses do not look for an eternity in heaven. They expect to spend it here, under new management.

Mr. Cole gives impressive figures to show how rapidly the Witnesses have grown, although presumably the source of the figures is the Witnesses themselves. While he takes the pose of an outsider in his narrative, his sympathy with the group is so strong that he presents their quarrels with science in less than a fair light. His representative Witnesses are unusually sophisticated. He describes their feeling of "diplomatic immunity" from secular laws and sentiment as if heroic dissent were a routine order of faith. But anyone who has seen the Jim Crow "Kingdom Halls" that dot the South will still wonder if the Witnesses really render less to Caesar than do, say, the high-church Episcopalian or the Primitive Baptist.

Films

Robert Hatch

SHAKESPEARE'S "Othello" opens in the middle of a hot conversation and the plot begins to flow at the seventh line. Orson Welles's "Othello," a picture made with great pains and at great expense on location in Venice and Cyprus, opens on the funeral procession of Desdemona and the Moor; it is a slow, serpentine pageant of cassocked friars, their errant passage across the heights of Cyprus being the occasion for moody photography accompanied by a male choir singing "oh, oh, oh" in a minor key.

Since the picture bears notice that it is "based on" the play whose name it borrows, we must not complain at this excessively picturesque way of backing into the story. Nor should we protest when, at the end, Othello stabs himself before moving into the great speech that reaches its climax in the stabbing. It is a fact, however, that this readjustment forces Welles to cut a group of lines as thrilling as any in Shakespeare: "And say besides, that in Aleppo once. . . ." This is idiosyncratic behavior, but Welles throughout is reveling in idiosyncrasy and to that extent his interpretation is consistent. He fancies himself, apparently, as the first dancer in an Oriental masque and he whirls and twists to such good purpose that he never permits himself or any of his supporting celebrants to use the same exit or entrance more than once. This gives the picture the quality of a ride through a grotto of horrors: there is bloody work afoot somewhere in those shadowy halls and damp crypts, but we travel so fast and there is such a roaring in our ears that the features of the villainy are not clear.

I have no objection to Mr. Welles's having himself photographed as he dashes through a liberal selection of Italy's architectural gems and curiosities. He is a splendid figure of a man and the chase is invigorating. But I wish he wouldn't try to tell a story at the same time—particularly a story so terrible, one touching so closely the general madness of humanity. His voice is an impressive instrument, but I could not hear half he said, he panted so; and I cannot attend closely to Othello's tragedy when he sticks his head right out of the screen and drips sweat in my lap. *I* haven't got the damned handkerchief!

Michael MacLiammoir snarls his Iago with a lisp, a really disagreeable rogue, but he behaves more like an unfrocked law clerk—someone out of Dickens—than Shakespeare's bold and cunning devil. Suzanne Cloutier looks as though she could act Desdemona, but every time she starts the job her Othello exits howling and she is left looking chaste and nonplussed.

Orson Welles has proved by now that he is too good for Shakespeare; I wish he would start reviving Dion Boucicault.

"THE AFRICAN LION," latest in the Disney wildlife series, is a first-rate nature film. It contains little that has not been shown in one or another of the earlier pictures from Africa, but it is the most thorough and unmanipulated record of the Plains area that I have seen. The photographers, Ralph and Wilma Milotte, compiled their material with patience and imagination and the editors were content to put it together with almost none of the cuteness or fakery that marred earlier pictures in this series.

The lion dominates the picture, as he dominates the Plains, but he does not monopolize it. He lives in an area that supports perhaps the richest and most varied fauna in the world (presumably that is why he lives there) and the Milottes report on a magnificent catalogue of beasts: elephant, rhinoceros, water buffalo, giraffe, hartebeest, antelope, dozens of smaller deer, hyena, hippopotamus, cheetah (it can run a mile a minute and the camera catches it at full stride), baboon, leopard, ostrich, and so on for a considerably longer list.

The drama of the picture is based on the simple fact that, since grazing animals and preying animals live there together in prolific intimacy, the Plains are a never-tranquil area of vigilance, flight, and sudden death. The commentary apologizes rather too much for this state of affairs and is a little sanctimonious about what it calls "nature's way." This, I presume, is to still the sobs of little meat-eaters in the audience.

The picture might have been still better in black and white. This, I know, is ungenerous to the Milottes, who have used color film with great care and skill. But it still goes off distressingly when light conditions are less than perfect and it is never as sharp as good black and white. Much of the footage was taken with telephoto lenses, which bring the unsuspecting animals almost up to your hand, but which have the drawback of haze and shaky focus. This might have been an argument for using the old-fashioned but more sensitive monochromatic film.

WIDE attention will be called to "It's Always Fair Weather" because it contains some rather intelligent kidding of television (the intelligence consists in exposing the vulgarity of television almost straight and inviting the audience to laugh) But it should also be noticed that this "super-entertainment" film is a model of all the sentimental old-buddy pictures that have embarrassed at least a section of the public for years. The script is by Betty Comden and Adolph Green, and therefore has quite a few bright lines and not a few over-bright ones. It crackles but it also cloys.

Gene Kelly directed and shares the lead with Dan Dailey and Michael Kidd; there is thus a good deal of dancing, at a choreographic level that is a little steep for Dailey, not nearly good enough for Kidd, and just right for Kelly. Cyd Charisse plays a career girl with a heart of gold—an almost intolerable, though by no means original, conception.

The picture contains one brief bit of genuine satire: a man named Hal March, in the role of a dishonest prize fighter, delivers a burlesque of the delinquent, or Marlon Brando, style of speech that is a masterpiece of witty observation.

Records

B. H. Haggin

IN "The Guide to Long-Playing Records: Orchestral Music" (Knopf, $3.50) Irving Kolodin does the writing he has always done: a churning up of words and thoughts concerned less with the ostensible purpose of informing the reader about a record than with the evident purpose of impressing him with the writer. When a critic's eye is on the effect he is making it is by that much less on the object he is writing about; indeed he can impress the reader with writing that has no connection with its supposed subject at all; and I have on occasion pointed out examples of such writing by Kolodin—not only about performances that never happened, but even about performances that he did hear. His writing about Beecham, and more recently about Cantelli, has been of that kind; and in the present book he continues the lines of his previous writing about both of them.

With Cantelli the line has been the experienced and understanding critic detecting the immaturities of inexperienced talent—e. g., "That degree of musical culture and experience which can settle, almost instinctively, on proper tempi and sonorous values for such works as the . . . Mozart [Divertimento K.287] are not yet his," about a performance which exhibited precisely the sure instinct for "proper tempi and sonorous values" that is part of what places Cantelli in a class by himself among the new conductors. And in the book Kolodin—in a high-flown passage of the preface that assigns to each conductor his achievement on LP—not only places Cantelli with Jorda, Argenta, Fricsay, and Dorati "(among others)" who have manifested "hopeful promises of things to come," but whereas he lists the recorded performances of Jorda, Argenta, Fricsay, and Dorati, he doesn't list a single performance by Cantelli. Thus the reader is uninformed about several outstandingly beautiful performances; and I will add that these

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aren't the only ones the book tells him nothing about or even steers him away from. Van Otterloo's performance of Berlioz's "Symphonie Fantastique" with the Berlin Philharmonic, outstanding in its sensitive phrasing, its continuity of flow and shape, "would have little interest," says Kolodin, "without the Epic sound"; and he not only dissuades the reader from the good but persuades him to acquire the bad: Ormandy's performance, which, says Kolodin, "speak[s] more favorably for Berlioz than any of the others," but which actually offers coarsening intensification of Berlioz's every nuance.

Beecham, for Kolodin, has been a name to stimulate the flow of sonorous terms of praise with no relation to anything in the performance, good or bad. A momentary attention to what actually came off the record of Mozart's "Jupiter" Symphony enables Kolodin to report correctly for once "the flow of the melodic line . . . retarded by arbitrary pauses, the rhythmic impulse not . . . steady"; but the reader who acquires the performance of Mozart's K.297 in which Kolodin reports "a flow of keenly controlled spirit," and the one of Haydn's No. 93 in which he reports "refinement and elegance," will find himself with two of the other ponderously fussy and distorted Beecham performances of recent years.

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SIMILARLY Kolodin on one occasion heard that "Scherchen makes a ponderous thing of [the] first movement" of Haydn's No. 94; but the reader who is induced by his unqualified praise to acquire the performances of Nos. 98, 100, 103, and 104 will only then discover the similar eccentricities of slow tempo in those works. And on the other hand the reader who is steered away from the performance of No. 102 by the statement that it is "a tribute to the consistency of Scherchen rather than to his best capacities as a conductor of Haydn" will miss one performance in which Scherchen does not indulge in those eccentricities of tempo, and produces an excellent statement of the work.

The un-awed ear that hears a Cantelli's immaturities is one that also hears a Casals's "offenses against musical taste in phrasing, dynamics, phrase-endings" in a performance of the Schumann Cello Concerto in which they cannot be detected by the sharpest ears I am acquainted with. But real things on records, which a reader should know about, he isn't told of: Stravinsky's omission of the beautiful transition from the Berceuse to the finale of "The Firebird," in his own recorded performance; Patzak's struggle with an old voice, in "Das Lied von der Erde"; the fact that the Boccherini Cello Concerto in B flat is a fake (though Kolodin's silence here is less misleading than what he says on that subject on the envelope of the Westminster recording). And from Kolodin's wonder at the infrequent performances of Prokofiev's Symphony No. 4, which "seems to be in the main path of Prokofiev's development," the reader will not know what Kolodin himself evidently doesn't know—that most of the symphony is taken from the score of the ballet "The Prodigal Son," which has had numerous performances at the City Center.

Kolodin writes on page 180 about the "lustrous, impelling" Toscanini "William Tell" Overture of January, 1953, on Victor LRM-7054, "not to be confused with any earlier, less vivid reproduction of a Toscanini performance"; and on page 229 he stresses that LRY-9000 offers "the *old* 'William Tell' "—from which the reader will not know that the one on the earlier LRY-9000 is the January, 1953, performance as first issued, with the original marvelously beautiful sound untouched, whereas the later LRM-7054 offers the same performance with its sound "enhanced" by the added false gloss and brightness of the cellos in the opening section and the shallowness of the full orchestra later on. "Thoroughly good Carnegie Hall sound," says Kolodin of the Toscanini "Mignon" Overture, leaving it to the reader to discover how the beautiful sound of the introduction changes to the shallow, coarse, noisy "brilliance" of the "enhanced" Allegro. And from Kolodin's talk about the outstanding fidelity of the reproduction of the Toscanini "Pictures at an Exhibition" the reader will not guess the actual distortions of the original beautiful sound by "enhancement" that excessively peaks the treble: the ear-lacerating sharpness of the trumpet in the opening *Promenade*, the snarling of the brass in *Catacombs*, the coarse, noisy "brilliance" of the full orchestra elsewhere.

And it is all like that.

COMING

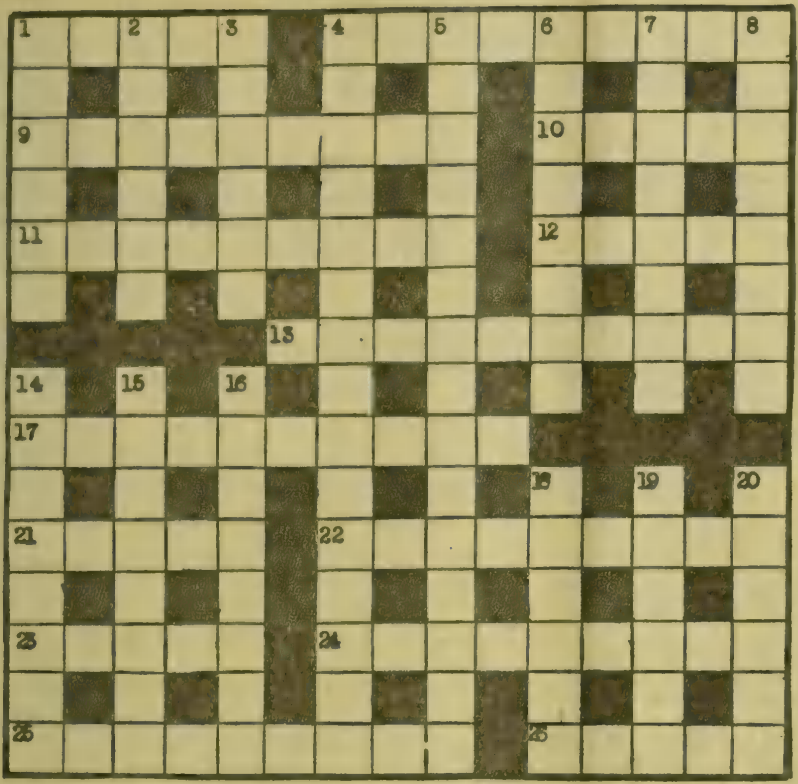
"The Deer Park"
By Norman Mailer
Reviewed by Dudley Nichols

"Triumph of the Eggheads"
By Horace Coon
Reviewed by
Howard Mumford Jones

"The Call to Honour. The War
"Memoirs of General De Gaulle"
Reviewed by Alexander Werth

"Brooks Adams"
By Arthur F. Beringause
Reviewed by Maxwell Geismar

Crossword Puzzle No. 639
BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Where sailors might find refuge from some chaps. (5)
4. Understanding? (9)
9 The sort of moons associated with the crown? (Implying the futility of light!) (2,7)
10 How to make a running hitch, (5)
11 Some prefer sweetness. (Implying jam, no doubt.) (2,1,6)
12 Doesn't put in a moist condition (5)
13 Occasionally an absence of staff at that time? (3,3,4)
17 See 20 down.
21 Nine to one on this character! (5)
22 Price reduction with 80% of it added? Pretty steep! (9)
23 Great lady of the screen, associated with dress and nothing more. (5)
24 Developed the plot? (9)
25 One certainly doesn't have an agreeable disposition. (9)
26 Found wanting. (5)

DOWN

1 Implying present ability and past performance in the open. (6)
2 Another name for a sort of valse. (6)
3 I would bring up plenty above it without getting excited. (6)
4 Is the staff headed for a period of advice to the wandering? (5,2,3,5)
5 Descriptive of the large-scale gambler? (6,3,6)
6 They should be extremely tenacious. (3,5)
7 First stone, then soil. (8)
8 Implying the air is still in the service? (8)
14 It ain't got that swing if it is, gate! (8)
15 Snug lines seem to show it. (8)
16 One is in this stage at the time of 7. (5,3)
18 I'm in no condition to be like 2 down! (6)
19 So little time! (6)
20 and 17 across You could make another name for this be on, and all. (6,10)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. [illegible]

ACROSS: 1 HUMIDITY; 5 GAS JET; 10 and 7 GOING TO JERUSALEM; 11 IN FORCE; 12 JEERS; 13 OCCULISTS; 14 MAORI; 16 TELLTALE; 19 SCANDALS; 22 WOMEN; 24 TULAREMIA; 26 ETHER; 28 TRAILER; 29 INDIANA; 30 DRESSY; 31 MANDATES. DOWN: 1 HIGHJUMP; 2 MAINE; 3 DIGESTION; 4 and 25 down TWO-FOOT RULES; 6 AWFUL; [illegible] THEISM; 9 FISCAL; 15 OSCILLATE; 17 TOW-HEADED; 18 ENTREATS; 20 ADMIRE; 21 STAMINA; 23 STATED; 27 HEART.

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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

THE *Nation*

OCTOBER 8, 1955–20c

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"Everything Is Changed"

by Carey McWilliams

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OFF THE EDITORS' SPIKE

● "FARMERS," as the Des Moines Register points out in a recent editorial, "don't hold protest meetings unless they feel a grievance deeply." The 500 dirt-farmers who assembled in Corning, Iowa, to lambaste Secretary of Agriculture Benson's farm policies and to launch a state-wide protest organization, obviously felt they had some genuine grievances to air. Coming from five counties in southwest Iowa, they were not called together by any of the existing farm organizations. Primarily irked over the decline in livestock prices, they were concerned, also, about the position of farmers in the American economy. Farmers, they agreed, had "the poorest public relations in the world"; oil companies pile up enormous surpluses but these surpluses—unlike the farmers'—are seldom cited as a reason for lowering prices.

The Corning meeting, the fourth of a series, is part of an effort to create "a national organization for the purpose of getting the farmer a fair share of the national income." Most inadequately reported in the press, the movement merits careful attention for a specific reason: It is the first grass-roots protest of dirt-farmers against the Benson policies. As the Des Moines Register observes, these men are concerned less with existing conditions, which are not too onerous at the moment, than with the future.

● A YEAR AGO Chalmers Roberts of the Washington Post and Times Herald wrote two stories on American foreign policy—both subsequently fully substantiated—based on decisions made at a National Security Council meeting in Denver. Almost a year later, Mr. Robert was questioned by two F. B. I. men about his sources for the stories. He refused, of course, to reveal them. Mr. Brownell and other spokesmen for the Administration attempted to quiet the protests which the incident aroused by dismissing the interview as "routine." But was it? Editor & Publisher (September 17) points to the curious fact that the F. B. I. should be making a "routine" investigation a whole year after the alleged leak. Surely it couldn't be that the F. B. I. had just learned of the leak. Nor is it likely that the incident had been under investigation for a full year. What, then, was the meaning of the interview? Editor & Publisher comments that it "could be part of a not-so-subtle government campaign to close the gaps in the security wall and prevent leaks and also to convince reporters that leaks are a hazardous source of news. . . ." In France, leaks and editorial criticism of official policy are dealt with more summarily. When Claude Bourdet recently told French reservists that they were being called up for service in Morocco "to defend the estates of M. Borgeaud, the profits of M. Blachette, the mines of M. Aguillon, the brothels of El Glaoui, the arrogance of Georges Bidault, and the amour propre of Alphonse Juin," copies of the issue of France Observateur containing these tart comments were promptly seized by the police.

● THE AMERICAN press seems to have given little attention to the interesting statement of Walter A. Rickett on being released from a Communist prison camp in China. A Fulbright scholar and former marine combat intelligence officer, Rickett spent four and a half years in Communist prisons. According to him, General MacArthur had definite information that the Chinese were about to enter the Korean war at least a month before they crossed the Yalu. Information to this effect was passed along by Rickett to the third secretary of the British negotiating team then in Peking a full month in advance of the actual invasion.

● BANKING interests have launched a vigorous counter-offensive against Democratic criticism of the Administration's public-power policies. A recent issue of the financial newsletter issued by the Guaranty Trust Company was largely given over to a defense of the Dixon-Yates agreement. The article was quickly picked up by Republican papers and used as the basis of editorial comment. Buried in it is an explanation of the fundamental Republican concern over the public-power policies. This concern relates more to the future than to the present or the past. The country faces a period of rapid expansion of electric power; the increase in demand from 1950 to 1960 may be as high as 100 per cent. "What form," asks the newsletter, "is future expansion to take? Is it to be shaped by the careful balancing against benefits that is inherent in unsubsidized private-business enterprise?. . ."

But who said private power was "unsubsidized"? The Wall Street Journal (August 8) reports that electric-power utilities dominated the latest and heaviest list of rapid tax write-offs the government has so far issued. Of forty-one write-off projects listed, the largest by all odds were private-utility projects: Pacific Gas and Electric Company, for example, was authorized to write off 35 per cent of $132,206,800 in new generating facilities. The Journal story lists fourteen private utility companies given tax write-off privileges valued at more than a million dollars each.

At the same time a subcommittee, holding hearings in San Francisco, has discovered that the lobbyist for the Pacific Gas and Electric Company was the anonymous author of thirteen proposed changes in the Department of Interior's rules and regulations, most of which were adopted. The most important related to "wheeling" contracts. In 1948 the Truman Administration set up some new regulations, among them one requiring private utilities to transmit or "wheel" federally-generated power over their transmission lines if these lines crossed public lands. This was one of the rules which was dropped in 1954 at the prompting of the P. G. and E.'s lobbyist in Washington. Dropping it deprived government agencies of one means of securing a measure of cooperation from private utilities in the important matter of transmission lines.

C. McW.

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THE *Nation*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The President's Illness . . *by Carey McWilliams*

THE FIRST NEWS out of Denver of the President's illness, headlined in the press as "neither mild nor serious," brought to a sudden shocking end a period of make-believe in American politics. For several years both major parties have based elaborate political strategems and calculations on a single fragile premise: the President's continued "availability." That premise has now been destroyed and although the dimensions and signposts are not yet clear, a new political landscape with new perspectives and contours is certain to emerge from today's confused scene. By sharing the same major premise both parties have been acting as though the 1956 campaign would be largely dedicated to the avoidance of real issues with the Democrats saying that they had supported the President's foreign policies more loyally than the Republicans and the Republicans pretending that they were united in support of these policies. Now everything is changed.

On the international front the President's illness could not have come at a more unfortunate time. In the last year Mr. Eisenhower has become the symbol of a new American policy of live-and-let-live based on the sheer unthinkability of a third world war. The new atmosphere—the "Geneva spirit"—which the President largely created is now in danger of being dissipated. His personal intervention, which has been decisive on key issues, will now be asserted less consistently and effectively. The best Cabinet teamwork in the world will not substitute for the influence of the President himself. His illness, too, takes place at a most critical juncture in East-West relations; the acid tests are upon us. The President's influence is sorely needed in drafting a reply to Bulganin's note and in settling differences between Messrs. Stassen and Dulles over disarmament policies. Uncertainty about Mr. Eisenhower's health may well prompt the Russians to adopt a wait-and-see policy. A recent editorial in *Pravda* castigating Vice-President Nixon as "one of the American reactionaries" bent on trying to reverse the "summit" trend doubtless reflects genuine Soviet misgivings. The President's right-wing critics will now seek to regain the forward warlike positions from which he forced them to retire and to reestablish a "get-tough-with-Russia-and-China" policy.

Closely related to the international aspect of the crisis in American leadership is the impact of the President's illness on official Washington. In James Reston's phrase it has upset "the whole balance of the government" and initiated "a vast struggle for power"; the war of the succession in the Republican Party has now begun. Although it will be some weeks before the new political landscape is revealed, one can be sure that the changes will be far-reaching and profound.

BUT the major consequences of the President's illness will be felt in national politics. The effects here are multiple, interacting, and cumulative.

On the Republican side the President's illness has drastically transformed the outlook for 1956. Under the most favorable circumstances—and the circumstances have not been favorable—the Republicans would require exceptional leadership to win in 1956. But leadership is what they have least of. Indeed the party's plans have been so exclusively geared to the idea of the President's availability that an enormous vacuum now exists—the larger by reason of the dearth of new political talent in the Republican Party, both in Congress and the state capitols. Since Vice-President Nixon is trying so hard to fill this vacuum the principal interest of the moment centers on his plans and prospects.

Just prior to the President's illness a group of influential leaders of the Eastern seaboard wing of the party —what David Lawrence insists on calling its "left wing" —were busily concocting a plot to dump Mr. Nixon as Vice-Presidential nominee. At the same time a well-organized movement was also under way in California to edge Mr. Nixon out of the number two position. Both movements were making considerable progress.

The existence of these movements accounts in large part for the embarrassing alacrity with which the Vice-President and his friends and well-wishers immediately sought to create the impression that Mr. Nixon had inherited a kind of regency in Washington. Aided by Mr. Nixon's close friend, Deputy Attorney-General William P. Rogers, these friends and well-wishers—including the right-wing columnists and commentators —made the week's news heavy with inspired stories about the "acting Presidency" to which the Vice-President had succeeded. Indeed the stories were so numerous, so clumsily contrived and so palpably inspired that an immediate reaction set in. Senator Knowland hurried back to Washington from California to announce that any talk of an "acting President" was "definitely premature." Attorney-General Brownell flew back from a vacation in Spain to throw cold water on the Nixon-inspired proposal and Sherman Adams returned from vacation to occupy his desk in the White House before Mr. Nixon could take possession of it. And the President's friends began to say in chorus that any talk of dividing up the President's powers was premature, the comment being spiced with tart references to those who "want to go too far, too fast, too soon." Although the drive of the Nixon forces to "take over" has been checked the Vice-President still remains, as the *Wall Street Journal* has said, "the most probable Republican contender." What then are his prospects?

WHILE any number of surprising developments will take place before August 20, 1956—not excluding the possibility that Mr. Eisenhower may confound everyone by deciding to seek reelection—it is already clear that Nixon's chance of winning the nomination depends on a number of specific factors. To be cold and brutal about it, his chance would be greatly improved if he were actually to succeed to the Presidency between now and then—a calamity terrifying to contemplate. The convention that assembles in San Francisco would find it very difficult to repudiate a President who had been in office only a short time. Aside from this, the Presidency is a power-generating office and Mr. Nixon would certainly use it to further his personal ambitions. Even assuming that he becomes neither President nor "acting President," he remains a strong contender. He has the spotlight and will try to hold it. He is a dangerous, unscrupulous, ambitious opportunist—a win-at-any-price politician—who is quite capable of any transformation or deception to attain his ends. For example, it would not be surprising if he began to act and sound like a "liberal" Republican. While the independent or "switch" voters detest him, he does have a foot in both Republican camps; he was influential in winning the nomination for the President at Chicago but he has never cut his ties with McCarthy and the right wing. He is also close to the China Lobby and the Midwest isolationists. The problem at the moment is to determine just what forces in the Republican Party are committed to him. He is well regarded by many Republican state chairmen. Republican National Chairman Leonard Hall is in his camp. He was selected for the Vice-Presidency by Mr. Dewey but he is not liked by the Ivy League Republicans any more than he is by Chief Justice Warren and Senator Knowland, and Mr. Brownell, who seems to have broken away from Dewey these days, is apparently not infatuated with him either. On balance it looks as if Mr. Nixon would find it difficult to unite a party which only the President's vast personal popularity has been able to keep together. But a recent poll conducted by the *Wall Street Journal* of twenty-one Republican governors and all Republican state chairmen indicated that the Vice-President ranked first with those willing to express a preference. Chief Justice Warren and Milton Eisenhower were strong runners-up and there was some mention of Paul Hoffman. It is interesting to note that Senator Knowland received only one outright endorsement: from the diehard isolationist and United Nations-hater, Governor J. Bracken Lee of Utah.

Mr. Nixon also faces a tough practical problem—the California problem. The Democrats have installed new and popular regimes in New York and Pennsylvania; in these states the advantage is theirs. California, the other pivotal state, is insecurely held by the Republicans. It is a key state by any reckoning and it was doubtless for this reason that San Francisco was selected as the convention site. So far as the Presidency is concerned, the seventy-man California delegation, with a high place on the roll-call, is more important than the rest of the Western delegations combined. Nowadays the state has thirty-two electoral votes. With population increasing at the rate of 500,000 a year California's Congressional delegation has grown while other key states have lost representation. Among California's 3,266,000 registered Democrats there is a marked antipathy for Mr. Nixon (Democrats will long remember his "smear" campaign against Jerry Voorhis and Helen Gahagan Douglas) nor is he loved by all the state's 2,415,000 registered Republicans.

California's Governor Goodwin J. Knight is ambitious, agile, energetic, and opportunistic. Recently he was "read out of the party," so to speak, by the Los Angeles *Times* because he had curried favor with the A. F. of L. Governor Knight will, for all practical purposes, control the California delegation and Knight dislikes Nixon as only one opportunist can dislike another. Senator Knowland, ambitious for the nomination himself, will probably cooperate with Governor Knight; he will not cooperate with Nixon. All three are active candidates for the nomination; all three would settle for the Vice-Presidency. Governor Knight is certain to head a favorite-son slate of delegates which will have the backing of the "regular" or "machine" Republicans. To challenge this delegation Mr. Nixon would have to enter a slate of his own with the chances being that the Knight delegation would win. In the Los Angeles area Mr. Nixon has strong support; his "anchor man" there—Murray Chotiner, who was profiled in *The Nation* of July 2—is a tough, resourceful political operator. But in California Mr. Nixon has been pushed to the margins of the Republican Party; Senator Knowland controls the patronage, Governor Knight the machine. Senator Knowland, however, hardly dares enter a delegation of his own in the California primary since in a three-way fight the Nixon delegation might win. So strong is Governor Knight's dislike of Nixon that some of his principal backers have not hesitated to say that the Republicans will lose California if they make the mistake of passing over Knight for Nixon, even for the Vice-Presidency. Nor should it be forgotten that control of the large California Congressional delegation is also at stake, or that Senator Thomas Kuchel, a weak Republican incumbent, is up for reelection in 1956. His chances as well as those of his colleagues in the House are directly related to the outcome of the triangular feud between Knowland, Knight, and Nixon.

The obvious solution to this complicated problem would be to draft Chief Justice Warren. Mr. Warren would keep the Republicans' together; in California he would pull Democratic votes, and nationally he would be a favorite with independent voters and strong minority elements. But Mr. Warren was born on March 19, 1891 (General Eisenhower on October 14, 1890, Governor Averell Harriman, November 15, 1891) and age will have a special relevance to the 1956 selections. He would be a strong nominee but he will be most reluctant to leave the court at his age with the odds scarcely even that he could win.

If not Warren, then who are the likely "dark horse" candidates? Still dogged by the ironies which have always overtaken him, Mr. Dewey had the bad luck to leave for Europe a day or so before the President was taken ill. Mr. Dewey lives under a dark star. But if the Republicans are short of strong candidates there are many favorite sons—Governors Herter, Craig, McKeldin, Hall, and Knight, not to mention Senator Bridges, Harold Stassen, Henry Cabot Lodge, and others—so that the convention will be hard to stage-manage.

In a field in which there are few strong rivals the Vice-President becomes a formidable contender for the nomination, although he would be in almost every respect a vulnerable nominee. Governor Leader doubtless overstated the case, but not much, when he said in San Francisco that defeating Nixon for President "would be like taking candy from a baby's hot, sticky little hand."

On the Democratic side the removal of the President as a candidate will have consequences hardly less significant than for the Republicans. Governor Averell Harriman, despite his age, was a plausible nominee so long as it was generally assumed that the Democrats would not be able to win the Presidency. The rationale of the Harriman candidacy has now been undermined. On the other hand the chances of Mr. Stevenson and of Senator Kefauver have improved. Mr. Stevenson, however, faces some severe tests and trials. He has said and done little to capture the popular imagination in the last three years. He seems more inclined now than in 1952 to placate the Dixiecrats and the city bosses. And in California he, too, faces a real problem. Should he elect to enter the California primary against Senator Kefauver he might well come out second best.

The Democrats have much better material to choose from than the Republicans. There is hardly a Republican Senator who can be regarded as a plausible nominee, but Senators Kefauver, Morse, Fulbright, and Sparkman—to mention only four—would be strong Presidential or Vice-Presidential nominees. The Democrats also have a fine set of governors: Williams, Ribicoff, Harriman, Meyner, and Leader, as well as any number of exceptional individuals such as Chester Bowles, Robert M. Hutchins, and Justice William O. Douglas. With many favorite-son delegations certain to appear at Chicago it will not be any easier to control this convention than the one that meets in San Francisco. The President's illness will of course lessen the effectiveness of any campaigning he may be able to undertake and for this reason the Democrats' chances of picking up Congressional and Senatorial seats have improved. For example, Senator Dirksen, up for re-election in 1956, was counting heavily on active support from the President. By the same taken Senator Wayne Morse's chances have improved in Oregon. Seldom have independent voters been in a better strategic position to influence the choice of nominees and the adoption of good platforms. With the rivalries certain to be strong in both parties, independent voters should insist that the candidates take clear positions and that both parties clarify the real issues. Independent voters and liberals working with a united labor movement can look forward to a year of action and purpose in 1956.

THE INITIAL REACTION of the stock market to news of the President's illness is a measure of the political importance of the news. In the heaviest wave of selling since October 1, 1929, twelve basic issues dropped 3.3 billion dollars by comparison with the sixteen issues that fell 2.9 billion on October 29, 1929. A wholesale sell-off of this magnitude is the clearest possible indication that the country's line of political continuity has been severed and that a new pattern will now emerge. Ours is today more than ever before a *political* economy. The market's reaction was a reflection of the fact that a new period of confusion and uncertainty has begun in American politics. The Republicans who were relying on President Eisenhower and continued prosperity to pull them through in 1956 now must largely rely on the second factor. Will this mean that further inflationary pressure will be encouraged? Or will Mr. Humphrey still try to balance the budget?

All the world joins in wishing the President the earliest and most complete recovery. It is one of the ironies of our time that a professional soldier should have become the symbol of the world's desire for peace. The President has played a key role, perhaps inadvertently and perhaps with little consistency, but a key role all the same in assisting the nation to recover its sanity and sense of decency; the American style, as Joseph Alsop puts it, is being reestablished. But if he recovers, as he seems certain to, and he can enjoy the retirement he has so richly deserved, his illness may prove to have been a blessing for him. And if the heart attack had to come it is perhaps better that it came one year before, rather than one year after the election. Otherwise it might well have been that the American people would have been deprived of a chance to select the next President of the United States.

And it is time also that the two major parties were forced to deal with political realities rather than with the special political problem created by the President's great personal popularity. Those who appreciate as we do Mr. Eisenhower's personal intervention for peace and his efforts to restore the nation's sense of fairness and civic decency should now insist that both parties take full, responsible cognizance of the new political situation. Whatever their differences they should endeavor, if only for partisan reasons, to further these two great ends which the President's confident leadership succeeded in proving were objectives the people deeply wanted. As a postscript, one might add that it is about time the parties came forth with some proposals of the kind *The Nation* has urged from time to time (Veeps Can Become Presidents by Monroe Deutsch, December 20, 1952) for selecting Vice-Presidents by more responsible methods than those now used.

NOW IT'S TWO ARMIES

The Happy Germans . . *by J. A. del Vayo*

Geneva

OVER THE forthcoming foreign ministers' conference here will fall the shadow not of one German army but of two. This is the immediate and most dramatic consequence of the recent visits to Moscow of the heads of the two German states. And it is a consequence which will have incalculably great effect on the evolution of the international situation.

There is no doubt that Chancellor Adenauer, once again firmly entrenched in his position of leadership at Bonn, intends to pursue his remilitarization plans relentlessly and with all vigor. "Adenauer will not permit the Big Four Foreign Ministers' meeting . . . to delay West German rearmament," Gaston Coblentz reported recently in the New York *Herald Tribune*. At least one important political commentator in the Federal Republic believes that the Chancellor, while in Moscow, fell victim to the "magnetic attraction between the German and Russian temperaments." Other observers believe that he remains personally antagonistic to the Slav character and with an undiminished bias in favor of Western culture. But personal feelings aside, his whole political philosophy turns upon the concept that only a strong West Germany will be able to hold Washington's loyalty and win the respect of the world.

I have intimated before in these columns that Adenauer, for all his tub-thumping for unification, was not willing to risk his army for unity. And there are indications that he is today freer from domestic pressures looking toward unification than he has ever been before. The Bonn correspondent of the London *Daily Mail* wrote on September 22:

> Behind the politicians' talk of a united Germany . . . are inescapable facts. The first is that West Germans, as of now, are not appalled by the idea of two Germanys. Some of them, including the most powerful, welcome the idea.
>
> West Germans are not ready at the moment to (1) unite with the Prussians of East Germany because they are the warlike Germans; (2) become allied with East Germany because they believe socialism emanated from that part of the country; (3) link up with Protestants who live in East Germany because in the West the Catholics are in the majority. . . . Most of all the money barons of the Western half do not want the responsibility of rehabilitating East Germany after the depredations of the Communists.

UNDER THE Paris agreements, the Federal Republic is to have a force of 500,000 men divided as follows: ground forces, 40,000; air arm, 80,000 (1,000 to 1,300 planes); navy, 20,000 (warships not to exceed 3,000 gross tons each). Some observers argue that the Russians, with their mighty armed forces, cannot possibly be serious in their objections to this relatively small *Wehrmacht*. But the Russians remember that General von Seekt began in the twenties with an army only one-fifth that size, yet within two decades Hitler was disposing of a military force capable of engaging the combined strength of Russia and the Western allies. Furthermore, the restrictions imposed upon the German military by the Treaty of Versailles were, on paper at least, harsher than the restrictions imposed on the current crop of German generals by the Paris agreements.

Not that the Germans today have free rein. To woo the reluctant French, certain conditions were placed upon Bonn rearmament. For instance, the so-called ABC weapons—atomic, biological, and chemical—are denied Adenauer. But no serious military observer believes that this restriction will hold once war comes, especially as other NATO forces have already been equipped with tactical atomic weapons designed to offset superior Russian manpower.

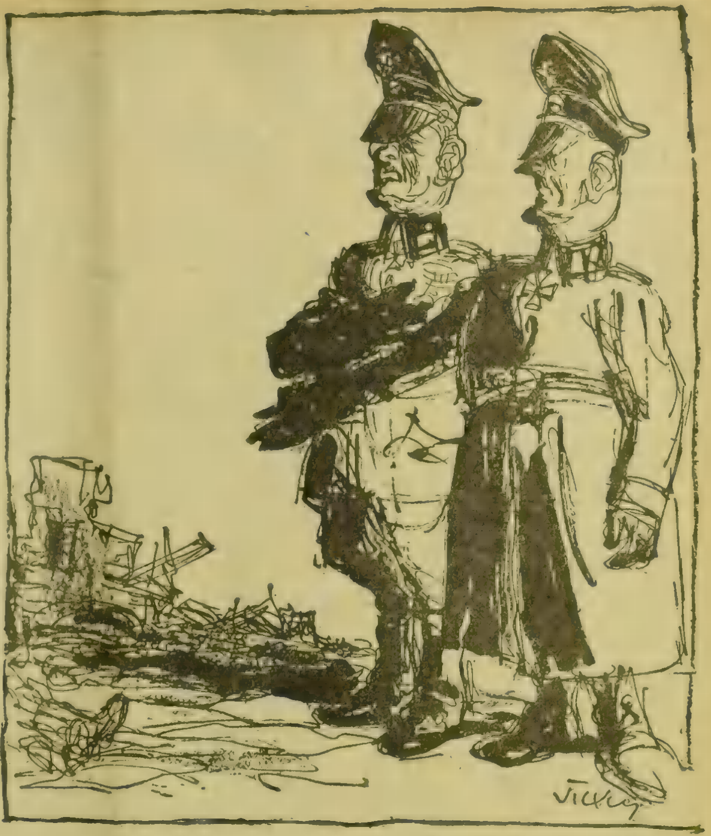
Hope is placed in the "democratic" character of the new West German army and even in the reluctance of German youth to join it. But the young are no longer so reluctant; many who only a few years ago were saying *"ohne mich,"*—"count me out!"—have succumbed to the propaganda pressures of their own government and of the Western allies. Even the Socialists seem to recognize that this particular battle has been lost and are concentrating their efforts on trying to assure that the army will be civilian-controlled.

Many aspects of the new military laws have not been clarified by the close-mouthed Theodor Blank, Minister of Defense. The Socialists are asking, for instance, what will happen to refugees from the Eastern zone and to residents of the Saar? Will they be incorporated into the army, bringing with them their hatreds and their dangerous irridentism?

The fears expressed by Socialists, pacifists, and liberals of all stripes have led the government to offer certain "guarantees" against "excessive militarism." How far do these "guarantees" go? Herr Blank blandly points to the fact that the new uniform will be more "civilian" in appearance than the old; the old helmet, favored by von Seekt and his successors, will be discarded in favor of a design similar to the American. Moreover, says Herr Blank, the military will not be permitted to wear their uniforms at political rallies. This is certainly a welcome innovation, but hardly a smashing one. The General Staff of dreadful memory has been given another name and its functions astutely shuffled to give the appearance that something new has been created. But nobody is fooled, not even by the efforts of the Socialists and the Catholic party to secure parliamentary control over the military.

There will soon be submitted to the *Bundestag* a proposal calling for the election by parliament of a "military delegate"—a man outside both parliament and the military—who will be empowered to keep an eye on the army in behalf of the elected representatives of the people. But every realist recognizes that only a civilian with stature bigger than the combined stature of all the West German generals could do any good in such a post. Where is such a civilian? The fact is that the army must be led by professionals and the Adenauer regime will hire the best it can find. The gestures toward parliamentary rule will remain gestures.

Meanwhile East Germany, following the Soviet decision to abolish the post of Soviet High Commissioner, is preparing its own army designed for membership in the "Eastern NATO" created at Warsaw as an answer to Paris. Developments are too recent for details on its size and structure to be available. There seems to be some doubt as to whether conscription will be introduced, as has been advocated in West Germany. It is assumed, however, that Communist youth groups will provide a good share of the new army's combat troops. In any case its cadres are almost certain to be limited to loyal Communists, for the lesson of the East German police who behaved so strangely during the uprising of June, 1953, has not been lost. The name of Erich Honnecker, 43-year-old youth leader, has been mentioned as a possibility for the army command.



Vicky in New Statesman and Nation (London)

"Give US the tools and we'll finish the job"

That East Germany, too, is rearming is not at all discomfiting to the militarists of West Germany. In long-range terms, the more extensive the immediate rearming on both sides of the German dividing line the more powerful will be the army that one day, they hope, will emerge from a united Germany. And in immediate terms, the Bonn militarists can count on increased help from Washington to counteract developments at Pankow. According to a Bonn spokesman, the Federal Republic's contribution to rearmament will not exceed nine billion marks. This is only a fraction of what the new *Wehrmacht* will cost. Bonn is relying on the American taxpayer to pay most of the rest.

In their hopes for the swift creation of a powerful military machine, the West German generals are also encouraged by signs that certain of the Western allies want to cut their troop commitments to Western Europe. "Why are there still four British divisions in Germany?" asks the *Daily Mail*. Lester Pearson, Canada's foreign minister, points out in the October issue of *Foreign Affairs* that NATO strategy, which calls for the maintenance of large conventional forces in Europe, must now be overhauled in the light of the East-West atomic stalemate. The German generals hope to fill the vacuum left by the removal of allied troops. They hope to exploit to the full the competition now opening between the armies of Bonn and of Pankow. So while the victors of the last war discuss disarmament, the one nation that was responsible for that war and lost it is encouraged to rearm. Here is a paradox that will bear watching.

WATERFRONT WAR

Round Two in New York . . *by B. D. Nossiter*

THE SEPTEMBER strike in the port of New York threw into bold relief one imposing fact: more than 30,000 longshoremen succeeded in closing down the piers for eight days without posting a single picket, although state-operated and state-protected employment centers stood by ready to supply strike-breakers. For the rest, confusion hangs like a haze over the port's 700 miles of shore line and 900 piers.

On the waterfront, all labor is casual. Longshoremen, who load and unload ships, are hired anew each day. Similarly, seamen are hired by the trip. The irregularity of dockside employment is dictated by the irregular arrival and departure of ships. The right to a job on some rational basis which would take into account seniority and the principle of equalizing work opportunities and a limited job register must be a prime goal of any legitimate maritime trade union. Without it, waterfront labor is subjected to the whim of the employer and the exploitation of labor contractors, whether in the guise of business men or union leaders. A limited register and job rights were won by West Coast longshoremen and seamen a generation ago. On the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, especially in the giant New York port, a rough tradition of job rights has grown in some areas. But it has rarely been reduced to writing and has often been breached.

For more than sixty years, New York's longshoremen have been represented by the International Longshoremen's Association (I. L. A.), whose sordid history of job selling, collusion with employers, extortion, loan sharking, and organized pilferage has now been told so often that the complicated realities of hiring have been swamped. Now, under fire from its own rank-and-file members, the I. L. A. is beginning to sound very much like a real union. But in its way stands the Waterfront Commission of New York Harbor and the New York Shipping Association.

The commission opened shop in late 1953 under a compact approved by the legislatures of New York and New Jersey. The compact followed closely the recommendations of Governor Dewey's New York State Crime Commission, which warned that the New York port's prosperity was endangered by waterfront conditions. In public testimony, it laid bare the pattern of bribery, extortion, and other crimes that ran from the shipping companies through the stevedores to the I. L. A. The chief victims were underpaid and overworked labor, whose docile submission is necessary to shipowners seeking maximum profits through the rapid and uninterrupted turnarounds of vessels.

The waterfront commission, with a member each from New Jersey and New York, was set up to administer and enforce the bistate compact. It licenses stevedores, pier superintendents, company hiring agents, and port watchmen. Its principal job is policing the employment of longshoremen. Except for a few crafts (which the commission now wants to bring under its control), all dock workers must register with it to work on the piers. The bistate law gives the commission power to deny, revoke, or suspend registration of men convicted of crimes, as well as individuals or members of groups advocating overthrow of the government by force or violence. It can further bar from employment any one "whose presence at the piers or other waterfront terminals . . . is found by the commission . . . to constitute a danger to the public peace or safety." The commission sets its own rules to determine who may and may not work. It is specifically excused from following common law, statutory rules of evidence, and "technical or formal rules of procedure."

Another commission task is to reduce the supply of longshore labor. Without a strong union and job rights, the competition of men for jobs is an invitation to employer and labor abuses. For the year ending September 31, 1954, a New York *Times* survey counted 33,500 longshoremen on the New York Shipping Association's payrolls. But even on the port's peak days, only 16,000 can find work. In other words, there are two men for every job. The 33,500 averaged only 830 working hours or not quite twenty-one forty-hour weeks. Nearly two-thirds earned less than $3,000 a year and little more than one in five earned over $4,000. To slash this oversupply, the commission drops from its register men who do not appear for work at least forty-eight times in six months. There have been 7,603 lopped off. The commission, however, may be defeating its own efforts by continually adding to its rolls. Several sources have placed the monthly total of new registrants at 300, but there is reason to believe that it runs even higher.

THE core of the commission's control over dockside employment lies in its thirteen employment centers and the rules drawn up for their use. Located at key points around the harbor, the centers were established to carry out the bistate law's clause that no longshoreman shall be hired outside commission-prescribed halls. But in another clause, the law states that nothing in it shall be construed to destroy collective-bargaining agreements which provide hiring by seniority or other preference systems. Here is the nub of the I. L. A.'s quarrel with the commission. The union insists that the commission's hiring rules serve to override the union contract with the employers, who are grouped in the New York Shipping Association. The I. L. A. asserts that job control has been

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BERNARD D. NOSSITER, a frequent contributor to The Nation, *has covered the waterfront for a New York daily.*

taken from its hands and given over to the tender mercies of the employers. The commission replies that it has no choice under the law.

Behind this crucial argument lies the traditional crazy-quilt pattern of dock-labor hire in the New York port. Contrary to popular myth, the notorious shape-up was used to hire only a fraction of longshore labor. On some piers, notably Manhattan's upper West Side, regular gangs of twenty-one or twenty-two men loaded and unloaded ships with reasonable expectations of five days' work a week. In other areas, certain gangs "owned" certain piers and had first call on work there. On Pier 1, Erie Basin in Brooklyn, for example, several gangs could count on seven or eight days' work a month. The rest of the time they roamed the waterfront for work. In Newark, Staten Island, and around Manhattan's southern horn, work on a given pier was rotated among the gangs with an eye to equalizing yearly earnings. So-called terminal labor, cargo sorters, checkers, tractor drivers, and others were hired individually and not in gangs. They also tended to follow certain piers and got hiring preference where possible. The shape-up, in which men gathered at the pierhead in a semi-circle while a hiring boss picked out those who would work, was largely limited to "extra" men needed to fill a short gang or swell the normal terminal labor complement.

This labor pattern, for all its irregularity, embodied a rough system of preferential hiring and a job-rights structure. It was and is a long way from Harry Bridges's West Coast hiring hall, where job rights are spelled out and men who have been without work the longest are hired first for any pier in a port.

THE commission first set about to destroy the degrading shape-up. All extra men were required to report to one of the commission's thirteen centers, where the stevedore's hiring agent, licensed by the commission, came to select the men he wanted. This technically destroyed the union's control over the hiring of extras, but the commission moved much more slowly against other traditional hiring techniques, possibly fearing to throw the port into complete chaos.

So for the first sixteen months of the commission's operations, most longshoremen continued to report directly to their piers without going through the commission centers. Employers would send the commission advance lists of gangs and men they planned to hire for the next five days or a week. The commission, first checking to make sure that all names were on its register, would then "prevalidate" the list.

A prevalidated list could be extended from week to week. Regular gangs and regular men continued to follow their piers. Extra gangs, needed when there was more work at a pier than the regulars could handle, were dispatched by I. L. A. locals.

The commission's early leniency in administering the bistate law can also be explained by its expectation that a rival union, the International Brotherood of Longshoremen-A. F. of L., would succeed in sweeping the I. L. A. off the waterfront. The press, the government, and the A. F. of L. seamen's union were behind the I. B. L. But dockworkers are a special breed. More than one in six has a police record. They are notoriously clannish and suspicious of government. In Brooklyn, in October, 1953, they had seen covered trucks of A. F. of L. stalwarts, some of whom were unemployed seamen, go through their picket lines protected by police.

Late in December, 1953, the commission's first month of full-scale operation, the National Labor Relations Board held an election to see whether the I. L. B. or the I. L. A. should represent the dockworkers.

This writer watched the balloting in Jersey City all day; the vote there was secret and uncoerced. Throughout the port, the N. L. R. B. counted 9,060 for the I. L. A., 7,568 for the new A. F. of L. union; 4,397 votes were challenged. An enraged Governor Dewey asked the commission to report on the "violence and corruption" that he said had prevented a free vote. Lawrence E. Walsh, the commission's executive director, now a federal judge, termed the A. F. of L. ballots as proof that "the longshoreman has found his voice and risen against criminal dictators."

The N. L. R. B. threw out the election. By the spring of 1954 there was still no certified bargaining agent for longshoremen. The I. L. A. struck for recognition. The commission kept open its centers, supplying strike-breakers to hiring agents throughout the month-long stoppage. It enlisted the New York City police for their protection and eased its validation rules to encourage hiring. On some days the commission sent more than 3,000 men to the piers. It criticized the stevedores for not hiring more and suspended licenses of twenty-one longshoremen for alleged assaults. Finally it put an amendment through the two state legislatures giving it the power to seek an injunction against interference with its operations. An injunction was granted and the strike ended. But this heavy-handed legal artillery backfired. At a second and even closer election in the summer of 1954, the I. L. A. won again and was finally certified as bargaining agent. The commission has since punished 141 I. L. A. men for alleged assaults and mass picketing—the latter despite the fact that a United States Circuit Court has ruled the stoppage was bona fide.

ITS TREASURY bankrupt, its social standing akin to a pariah's the I. L. A. sat down with the New York Shipping Association to negotiate a contract. Its sole asset was the dockworkers. The final product was a genuine labor contract. It provided for 4 cents more in pension and welfare benefits, wage increases of 13 cents over two years (bringing hourly base pay to $2.48 as of October 1); a guarantee of four hours' pay for each day a man is called to work plus a guarantee of two hours' if he is recalled in the afternoon; an orderly grievance procedure ending in arbitration; a union shop and three crucial although vaguely worded provisions about hiring.

The first of the hiring clauses declares that customs and practices in effect on December 28, 1954, shall remain in effect. In order to implement the clause, the contract goes on to say that the employer shall "notify" the union when extra gangs are needed. The union understood this to mean that the employers would actually pick the extra gangs from among those offered by the I. L. A. locals. The word "notify," certainly an ambiguous word in this context, was used—so the union declares—because any plain statement of the union's right to choose extra gangs would have run counter to the bistate law, which gives this right to the commission. Even so the I. L. A.'s interpretation was followed for several months without challenge by the employer. Further to buttress traditional hiring practices, a third clause in the union-shipowners' contract provides that regular gangs and regular men who follow specific piers shall be hired first.

But on January 12, the day after the new contract went into effect, the commission announced a change of rules. Last April 1, its new gang-posting, gang-hiring system went into effect. Under it the employer is given carte blanche with respect to the hiring of extra gangs; the union is pushed out of the picture altogether. Although for the time being the regular gangs and regular men are unaffected, the new system poses a threat to their job rights, too.

ONE of I. L. A.'s best-run locals, 856, offers a striking illustration of how the new rule upsets preferences. This local has jurisdiction over eleven piers on the East and North Rivers at the south end of Manhattan. Forty of its gangs are regulars, following particular piers. The other nine rove. For fifteen years, 856 followed a policy aimed at equalizing the annual earnings of its members. Thus, when cargo was loaded or unloaded on Pier 14, North River, the five gangs working there got first call. If there was work only for three, those with the lowest earnings were called first. The nine roving gangs got first call when more gangs than the regular number following the pier were required. They too were called in order of earnings, with the lowest-earning gang called first. It is true that the system is by no means perfect. This year, through August 31, the highest-earning gang in the local earned more than $3,800; the lowest, about $2,700. Nevertheless the $2,700 figure, earned in eight months, shows up not badly in contrast with the fact that nearly two-thirds of New York's longshoremen earn less than $3,000 in a whole year.

This system can't match the West Coast, where all workers in a port are within a few dollars of each other. But at least it is a beginning. Moreover, Local 856's rotation system is in writing and agreed to by employers. Recently one stevedore refused to take a Negro gang, eligible by virtue of its lower wage earnings, for the next job. The grievance went to the joint I. L. A.-Shipping Association Labor Relations Committee and the stevedore was forced to pay the Negro gang for the work it had lost.

But the new rules are playing hob with this setup, according to Fred R. Field, Jr., Local 856's secretary-treasurer and president of the New York District Council. No hiring boss has yet been fearless enough to bypass the regular gangs, but when extras are needed, he now often ignores the equalization setup. This is done with the help of the commission.

Union officials charge that both employers and the commission are using the new rules to break the union. Anthony Anastasio, I. L. A. chieftain in Brooklyn, claims the commission centers are pushing A. F. of L. adherents into jobs. Commission member Joseph Weintraub, a New Jersey lawyer, replies, "We don't hire. The hiring agent does." But the hiring agents are licensed by the commission, and Weintraub will not permit union officials at the centers "because it would be absurd for them to police us."

Mr. Weintraub says the commission is willing to observe the bistate compact's provision for the recognition of collective bargaining arrangements, but he contends that the I. L. A. and the Shipping Association "never had any mutual understanding about customs and practices." The commission has met with union representatives and employers to spell out hiring preferences. However, Patrick J. Connolly, the I. L. A.'s executive vice-president, says these meetings have proven futile. He says the commission acts as if it had only one aim, "Bust the union." Mr. Weintraub retorts that the commission objects to union proposals only when they are illegal. "If the parties agreed that men should be hired on a preferential system, or one that equalizes pay, we would not interfere," he argues.

Faced with this stalemate, the I. L. A. on August 23 asked the Shipping Association to renegotiate the contract's hiring clause. The I. L. A. was seeking a formula that would recognize preference, yet stay within the commission rules. The employers, who can hardly be blamed for enjoying the freedom given them by the commission, declined to renegotiate. One week later the longshoremen hit the bricks.

NEWSPAPER accounts of the strike insisted the dockers' chief grievance was the capricious way in which the commission determined who may not work on the waterfront. I. L. A. leaders said little to clear the air. In any case, for the 650 men with police records whom the commission barred from the waterfront, this was a major concern. And the more than 7,000 other longshoremen with police records may also have been wondering if their turn was next. But primarily men walk off jobs over money. Most dockers stayed out not so much in defense of coworkers with criminal records, but because they believed the commission's new rules were threatening their jobs within the hiring-preference systems around the port. Mr. Weintraub, however, said the men stayed away through fear of goons.

A second source of grievance, closely tied to hiring preference, is that the commission continues to register new men for work, giving hiring bosses increasing opportunity to hire non-union labor. The I. L. A.'s leaders began to press the commission to close its register. The commission replies that the law forbids it to do so.

Beyond the primary concern over job rights, the I. L. A. challenges the commission's methods of granting and revoking registration on the basis of a man's criminal past. There are no fixed standards. "It's a matter of judgment and discretion that can't be reduced to a formula," Mr. Weinstraub says. The union can name men who were denied the right to work although their last conviction took place a decade or more ago. The whole question of rehabilitating a man who has paid his legal debt to society is at stake here.

The commission's attitude toward crime is strikingly narrow. One union official, for example, tells of a man who was denied registration for bookmaking convictions. The arrests took place when bookmaking in his area was protected by the police. When the police, to make the record look good, needed to make an arrest, the now-debarred longshoreman would let himself be found with slips and the police themselves would pay his fine. Mr. Weintraub's reaction to this story was, "A stand-in is as guilty as the man making book." The commission has lifted or suspended registrations of men who were charged with crimes but were later acquitted in court. "We are not bound by the courts," Mr. Weintraub says. "We might get witnesses to testify in our proceedings who would not testify in a court."

The bistate compact gives the commission almost unlimited latitude; court challenges of its registration procedures have so far proved unavailing. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, dissenting from a decision that upheld the compact's constitutionality, observed, "The right to work—which goes to the very heart of our way of life—is at stake in these appeals." He noted the compact apparently disqualifies a man convicted of automobile manslaughter as well as "a Communist whether he be of the cloak and dagger variety or a paler type."

The September stoppage was halted with a barrage of injunctions brought by the Shipping Association and the commission. The I. L. A., with fines and jail facing its leaders, created a strange ad hoc committee as an excuse to call the men back to work. This committee is pledged to hold public hearings on the I. L. A.'s grievances against the commission, but its auspices are not promising. It was formed by politicians from the Hague-Kenny political precinct in Hudson county, New Jersey. Its chairman, Godfrey Schmidt, is head of AWARE, the theatrical blacklisting group. The I. L. A. has nowhere else to turn. A few weeks before the strike, New York's Governor Harriman, through his counsel, promised to set up a buffer unit between the commission and the union. But the governor was apparently frightened off by outraged "respectables." During the strike, an aide to a New York legislative committee on labor also promised the I. L. A. a forum. But the committee chairman repudiated his aide's pledge. According to the New York *Times,* Governor Harriman had made a secret agreement with a Republican legislative leader not to permit any appeal for the I. L. A. outside the commission itself.

ALTHOUGH the stoppage ended on an inconclusive note, the questions it raised remain. In the minds of many, the biggest unresolved question is whether the I. L. A. is still a racket union seeking job control as a club for shakedowns or whether pressure is finally converting it into a bona fide union. Some trade-union circles, notably supporters of the A. F. of L.'s rival International Brotherhood of Longshoremen, insist the I. L. A. hasn't changed its spots. They argue that I. L. A. officials are using the union to get back their former public-loading businesses. The I. B. L., with locals mostly on the Mississippi River and Great Lakes, promises it will seek another bargaining election in New York before the I. L. A.'s current contract expires next fall. The I. B. L. says it is not impressed with the I. L. A.'s contract, arguing that it does not provide detailed, preferential-hiring rules and does not limit the loads in slings as required on the West Coast. The A. F. of L. union charges that the I. L. A. permits speed-ups, is still led by men who figured in crime-commission testimony and must be insincere in its demands that the commission close the register because it won't close its own membership books.

Certainly some I. L. A. officials talk as if they are a trifle uneasy about legitimate trade unionism. Mr. Anastasio, for example, was asked why the I. L. A. doesn't drive off the non-union men supplied by the commission by enforcing its union-shop clause. He replied, "I don't want to destroy business on my piers. If I enforce this, the employers will take the business elsewhere." Even the I. L. A.'s best friends don't deny that the local heads cooperate uneasily and too often act like feudal barons, each protecting his own principality.

It is true, too, that some I. L. A. leaders look back wistfully to public loading, now outlawed. Both Mr. Connolly and Mr. Anastasio will argue that public loading was less costly to the shipping companies than the present setup. The New York State Crime Commission, of course, showed that some union officials set themselves up as public loaders (loading and unloading pierside trucks) and used their dual role to extort handsome sums.

Most waterfront figures, friendly and unfriendly to the I. L. A., say kickbacks by the men for jobs is ancient history. But one large local recently published a souvenir journal for its annual dance filled with paid complimentary ads from gangs, men, and stevedores.

Perspective is needed for this picture. After sixty years in the business of labor contracting the I. L. A. cannot be expected to turn upside down overnight. The portwide support for the last strike, a stoppage which for brief periods even enlisted other Atlantic coast ports, suggests that the best judges, the longshoremen, find the I. L. A. worth backing.

There are some signs of a new look. Local 856, for example, has started a weekly newspaper that pleads with men to come to meetings. In between howls at the waterfront commission, it is pounding away at the men to prepare them for next year's contract. It is calling for 2,240-pound sling-load limit, paid holidays, and a "Union-Management Hiring Hall where work will be assigned on a seniority and rotary basis by a dispatcher democratically elected by the men."

Thomas Gleason, general organizer for the I. L. A., told the House Merchant Marine Committee on July 20: "We believe that stability in labor relations is essential to the progress and prosperity of the shipping industry. . . . The I. L. A. is in favor of national collective bargaining with common expirations dates for all contracts covering longshore labor in the United States." Here is an important hint of a possible merger between the I. L. A. and Harry Bridges's West Coast union.

True, the union hasn't closed its membership books. It argues that as long as the commission registers new men, there is nothing to gain by such a move. But its fight to close the register is the I. L. A.'s first recognition that too many men are seeking too few jobs. Even if the register isn't formally closed, the I. L. A.'s more knowing leaders hope to close it in effect through agreement with the shipowners.

Of course, if the union finds a formula that will enable it to live with the commission and still keep job control, the way would be open again for unscrupulous leaders to restore many of the old rackets. The answer to this, and the answer to most of the port's problems, lies in the men. Any formula the union finds will have to spell out in detail preference and equalization practices. Once these are on paper and made a daily reality, it is hard to imagine the longshoremen giving them up without a struggle that would smash the I. L. A. And no leader, no matter how much he pines for the good old days, willingly commits political suicide.

NEPAL: INDIA'S HEADACHE

The Plaints Sound Familar . . *by Taya Zinkin*

London

IMPERIALISM is one of the harshest words in the vocabulary of Nehru's India. It is an epithet often used against the United States and other Western powers. But in the fabulous kingdom of Nepal the representatives of the Indian government are damned as "imperialists" and worse, and like their Occidental counterparts, they have to grin and bear it.

Nepal is a narrow strip of a country slung across the Himalayas between India and Tibet. Of its 8,000,000 population not more than 3 per cent are literate; only the highly inbred nobility enjoy a tolerable living standard. Although racially and linguistically the Nepalese are indistinguishable from their Indian neighbors, they are fiercely proud of their independence and distrustful of all "outsiders."

The government of India was perfectly willing to let Nepal enjoy its privacy until the Chinese Communists took over Tibet. Faced then by the possibility of a further Chinese spill-over and a threat to the vulnerable flatland border that India shares with Nepal, Prime Minister Nehru informed Peking that India regarded the territorial integrity of Nepal as a national issue and that aggression against that kingdom would be considered an aggression against India.

Since the social order in Nepal is truly medieval, one might reasonably have expected its rulers to be grateful for this protective gesture. But not at all. The feudal lords didn't want to be swallowed up by the Communists, but they were equally resentful of Nehru's brotherly embrace. The defense minister of Nepal declared, "I do not like India guaranteeing my border without being asked to. Our relations with Tibet have always been cordial. We do not want to be involved in the matter simply because it suits others—and India, being a world power, has to consider many points which do not concern us, in her relations to China." The indignant tone is ironically reminiscent of that in which Nehru couched his objections to the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization.

India also has launched a program of technical assistance for Nepal, designed to strengthen the country's murky economy against a collapse that could breed domestic communism. But here too, the effort is slowed by Nepalese mistrust that verges on sabotage. The native population is unused to such fundamental procedures as regular office hours and record-keeping; graft and absenteeism are honorable institutions. The Indian advisors and technicians receive four times as much pay as their Nepalese counterparts; the government deplores local coolies being paid at the Indian scale, since the traditional wage is nothing at all.

Indeed, whatever the Indians do is wrong. If they do not mix, they are accused of being snobbish; if they do, they are patronizing—and if they fraternize, Nepalese male pride is offended. Indian soldiers assigned to building projects are under orders to let native women alone. But the mimeographed sheet that serves as a newspaper for the Nepalese capital of Kathmandu accuses Indians of "eyelashing our girls"—a heinous crime, certainly, in a land where both polygamy and polyandry are commonplace among the hill tribes.

THE INDIAN economic contribution, administered jointly by an advisory mission and the army, centers on improving transportation facilities. Kathmandu at present is accessible only by foot, by air, or by rope way. Floods, in 1954, heavily damaged the rope way, washing off nearly a third of the carrier hooks. For a year now, the Indian government has offered to replace the missing hooks free of charge, but Nepal has not yet accepted. The Indians are constructing an all-weather airport at Kathmandu—an operation slowed by the laggard arrival of material via the damaged rope way—and a road for vehicles which will link India and the Nepalese capital.

The building of the road from Bhainse Dobhan to Kathmandu, over eighty miles of mountainous

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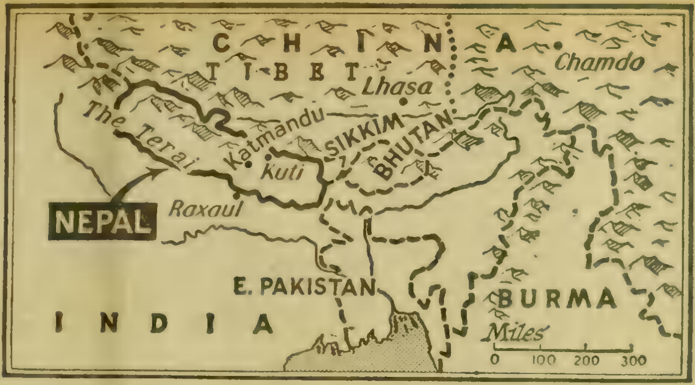
TAYA ZINKIN is correspondent in India for the Manchester Guardian *and London* Economist.



jungle, provides a complete picture of the sources of friction between the unequal partners. The Indian army is building the road, on Nepalese soil, for the benefit of Nepal. India compensates the peasants whose land is taken away for the road but the compensation has to be paid out by the Nepalese government (with Indian money). Since the appropriate governmental agency, despite its 1,000 rooms, is a mere ghost of an administrative building, the peasants lose their land and get no payment. They naturally blame the Indians for their ruin and are very unwilling to cooperate, even going to the extent of refusing to sell the produce of their land to them, although they would get higher prices than they could possibly get in the local markets.

Construction of the road is done with as much mechanization as possible. This not only avoids dealing with coolies, but makes progress faster. It also means more friction. When vehicles traverse a country hitherto innocent of any but the praying-wheel, accidents will happen. Local curiosity overcomes prudence, and Nepalese get run over. This is not surprising when one realizes that some of them have been known to race planes along an airstrip to see who could run faster, the "giant bird" or themselves.

Since there is no legal system worth the name in Nepal, and the running over a cow is punishable by death, the Indian army quite naturally has insisted that any of its drivers accused of running over somebody should be tried by Indian army courts. More resentment.

Looking into the future, one can see in the Indian road endless fuel for friction. The road is a very skilled engineering job, crossing over 8,000-foot-high passes of young Alpine granite as friable as sponge cake. It has some forty major bridges and 800-odd culverts. It will, for the next forty years, require not only a lot of maintenance, but extensive repairs as each monsoon washes out the freshly exposed hillsides, until the roadbed settles down. India is spending a lot of money on the road, to help Nepal, and to open up Nepal for strategic purposes. But who is to service the road once it is finished? If it is India, with Indian personnel, the Nepalese will shout that they are being invaded; if it is Nepal with Indian money (Nepal is a bankrupt country) Indians will shout waste. Either way the Indian government will be the villain. Does one need to cite certain international parallels this situation suggests?

A BLOW FOR EDUCATION

Death of the P.E.A. . . *by Frederick L. Redefer*

THE Progressive Education Association no longer exists. On June 25, two members of the board of directors, supported by proxies, met in Urbana, Illinois, for the purpose of declaring that the Progressive Education Association was thereby dissolved. A meeting of the membership on July 23 endorsed this decision with six dissenting votes.

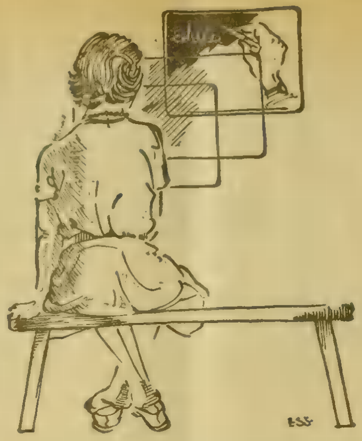
Thirty years after its founding, why did the Progressive Education Association reach a stage when not enough of its members wanted to keep it alive? The New York *Times* suggests as a reason that the word "progressive" came to be disliked and distrusted. The name became associated with socialism and communism by confused people in a confused era. When the Progressive Education Association was founded in 1919 "progressive" was a good word and the only one they could think of which expressed their direction. At this time "progressive" symbolized some of the idealism of Woodrow Wilson, the reforms of Roosevelt, and the rapid improvements of the previous decades. It expressed the spirit of the United States. To be progressive meant to be moving ahead to better things.

The Progressive Education Association was founded by a small group who did not necessarily agree with each other on specifics, but had, in common, a faith in the power of a better education in home and school to produce young people who would be more sensitive to beauty, more balanced, more mature, and more socially conscious. Charles Eliot of Harvard accepted their invitation to be the first honorary president of the Progressive Education Association and called it "the most promising movement above the educational horizon."

FREDERICK L. REDEFER, former director of the Progressive Education Association, is professor of education at New York University.

At first the association was supported in the main by parents and teachers in the private schools that sprang up in opposition to the trend toward regimentation and mechanization in the public schools. As the twenties progressed, teachers and administrators in public schools joined the movement in numbers. Professors replaced parents in an active role in the association and, in the words of Stanwood Cobb, the first president of P. E. A., "The followers of John Dewey captured the leadership of the organization." John Dewey, who always said that Francis W. Parker was the father of progressive education, became the second honorary president. His name became inextricably entwined with both the association and the movement although he was publicly critical of some progressive schools and expressed the belief that "progressive education" would soon fade out of the popular jargon of the profession. Nor were all the members of the association willing to accept the writings of John Dewey as an educational Bible.In its national conference activities, it reached approximately 25,000 teachers and administrators yearly.

THE Progressive Education Association initiated many things that redound to its credit. It published a journal, *Progressive Education,* that set a standard of quality in format and content for the educational press. It published *Frontiers of Democracy* to alert teachers to the importance that political, economic, and social events had for education. It adapted Overstreet's technique of panel discussions and made this method common practice in educational circles. It held the first "workshop" for teachers at Ohio State University. Now workshops, good and bad, have become familiar to the university campus. It developed "study conferences," in which teachers discussed and learned, rather than sat and listened. It set in motion whatever machinery now exists to protect the academic freedom of elementary and secondary teachers by prodding other teacher organizations into cooperative and more effective action. When the war clouds rolled over Europe in the middle thirties, the association led with conferences on democracy and the role of education in strengthening it.



There was no educational association that was not affected by the yeast of the Progressive Education Association. Its leaders were sought after by other conferences and to lead other organizations. They were often torn by these demands and the threads were thin that held them together as a distinct group. They never did accept one philosophical statement even though they were identified as Deweyites. When the association attempted to answer its critics as to what it meant by progressive education, a statement was published from which there were almost as many dissents as there were collaborators. Their vitality was their agreement on direction while they argued on specifics. Each followed his own route to improved education.

In the early days of the depression, the progressives in education grappled with the role of education and social change. When George Counts gave his famous talk, "Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?" at the P. E. A. national conference in Baltimore in 1932, the excitement generated was so great that discussion groups held forth into the early hours of the morning. As the depression lessened, interest in social objectives diminished. By 1940 neither Counts nor anyone else was asking this question. Reforming zeal had gone out of fashion. There was less faith in what education in the mass of schools could accomplish in the way of bringing about changes. The association through its journal, *Frontiers of Democracy,* supported intervention in World War II, and when the die was cast the P. E. A. gave all its support to the war effort but tried to make war activities educational. It tried to stress the importance of knowing why we were fighting and of planning for post-war reconstruction. It was brushed aside by the tidal wave of those who concentrated on winning the war first. The association became "causeless."

The war diverted attention away from the P. E. A. and its goals. Research studies that were to be the basis for improving education came out just when educators' efforts were absorbed by problems arising from the loss of students and faculty to the army and the munitions plants. Education struggled to maintain the status quo rather than to change for a new world. At the end of the war, the trend continued; interest in basic educational improvement was less. The association tried to rally its members about the theme of "the community" to no avail. It dropped its publication *Frontiers of Democracy* because of soaring costs and a diminished subscription list that reflected the rising climate of fear. Not only had "progressive" become a bad word but "frontiers" and "democracy" became dangerous too. The area of international education that should have been explored following Willkie's "One World" was fenced off by suspicion and timidity.

ALTHOUGH the P.E.A. continued to exist until 1955, in effect, except as the publisher of *Progressive Education,* it died long before that time. In its last five years, it held no conferences and the board of directors seldom met. The great majority of those teaching in public and private schools today were not affected by the period of the greatest influence of the P. E. A. They do not know the progressive-education movement any more than they understand the New Deal. They did not participate in the lively and productive ferment of the depression era. What organization will now provide the yeast for American education? What association will dare to bring before teachers those who have something important to say in today's world? Who will resist censorship and discuss what needs to be discussed? It will be a sad day for American education and for all society if there arises no equivalent for the now deceased Progressive Education Association.

SELLING THE KIDDIES

TV Admen's Master Stroke . . *by Joseph J. Seldin*

SEVERAL years ago, when television was in its infancy, an advertisement appeared in a trade publication pointing out to alert manufacturers the remarkable ability of television to indoctrinate pre-school children with commercial brand names. The ad, quoted in E. S. Turner's "The Shocking History of Advertising," described the following family scene:

> Speaking of surveys, we tried an experiment the other evening. . . . To a curly-headed four-year-old being tucked under the covers we posed this question: Susie, which product brushes teeth whiter? "Colgate's, of course, Gramp." We couldn't resist another. Which product washes clothes cleaner? Without a moment's hesitation: "Tide." We tried once more. Which coffee gives the best value? When she replied, "A and P, and now good-night, Gramp," we hurried out of the child's room with other questions beating at our brain.
>
> Where else on earth is brand consciousness fixed so firmly in the minds of four-year-old tots? How many pre-school Americans are pre-sold on how many different products? What is it worth to a manufacturer who can close in on this juvenile audience and continue to sell it under controlled conditions, year after year, right up to its attainment of adulthood and full-fledged buyer status? It CAN be done. Interested?

This ad appeared around 1950 when there were 5,000,000 television sets in the United States. Since then, the number of sets has spiraled to 32,000,000, entering two out of every three households in the nation. This rapid growth has afforded advertisers of soaps, cigarettes, detergents, cereals, beers, etc., the chance to "plant their feet on the nation's hearth," as one trade observer put it. It also has enabled them to "close in" on the 18,000,000 children under five years of age and the 16,000,000 in the five-to-nine group—successfully capturing many of these young listeners with their commercials. How successfully is shown in the research findings by the Youth Research Institute that "youngsters eagerly repeat television and radio commercials which strike their fancy. Even five-year-olds sing beer commercials over and over again with gusto." Assurance is offered advertisers by the Youth Research Institute that "millions of youngsters" in homes throughout the nation are singing the merits of advertised products "with the same vigor displayed by the most enthusiastic announcers." An additional bright spot is that a catchy commercial is repeatedly sung during the day by youngsters at no extra cost to the advertiser. "They are also much more difficult to turn off," the report adds.

NOR DO the children limit their activities on behalf of the advertiser to the singing of commercials. As every parent knows, they exert a major influence on family spending. One survey reveals that they urge their parents to buy a specified brand of breakfast cereal 71 per cent of the time, pressure for the purchase of 44 per cent of the packaged desserts, 35 per cent of the milk-fortifiers, and 32 per cent of the toothpastes.

The trick in turning children into the extended selling arm of the advertiser is easily accomplished by using child-appeal premiums. These premiums are generally fabricated of inexpensive plastics, metal, or paper products, and their cost is ordinarily more than covered by the charge to the consumer. Often there is room in the consumer charge for a profit for the distributor and retailers handling the premium for the advertiser. But the essence of the premium's purpose is not to return an immediate profit, but rather to excite the children and create in them an overwhelming yen for possession of the premium. This simple technique of using the premium as bait for the children, and children as bait for their parents, effectively mangles the parents' usual marketing considerations of need, price, quality, and budget.

For example, General Electric offered a sixty-piece circus, a magic-ray gun, and a space helmet as premiums for children who brought their parents into dealers' stores to witness demonstrations of new GE refrigerator models. Sylvania offered a complete Space Ranger kit, replete with space helmet, disintegrator, flying saucer, and space telephone, to children who brought their parents into dealers' stores to see the new line of television sets. Nash blandished a toy service station that pulled countless thousands of youngsters into showrooms where their parents' buying-potential was courted. Quaker Oats sent workmen into the Yukon to transplant five tons of dirt to Anchorage, Alaska, where a prospector's pouch containing a bit of the dirt was mailed to any child in return for 25 cents and a Quaker Oats boxtop. General Mills offered youngsters Lone Ranger masks in millions of Wheaties boxes and Lone Ranger comic books in millions of Cheerio boxes. Sunkist Growers offered four giant circus masks for 25 cents and a wrapper from a three-can package; Standard Brands gave away Howdy Doody coloring cards with Royal pudding boxes; Armour and Company used baseball buttons to promote the consumption of its frankfurters, and Colgate pushed up its soap sales with a "name Lassie's puppies" contest, the prizes including a year's supply of Fab for "mother." These were only a few of the many scores of juvenile premium offers.

Manipulation of children's minds in the fields of religion or politics would touch off a parental storm of protest and a rash of congressional investigations. But in the world of commerce children are fair game and legitimate prey.

JOSEPH J. SELDIN, a frequent contributor to The Nation, *is a New York advertising man.*

BOOKS

Farewell to the Crusaders

By Frederick L. Schuman

FROM Vienna in May to Geneva in July to the U. N. Assembly in September to the Foreign Ministers' meeting in October is a longer journey in diplomacy than it is on the map or in the calendar. An even longer journey stretches from the frenzies of 1948 to the global peace of 1958 by way of the lifting of the Berlin blockade, the armistice accords in Korea and Indo-China, the *de facto* truce in the Straits of Formosa, and the negotiations of the months and years to come. Prior to arrival the details of the destination remain unclear. But the direction of the travelers, long since anticipated in these pages, now admits of no doubt.

Among those left by the wayside—happily for the rest of us, for I deem these characters to be permanently consigned to limbo—are the fanatics of both camps who, year after year, have cried havoc and summoned the demonophobes and desperados to Armageddon. Their raucous pleas to slay the godless within the gates and to rescue the Sacred Sepulcher from the infidels are not yet silenced either in the paranoid section of the American press or, one may guess, in the inner councils of the Kremlin. The erstwhile listeners, however, have drifted away and are eagerly following other voices toward goals compatible with the survival of the race.

IF AND WHEN the full story of these strange and dangerous times comes to be written, one of the major tasks of the recorder and analyst will be to explain how millions were bewitched, almost to the point of madness, by the preachers of Holy War and how and why they finally recovered their reason. The time for this is not yet ripe. A beginning has nevertheless been made where one might expect it to be made: in Britain. No American statesman, journalist, or academician has essayed the enterprise. No one here has written seriously of these matters, apart from useful "think pieces" by James P. Warburg, D. F. Fleming, Nathaniel Peffer, and a few other unorthodox souls, since Walter Lippmann in 1947 published in book form his columns in criticism of the Truman Doctrine. Winston Churchill has spoken and written of them wisely, perhaps to compensate for his earlier Russophobia and his own contributions to American hysteria in 1946. So also has Arnold Toynbee, in compensation—may we say?—for the nonsense he has written about Zionism.

Now another Englishman, Kenneth Ingram, has most usefully ventured a "History of the Cold War," of which the Philosophical Library next month publishes an American edition. He is not well known, even in England, despite three novels and eleven volumes of history, biography, and current comment. He would be the last to claim that his new work is definitive and the first to grant that it is little more than a journalistic sketch. Yet the absence of any other study of comparable scope and insight makes this essay doubly welcome. He surveys in broad strokes the background, the events of 1945, the Paris Peace Conference of 1946, the Marshall Plan, the Battle of Berlin, the Czech *coup,* the Yugoslav schism, the atomic deadlock, NATO and German rearmament, unofficial East-West relations, the rising tide of color against white colonialism, China, the Korean War, the Japanese treaty, and the passing of Stalin. To have put all this together in 233 pages, on the whole readably and judiciously, is no small achievement. Readers will find the narrative highly rewarding.

Ingram begins with a justified profession of objectivity. His aim, he says, "is to enable the reader to consider the arguments of both sides, so that, after my own summing up, he can assess the measure of guilt attaching to both parties." But he warns at once against the widespread "misconception" of mutual trust during World War II. "Suspicion of Soviet intentions was a constant underlying factor in the minds of Western statesmen, and this suspicion was never removed during or since the war. The Soviet leaders were well aware of this attitude, and reacted by remaining correspondingly suspicious of the West. . . . Mutual distrust was dominant throughout. It is not enough to attribute Soviet distrust to a spirit of 'measureless ambition,' " since the ambition "was due, in part at least, to a belief that the West was so intensely hostile" as to deserve being regarded as a potential enemy. With scrupulous fairness, Ingram traces the breeding of distrust by distrust through all the major periods and problems of a hectic decade.

HERE is no sugar-coating of Soviet ruthlessness and stupidity, nor any acceptance of American policy as a righteous crusade for freedom. Ingram quotes Howard K. Smith approvingly on the sequel to the "liberation" of northern Iran from Soviet troops: its conversion into "an American satellite," 6,000 miles from America and on "Russia's most sensitive border." He notes, sagely, that in the nature of power politics all claims that NATO and the Soviet alliances are purely "defensive" are wholly unconvincing to the other side. His interpretation of what happened in Prague in February, 1948, is far removed from the evaluation of the event in our press and by Congress and the Administration. He rightly describes the McCarran Act and the Internal Security Act as erecting "so solid an iron curtain (around America) that the tourist is subjected to a searching examination of his political affinities." He exposes French rule in Indo-China as a colossal and shameless system of exploitation, though he supposes (I believe, wrongly) that the war was unleashed by the Vietminh rather than by the French in December, 1946.

The analysis of the United States and the United Nations in Korea is almost masterly and the concluding judgments are sharp. In crossing the

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FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government at Williams College, author of "International Politics," "The Commonwealth of Man," "Soviet Politics at Home and Abroad," is a frequent contributor to The Nation.

38th Parallel, U. N. forces in Korea ceased to be a "police force" against aggression and became "co-belligerents" of Syngman Rhee. "China acted illegally because the United Nations acted illegally" in an error which must never be repeated. American insistence on barring Red China from the U. N. is "entirely unreasonable." Ingram finds it difficult "to escape from the conclusion that the Soviet Union at no period intended to undertake a major offensive against the West, or a minor offensive which would involve the risk of precipitating a major war." In such a war, Britain would have been "virtually annihilated" and both America and Russia ruined. Peace is therefore a necessity and worth the price of patience. "There is no other way."

THE HOLY WARRIORS will denounce the book as "pro-Soviet." The allegation will be as accurate as *Pravda's* contention that one of my own books was "an apology for an American imperialism." Ingram's volume is a valuable contribution to the peace which lies before us. It will be for other analysts to show more fully how the two giants, in their fear-blinded rivalry, unwittingly achieved a global military stalemate rendering war impossible and peace inevitable. And still others must show, if we are to meet the challenge of the human psyche in our age—a far more formidable challenge than the challenge of the atom—how it came to pass that enlightened men on both sides were so victimized by panic that they all but became reincarnations of Peter the Hermit, Godfrey of Bouillon, Torquemada, and the witch-killers of Salem.

The evil spell is lifting. If any comrades still dream of the "collapse of capitalism" or the revolutionary or military "liberation" of the Western "proletariat," their voices are muted echoes of a lost past or of a millenial future so remote as to be innocuous. And among us the tumult and the shouting of the Senator from Formosa and the Senator from Bedlam also die. Having chosen life in place of death, the Hominidae of the twentieth century have also voted against all crusades and political proscriptions and in favor of patience, perseverance, and forbearance as sign-posts toward a new and fruitful era.

The Critic in Love

BOOK OF MOMENTS. Poems 1915-1944. By Kenneth Burke. Hermes Publications. Los Altos, California. No price given.

By John Ciardi

KENNETH BURKE has made his reputation as the master parser and pigeonholer of modern criticism. In moments of the last forty years he has also been moved to poetry, a kind of "sporadic personal diary," as he calls it, and these ninety pages of impromptus are the generally happy result. Burke certainly has wit, feeling, immediacy, and a sometimes happily haunted sense of the voices of poetry. Quite obviously, however, he has wasted no significant amount of time in revision. The strength of these poems is in their verve, their neatness (at best), and in the honesty with which they earn their sentiment. Their principal weaknesses are in their air of being too often simply intellectual exercises, and in their willingness to tolerate a number of lines that could certainly have been improved by the application of some of Mr. Burke's own critical guides. In a good poem titled Three Seasons of Love, for example, Burke writes: (italics mine)

> But when the chill leaps up,
> And the leaves with a *beautiful melancholy*
> Get out their silks to die in,
> Like *great* lifeless Vikings sent out upon the sea,
> *Majestic in their blazing, wealth-laden galleys*. . .

The base image here strikes me as powerfully right and usable, but has the poet's imagination really worked the passage? Lines three and four are certainly the center and substance of the poetic idea. But what function has the italicized wording? What need is there to tell us that a Viking funeral is beautiful, melancholy, both great and majestic, and that it is staged on a blazing and wealth-laden galley, when all these assertions are already implicit (and therefore more alive) in the image itself?

But Burke's gift as a poet is also real. His word play is in true mortal-fun, and his ear for a rhythm is rich and right. He does especially well in ending a poem on a kind of dissolving rhythm. Not with a bang but a whimper, perhaps, but the whimper sings. Above all, the poems, when put together, generate the sense of a real person—learned, bourbony, getting on to mortality as a bit of a hard case but still, and always, sweet on life. I like both the cantankerousness and the sweetness; one flavors the other. No one should have trouble believing that Kenneth

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JOHN CIARDI is associate professor of English at Rutgers University. His "As If, Poems New and Selected" was published in September.

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Burke's despairs are humanly real.

And certainly, along with a sprinkling of perfect and near-perfect passages scattered through the uneven poems, Sonnet to California and Industrialist's Prayer seem unimprovable of their kind. I like, too, the second stanza (a better poem in itself than the whole poem, I think) of Uneasy Thought of Peace:

> In our street
> We lie in our hovels
> And hear it having snowed
> By the scraping of shovels.

For a visit to the indescribable, no one should miss the five, so-called, Flowerishes. Many of the individual aphorisms Burke has built into them could surely be improved, but the total idea is a thing to be stunned by.

The Second Industrial Revolution

AMERICA AT MID-CENTURY. By Andre Siegfried. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $5.75.

By Albert Guerard

ANDRE SIEGFRIED has known and studied this country for fifty years. In 1927, his "America Comes of Age" was hailed as a classic. This book is not a revised edition: it has been thought out and written anew. At eighty, Siegfried is still the keenest of students, not a fossil.

He takes up The Geographical Aspect (a favorite approach with him); The American People: formation, composition, psychology; American Economy; The Social Background and the Formation of Public Opinion; Political Life; and External Relations. The work is highly condensed as well as encyclopedic. No summary could do it justice; and a thorough discussion would require pages. I can pick out only a few salient points.

The ethnic development of America went through three phases. In the Colonial and early Republican periods, the country was unquestionably Anglo-Saxon and Protestant. As such, it was harmonious and mature: the Founding Fathers were not adolescent minds. Then came mass immigration: Irish, Italian, Jewish, Slavic. This created a curious colonialism in reverse: the "natives," i. e., the old stock, exploited and therefore despised the "invaders," i. e., the immigrants. Under a democratic phraseology, there was a class system, fluid but very real, even in the ranks of labor. This ended in 1914. The next four decades saw the progress of social and economic equality. Conspicuous waste was toned down from the Gilded Age. The proletariat disappeared, to the great chagrin of the Marxians. We are now a classless society, a Workers' Republic.

FROM the economic point of view, he insists on the *second* industrial revolution: not simply the machine age, but the advent of immense and thorough organization, the managerial system. It means of course the end of rugged individualism. It is frankly collectivistic, more closely akin to socialism and technocracy than to the economy of the Village Blacksmith. Our slogans are still of the eighteenth century; our industry is of the twentieth.

For Siegfried, the great depression, a crucial event, marked the end of laissez-faire capitalism: we are a welfare state, willy-nilly. Prosperity returned, however, not with the New Deal, but with the Second World War, through boldly socialistic methods. In politics, Siegfried discovered thirty years ago that the lobbies, not the parties, were the essential realities. The parties are

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ALBERT GUERARD is professor emeritus of comparative literature at Stanford University.

An Old Liberal Looks to the New Year, 1953*

A friend had written, saying: "God, what a fantastic situation, when activities legal in 1935 lead to one's being regarded as a criminal in 1952." We pondered on his observation, thus:

Now things are getting turned around,
As turned around as things can be.
And the social conscience of '35
Becomes the treason of '53.

What you did then, all virtuous and legal,
Is now adjudged a crime against the Eagle.

You said, "It's coats we need, both new and old,
To keep us warm in the financial cold."
I think you'd better plead that you did not,
Now that the weather has become so hot.

Be suppliant,
Recant.

You said, "Let's help Democracy in Spain."
Well, lad, I think you'd better say again.
Such attitudes are now deemed vile and ranko,
To be quite Franco.
You said, "Let us protect the immigrant."
Recant.
You would defend our foreign-born?
Unblow your horn.

Were you adaptive during the depression?
You're now a captive, with or sans confession.
The situation then? Forget it, brother.
The situation has become another.

What then was good is now proclaimed polluted,
So let the newer Freedom be saluted.
Did you occasionally rant,
Finding in talk a stimulant?
Were you a bit too protestant?
Or not enough intolerant?
In social views vociferant?
In manifestoes jubilant?
In sponsorship insouciant?
Were you a parlor-pinkish termagant
Who liked with Charlie Marx to gallivant?
Recant! Recant!
What you did then, to be elect,
Is now a crime in retrospect.
The realm of charity grows scant.
Recant.

KENNETH BURKE

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*Reprinted from "Book of Moments" with the author's permission.

merely rival firms of contractors offering their services, without any clear-cut ideal of their own.

Siegfried notes the vast progress of Catholicism in numbers, status, and influence. But he believes that the country is still fundamentally Protestant, Puritan, Calvinistic, Presbyterian—at times, he uses the terms interchangeably. He does not make it clear how the other-worldliness of Christianity turned with us into the worship of material success; or how the gloom of Calvin was transformed into indomitable optimism. I believe that the tradition of the Fathers, Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, Thomas Paine, which he overlooks, is still with us: we are the sons of the Enlightenment. Bargy defined America's religion as "a positivism tinged with Christianity," and William James might have endorsed the phrase.

The tinge is paling: ask Mr. Dulles, the advocate of massive retaliation, what he thinks of the Sermon on the Mount. The moralistic tone, not always convincing to the rest of the world, and the intermittent missionary zeal remain. But they are not specifically Protestant: they existed under the French Revolution, as they exist in Russia. If some Americans are "starry-eyed," "do-gooder" has become a term of reproach. No country is a monolith, but, as Montaigne said of man, "fluctuating and diverse." Siegfried conveys this complexity and this sense of change. Whither? He is too canny to tell.

Selected New Books

Philosophy

PHILOSOPHIES OF EDUCATION IN CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE. By Theodore Brameld. Dryden Press. $4.50. Seeing education as an enterprise to be understood in the context of a whole culture, the author surveys three of the most influential educational theories in America today. Progressivism, with its pragmatic philosophy emphasizing individual growth and social experience, is seen to share the conflicting tendencies and problems of the liberal outlook in the contemporary cultural crisis. Essentialism, with its combination of realistic and idealistic philosophical premises, seeing education as handing on basic tradition to passive receptive minds, is judged as expressing an entrenched conservative outlook. Perennialism, set in the Platonic-Aristotelian-Thomistic background, looking back to an idealized past and thinking in terms of a mentally-disciplined elite, is interpreted as both regressive and containing an inherently anti-democratic potential. The explication of the author's own approach—a more far-reaching "reconstructionism"—is postponed to another volume.

THE AGE OF IDEAS. By George R. Havens. Henry Holt. $6. This is a welcome addition to the growing popular literature on the intellectual enlightenment of eighteenth-century France. Life-and-idea sketches of selected figures trace the step-by-step awakening from the despotic reaction of Louis XIV to the French Revolution. More than half the book is devoted to exhibiting the many-sidedness and influence of the giants—Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot. It is written with both an interest in personal detail and a general consciousness that progress today depends on deepening the rational spirit in understanding man.

THE AGE OF ANALYSIS. Twentieth-Century Philosophers. Selected, with Introduction and Interpretive Commentary, by Morton White. Houghton Mifflin. $3. This is the second volume to appear in the series "Great Ages of Western Philosophy" intended for the general reader. It whets the appetite with thirteen philosophers as diverse as Croce, Sartre, Dewey, and Wittgenstein, in selections conveying general outlook rather than specific doctrine or social application. The only major schools wholly unrepresented are the specifically religious, and dialectical materialism. Editorial comments are clear, copious, and sprightly. They have an explicit pragmatic-analytic bent.

THE LIFE OF DAVID HUME. By Ernest Campbell Mossner. Texas. $7 50. An eminently readable full-length study of the eighteenth-century Scottish philosopher. It is constructed with scholarly loving care and will probably remain the definitive account of his life and personal relations—intimate reactions as well as overt aims. It sees Hume in the matrix of day-to-day events, chiefly as reflected in consciousness, his own and others'. Here lie both its strength of immediate fact and its weakness in eschewing interpretive principles. But since Hume had the keenest mind in English philosophy and remains the patron saint of present influential analytic schools, it is good fortune to have the solid base of this book for testing the multiplying interpretations today that aim at wider historical sweep and greater philosophical depth.

ABRAHAM EDEL

The Great Tradition In English Literature:

FROM SHAKESPEARE TO SHAW

A Biographical-Critical Account Of
22 Major Literary Figures During 300 Years Of History

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois says:

"In these hectic days nobody takes up a book of 946 pages with the idea of reading it through. When I opened Annette Rubinstein's **The Great Tradition in English Literature** it was with the idea of glancing through it and then using it for occasional reference. Instead I read every word of it, and as I lay it down I want my friends to know why they would better follow my example."

Van Wyck Brooks says:

". . . it seems to me that I see American literature very much as you see the older literature from which it sprang. In other words, we have the same idea of the 'great tradition,' and, seen in this light, the two great literatures in our tongue have sprung from a common root and attitude towards life. I am grateful to you for this, for the dominant school of critics now emphasizes what seems to me a secondary and inferior strain. Do let me thank you most warmly for what you have done . . ."

Some copies of the special author's edition, published at $10, are now available at the regular trade price of $7.50. Please send check or money order directly to the author:—Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, 59 W. 71 St., New York 23, N. Y.

Books in Brief

A Work of Art

SOME PREFER NETTLES. By Junichiro Tanizaki. Translated from the Japanese by Edward G. Seidensticker. Knopf. $3.

Westerners have long tended to think of Japan as a cultural monolith, a single human block enclosed on one side by cherry blossoms and on the other by Shinto. "Some Prefer Nettles," a short novel by Junichiro Tanizaki, in a superb translation by Edward G. Seidensticker, suggests the complexities of Japan with remarkable economy. The book is at once art and education.

Mr. Tanizaki etches the primary tension of Japanese life: the impact of Westernization on an ancient set of traditions, and the dangers of either a retreat into nostalgia or complete cutting away of the past. His book, however, is by no means a "problem" novel. Mr. Tanizaki is too fine a craftsman for explicit rhetoric on his theme. The symbols are there as objects, actions, and human contrasts; ultimately, however, the reader must recreate each tension and element for himself.

This is as it should be, for in Mr. Tanizaki's tenuous prose there is no room for the obvious. He prefers, in his own words, "to keep a thin sheet of paper between the fact or the object and the words that give expression to it." The result is narrative at once delicate and tough, with precise examination of the antenna-touch of meaning on meaning. It is a subtle narrative, as Mr. Tanizaki moves from voiced dialogue to "interior shots" of the several minds involved, giving each conversation unusual nuance.

Scientific Bloodhound

SALAMANDERS AND OTHER WONDERS. Still More Adventures of a Romantic Naturalist. By Willy Ley. Viking. $3.95.

Mr. Ley's popular-science books are not quite like anybody else's. Puzzles, mysteries, and disputed points are his specialty and he has a bloodhound's persistence in following trails through forgotten journals or obscure books. Give him a vulgar error or a lost animal to trace down the centuries and he is happy. So too, is any reader with similar tastes. Like his two previous books on the same plan the present one offers a wide assortment of tangled tales which range from those still unexplained footprints in Himalayan snows which natives insist are left by an unknown race of beast-men to the man-eating tree of Madagascar which seems to have come into the corpus of scientific pseudodoxia via a solemn hoax. Another tidbit attempts to trace the relation between the ancient legends about pygmies and those tribes of little men which do actually exist. Still another sketches the full background of the Lysenko epic which goes back to Kammerer, the puzzling Austrian biologist who committed suicide when his fraudulent experiments supposed to demonstrate the inheritance of acquired characteristics were exposed, but who was rehabilitated in a movie, sponsored by Lunarcharsky, which presented him as the victim of a capitalist plot designed to protect the aristocratic implications of orthodox genetics. "Salamanders" is not everybody's meat but it ought to please those interested in detective stories as well as those interested in what the author calls "romantic" natural history.

How Cities Grow

AMERICAN SKYLINE. By Christopher Tunnard and Henry Hope Reed. Houghton Mifflin. $5.

Tunnard's "City of Man" was an extremely ambitious effort; the charm of this little book lies in its simplicity. It takes up the growth and form of our towns and cities, through the Colonial Pattern, the Young Republic, the Romantic Era, the Age of Steam and Iron, The Expanding City, the City Beautiful (which the authors defend against the scorn of the functionalists), the City of Towers, and the Regional City. There is a convenient summary in tabular form, which is a capital syllabus of our cultural history. The style is direct and pleasing; the illustrations, both the drawings by John Cohen and the photographs, are excellent. It is impossible to be lucid without general ideas. But some general ideas are sirens. We are told: "Would the skyscrapers have risen in a country with limits?" But the skyscraper came into existence because Manhattan was a tight little island. The vastness of America demands a sprawling, not a soaring, architecture. "All colonial countries find new energy on becoming independent nations." Compare the brilliancy of eighteenth-century Mexico with the dark chaos of the nineteenth. On the whole, a useful and delightful book, with definite bearing on the problems ahead of us.

Life on the Wing

BIRDS OF THE WORLD. By Paul Barruel. Translated by Phyllis Barclay-Smith. Oxford. $12.50.

The title of this handsome volume is misleading. In no sense is the book a comprehensive guide to the birds of the world—the different species and their distribution. The author, the French naturalist and artist Paul Barruel, has, rather, given the reader, in language that shuns technical jargon, an understanding of the way birds behave. He is concerned with their daily round of activities—flight, foraging for food, fighting, etc.; their reproductive cycle with its mating, nesting, and singing; their incredible migrations; their traits of gregariousness and solitude. The author uses pictures fully as much as words—and often to far greater effect. The text is gorgeously illustrated with colored prints—most of them selected from paintings done by himself—with pen and ink drawings, and hundreds of candid camera shots. His point of view is especially refreshing: neither coldly scientific nor sentimental. He has reached the interesting conclusion that "it is not by investing animals with human feeling that we shall feel they are nearer to us, or that we shall understand them better, but, on the contrary, by recognizing that it is man who, without realizing it and despite his isolation, has retained psychological characteristics of the higher animals." Note: the North American reader will be disappointed that very few of our native birds find their way into text or pictures.

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Records

B. H. Haggin

THE NEW Angel recording of Mozart's "Cosi Fan Tutte" (3522-C) is an outstanding event. Listening to it one hears first the beautiful playing of the Philharmonia Orchestra under von Karajan; in the opening scene one hears the beautiful voices of Simoneau (Ferrando), Panerai (Guglielmo), and Bruscantini (Don Alfonso), noting that Bruscantini's voice makes Don Alfonso a prematurely cynical young bachelor instead of the old one of the opera, and noting further that all three sing with extraordinary delicacy and refinement of phrasing and style; in the next scene one hears the beautiful voices of Schwarzkopf (Fiordiligi) and Merriman (Dorabella) used with similar delicacy and refinement; and by the end of that scene, after the exquisite textures of the great quintet *Di scrivermi,* one realizes that the entire performance is being held to the scale of Schwarzkopf's miniature style of singing. She herself opens up with greater power in *Come scoglio* and in the recitative leading to *Per pieta,* but not in *Per pieta* itself, and without the amplitude of vocal sound with which Steber achieves such grandeur in these two arias in the Columbia performance. This is, then, an exquisitely, ear-ravishingly sung performance, wonderfully effective and moving as such a performance though it doesn't have other effects of a more robust one. And if one thinks at first that it is a performance one would never hear in one of the great opera houses, one's further thought is that it is a performance one might very well hear in the Redoutensaal in Vienna or the theater at Glyndebourne. Not having mentioned it earlier I will end by mentioning now the beautiful singing of Lisa Otto, the Despina.

Like "L'Italiana in Algeri," Rossini's "Il Turco in Italia," which he wrote a year later at the age of twenty-two, exhibits a youthful freshness of invention in the lyric, comic, and florid bravura styles that are most familiar in "The Barber of Seville" and that rise to incandescence in "La Cenerentola." The several concerted numbers are especially fine; and on the other hand Rossini gives us Fiorilla's lovely simple song *Se il zefiro si posa.* Angel 3535-5S offers the superb La Scala production of last spring, with Callas, Rossi-Lemeni, Gedda, Calabrese, and Stabile, and with Gavazzeni conducting. After Callas's reckless forcing and consequent stridency and tremulous shrillness in "La Forza del Destino" it is a surprise and a pleasure to hear her continent use of a voice miraculously restored in "Il Turco"—which is to say that the unusual timbre of the voice and the extraordinary tension and projective force of its inflection, are again very exciting, and this not only in the florid bravura passages but in the simple *Se il zefiro.*

Similar singing is is heard on Angel 35233, "Callas: Coloratura-Lyric," in *Una voce poco fa* from "The Barber," the Shadow Song from "Dinorah," the Bell Song from "Lakme" (in Italian), and the Bolero from "I Vespri Siciliani." Serafin conducts the Philharmonia Orchestra in these arias and in others from "Mefistofele," "La Wally," "Andrea Chenier," and "Adriana Lecouvreur."

AS a newspaper reviewer of musical events in London from 1888 to 1894 Bernard Shaw wrote the finest music criticism written in English, and some of the finest in any language. Though concerned with happenings of seventy years ago it is fascinating to read today, and no one should miss it. But one should read the four volumes of "London Music" and "Music in London" in the Constable complete edition of Shaw, which are imported by bookstores, rather than the selection from them in the volume "Shaw on Music" recently issued by Anchor Books, which offers only a small part of the superb material in the Constable volumes, and this part with what for me are the annoying intrusions of Eric Bentley's foreword and his categories and titles, which are moreover poor bases of selection and arrangement. Since most of Shaw's chronicles dealt with a number of events and a mixture of subjects he

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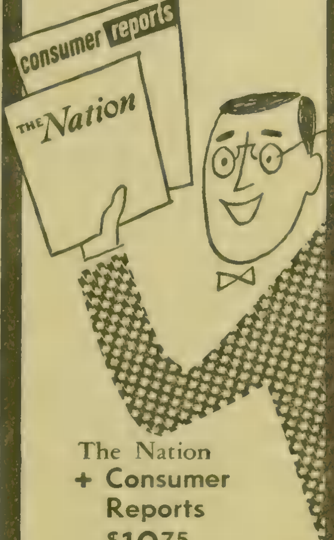

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published them in the Constable volumes in chronological order with nothing but their dates; and they don't submit to the professional anthologist's categories and titles: under "The Main Tradition" and the sub-category "Mozart," in the Anchor volume, one finds something titled "Mozart and Beethoven" on the basis of nothing more than an opening observation in a passage concerned with the misdeeds of a pianist; and uninteresting pages about musical comedies of the period are included to fill out the category "Light Entertainment." Nor do I approve the kind of intellectual operation with which Bentley, in his foreword, justifies the selection: it is, he says, not a selection for the historian that gives a picture of musical London around 1890, nor one for the student of Shaw that gives an account of Shaw's mind, but one for the music lover: "by removing hundreds of thousands of words on hundreds of topics [we] leave ourselves with some one hundred thousand words which are . . . about music and musicians." It is not true that the selected hundred thousand are about music and the other hundreds of thousands about other topics: the truth is that the material for the historian and for the student of Shaw and for the music lover is in all the hundreds of thousands of words, which are about music and musicians.

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GEORGE G. KIRSTEIN,
Publisher.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 27th day of September, 1955.

(Seal) GEORGE F. BRANDON,
Notary Public.

State of New York No. 41-0392950. Qualified in Queens County. Term expires March 30, 1957.

Letters

The Holohan Story

Dear Sirs: I have just finished reading Jesse Gordon's story on The Holohan Case in the September 10 issue, and being the late major's brother I was much pleased. It is very well written and is most accurate in the basic details, and I consider it one of the better presentations of the case.

JOSEPH R. HOLAHAN.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sirs: The story of The Holohan Case in your issue of September 10 by Jesse Gordon was fascinating. The general counsel of the Defense Department admits they have twenty or thirty other cases which cannot be prosecuted for similar reasons. Maybe that is the reason the Defense Department tried to suppress the story. But that isn't the way in a democracy. Why the secrecy and censorship of news?

JOAN MORRISON
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sirs: Your article on The Holohan Case deserves commendation. Mr. Jesse Gordon and you have rendered a fine public service in revealing the true and detailed facts of this appalling case. Our jurisprudence has benefited greatly also.

JESSE L. ROSENBERG
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sirs: The article on The Holohan Case was a clear and succinct review of the events as they have been disclosed from time to time in the newspapers and magazines; you are to be commended for your presentation of the case.

However, certain things occur to me as a lawyer which have not been made clear. For example, if Icardi and LoDolce planned the murder of Majar Holohan solely for the purpose of stealing the funds which were in his possession, why should they have taken two Italian partisans into the plot? And why should these partisans have permitted themselves to become accessories to the murder of an American officer who was where he was as a representative of the United States Government, placed there to help the cause in which they were enlisted? In other words, the motive for the killing has not been fully established, and motive is an important element of premeditated murder.

Finally, no reason is given for the implied charge that the Defense Department has been engaged in a "cover up." As we know, the army does not condone mutiny or murder of an officer, especially by his juniors, under any circumstances, and if such were the case, it may be presumed that it would have left no stone unturned to bring the culprits to military justice. The failure of the department to take any step in that direction must be ascribed to reasons other than a "cover up."

Perhaps the perjury trial of Icardi which, I read, has been set for next February, may clear up some of these points.

BERTRAM BOARDMAN
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sirs: In The Holohan Case, Jesse Gordon lists the errors and omissions of the Department of Defense in its handling of this affair. The author gave constructive criticism and it was exceptionally well written.

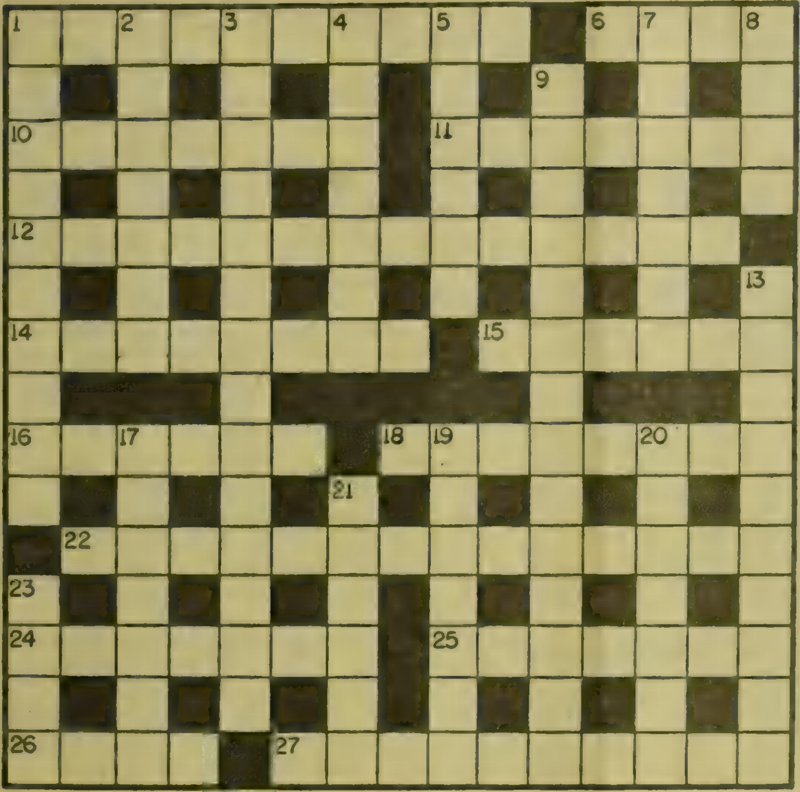
We know, for example, that morale suffers whenever there is any suspicion that public information is being withheld in an unwarranted manner. The Department of Defense should realize that news suppression is harmful in any democratic country.

CAPTAIN AMOS L. HORST (Ret.)
New York, N. J.

Dear Sirs: I found The Holohan Case by Jesse Gordon particularly stimulating and disturbing. There is so much more I would like to know and understand. Why haven't the wheels of justice turned properly in this case? And what does this symbolize to the public both here and abroad in terms of justice, fair play, and due process of law? Here's hoping a much more thorough and public investigation of the case comes out of this. Thank you for your coverage and insight in being interested enough to print a story like this. I'm happy that we still have publications like yours that believe in good and honest journalism.

FRANCES TURCHIN
Flushing, N. Y.

Crossword Puzzle No. 640
BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 9 down Did Wordsworth imply the youngster is obsese, when attended by [illegible] person of valor and something to circulate about them? (3,5,2,6,2,3,3)
[illegible] See 8 down
10 Pawns capable of being rushed. (7)
11 A sort of powder a long way around on the railroad. (7)
12 They certainly don't sound like the wrong pair of persons bent on flight. (6,8)
14 Raises a stink, no doubt! (8)
15 Throw the remainder in the river, fast! (6)
16 It comes back withered-like inside, and does away with things. (6)
18 He might perform a confusing operation on deck. (8)
22 Such functions might refer to the operation of 1 down. (14)
24 Is a name difficult to recall with it? (7)
25 Even slim men seem somewhat large around the middle, upon close inspection. (7)
26 and 23 down Make the cart cross back into the entrance way. (8)
27 Mercury might typify them. (10)

DOWN

1 Correct notes should involve striking the right key with it. (10)
2 Plaintive. (7)
3 Having the best cards? (14)
4 Look! Black can get out of hand! (7)
5 Brought up like Remus's folks, if you don't find out first. (6)
7 Are they in the lumbering line, when it comes to transportation? (7)
8 and 6 across You might into a cot of an apostic. (8)
9 See 1 across.
13 Keep track of the waves as they come in—they help each other along. (10)
17 His brother was not quite so proper. (7)
19 One of these might be bad in part, even if good. (Their duties shouldn't be taken too lightly!) (7)
20 Deviation from form (with formal permission, of course). (7)
21 Is the foreign agent a relative? (6)
23 See 26 across.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 639

ACROSS: 1 COVES; 4 SUBSTANCE; 9 NO SMOKING; 10 ELOPE; 11 IN A PICKLE; 12 OMITS; 13 NOW AND THEN; 21 IXION; 22 PRECIPICE; 23 GRETA; 24 INTRIGUED; 25 DISSENTER; 26 NEEDY. DOWN: 1 CANDID; 2 VASSAL; 3 STOLID; 4 STICK TO THE POINT; 5 BIGGER AND BETTER; 6 TOE HOLDS; 7 NEOLITHS; [illegible] EVENSONG; 14 UNHINGED; 15 UGLINESS; 16 STONE AGE; 18 MINION; 19 MINUTE; 20 and 17 DEADLY NIGHTSHADE.

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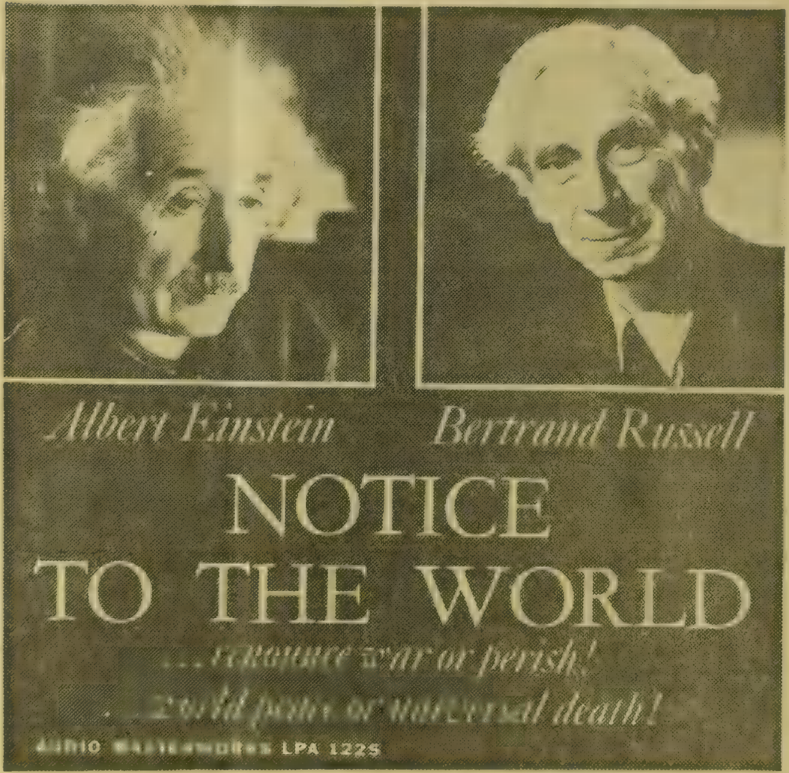
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THE Nation

October 15, 1955 / 20c

OPIUM TRADE

Is China Responsible? . . *by John O'Kearney*

Burgess-Maclean Case

by Andrew Roth

Geneva on 42nd Street

by Harold Greer

Crime in Your Parlor

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Baccalaureates In Strike-Breaking

New Orleans

FOR eleven weeks this spring, an impressive majority of the 60,000 employees of the Southern Bell Telephone Company waged a strike against the company in nine Southern states. As members of the Communications Workers of America—C. I. O., the telephone workers maintained picket lines and effective strike activity in what is regarded as the anti-labor stronghold of the nation: the Deep South.

There were two aspects of the strike which might furnish clues to the development of community attitudes toward trade unionism. First, there was more general support for the strikers in this conflict than in any other strike in Dixie history. Second, and in some contrast, the company found a new and large-scale source of workers to cross the union's picket lines: the college campus.

"We had no idea, when we went on strike March 14, that such terrific support would develop from other labor organizations and from the public," said W. A. Smallwood, district director for the C. W. A.-C. I. O. in the Southern Bell territory. "Somehow our strike caught the imagination of the people." Expressions and acts of cooperation and encouragement came from public officials, private citizens, and from labor organizations that had previously not dared even to make their existence known in the community. On the floor of the United States Senate, in the City Council of New Orleans, among sympathy-striking steelworkers in Birmingham, and from carpenters in Memphis, came resolutions in support of the union. In Americus, Georgia, pickets were invited to use the home of the mayor, next to the telephone building, as strike headquarters. In Slidell, Louisiana, a local merchant put up an awning to protect the strikers from the hot Southern sun. Many of the communities that showed cooperative understanding of the strikers in the Southern Bell strike of 1955 are towns that two or five or ten years ago had run union organizers out of town at gunpoint.

Southern Bell managed to maintain skeletal service during the strike, drawing partly on regular employees and partly on supervisory workers from "other" telephone companies. But this time the company also used several thousand students from colleges and universities all over the South who proved willing to cross picket lines.

NEARLY three-hundred Tulane University students maintained manual switchboards in New Orleans. Football players led crowds of Mississippi Southern students across the lines, jeering the pickets. Georgia Tech, the University of Alabama, Auburn, and Louisiana State University became prime recruiting grounds for strike-breaking. It was not a haphazard enlistment program. In the very first days of the walkout, enough students began working the exchanges to convince union officials that a well-planned effort had been underway for some time before the strike began—almost necessarily with the cooperation of some teachers or leaders of the university communities.

Of course the hourly wage the strike-breaking students received from Southern Bell (won over years of bitter union struggle) was generally higher than they could have made elsewhere in their communities. Southern students, further, must represent a conservative segment of the most conservative area in the nation. These facts are not new, nor is the use of colleges to promote corporate interests. After all, the amount of money that companies are spending in educational institutions is large and growing larger, and has always been a significant factor in the budgets of private schools. What is significant here is the fact that the student's strike-breaking activities created no apparent opposition from within the schools themselves. It is easy to imagine the indignation that would have been generated on the campuses of the 1930's in like circumstances.

Many observers feel that what happened is a reflection of the general suppression of "left-wing" (in the old sense of the term) opinions on the campus. Or, with some contradiction, it is said that trade unionism, having become powerful and institutionalized in contrast to the depression years, no longer draws the support of the "radicals" of the campus. The fact that college-trained young men and women who seek jobs with labor organizations have considerably diminished in number in recent years supports the latter point.

Trade-union satisfaction with the growth of a more balanced economic sentiment in the South must be tempered with concern over the kind of educational process which gives a new cast to our campuses.

JAMES E. YOUNGDAHL

[*James E. Youngdahl is an assistant regional director of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers-C. I. O.*]

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EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Those Runaway Diplomats

Vladimir Petrov's account for *U. S. News and World Report* (September 23) of how "the missing diplomats," Donald Maclean and Guy Burgess, fled from London to Moscow weighted down with top Anglo-American secrets has been a godsend to American right-wing commentators and columnists deeply concerned with mounting criticism of the Administration's security system (see Andrew Roth's article on page 318.) The latest Petrov disclosure is pure hearsay, of the overly-ripe variety, but almost any variation can be played on it by simply suggesting that the published report of the Australian Royal Commission does not set forth everything the commission learned. Apart from the Petrov fillip, the case has invaluable elements for a right-wing propaganda triumph, involving as it does homosexuals, perfidious Albion (Labor and Tory), striped-pants diplomacy, and Cambridge-educated traitors. Aided by the fact that the British Foreign Office did adopt a strangely—in some respects a suspiciously—lackadaisical attitude toward the antics of Burgess and Maclean, who seem to have behaved like well-rehearsed actors cast in the role of double-agents, the myth-makers have been conducting a nicely orchestrated campaign with special solo parts contributed by Rebecca West and David Lawrence.

Miss West, who has contributed a Hitchcock scenario to the Hearst press, suggests that there is "a third man," unnamed in the case, as well as a mysterious organization, also unnamed. To Mr. Lawrence the case "proves" that inquiries into the moral habits of government employees are justified and that guilt can be established by kinship and association. In his view, Maclean and Burgess must be "credited with costing the United States the war in Korea," although Maclean did not take over the American desk in the Foreign Office until one day after—not eighteen days before, as *U. S. News and World Report* would have it—the Chinese launched their attack in Korea. Now, of course, Senator Eastland wants to know if Burgess and Maclean did not, perhaps, induce the Chinese to cross the Yalu. In short, another "who-lost-China" shouting contest impends with Burgess and Maclean serving as stand-ins for Chambers and Hiss.

Renewed interest in this fascinating case should not be permitted to detract from the force of former Senator Harry P. Cain's recent comment (he is now a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board) that the Administration's security program has worked "a permanent and grievous injury to our society." There is nothing in the Petrov disclosures or the British White Paper that robs this criticism of its force; quite the contrary. As Mr. Roth points out, the tough Soviet security system did not prevent the defection of Petrov any more than British intelligence, always highly rated, prevented the escape of Burgess and Maclean. The real danger comes not from occasional instances of misplaced confidence but from police-state methods which free societies can adopt, in Mr. Cain's phrase, only with "the certain loss of their reason for being and to the detriment of their vitality and ability to withstand aggression."

"Wir Sind Wieder Da!"

Several disquieting developments have already emerged out of the political campaign now going on in the Saar preparatory to the popular referendum to be held there on October 23. The pro-German parties in the territory have shown surprising strength and a not-so-surprising affinity for Nazi-style propaganda tactics. The referendum was arranged for in the Franco-German agreement of October 23 last year, to which Chancellor Adenauer and Mendes-France, then premier of France, put their signatures. Its purpose is to give the people of the Saar an opportunity to ratify, or to repudiate, the European status foreseen for the territory. France and the Bonn Republic engaged themselves not to interfere in any way with the ballot or with the political campaign leading up to it. But Bonn has not kept its word. The Federal Republic is financing, to a great extent, the Saar pro-German parties.

In the meantime pro-German extremists are conducting an electoral campaign which in its chauvinism and anti-French and anti-European character transcends the bounds of decency. "Wir sind wieder da!"—"we are there again!"—was the caption which a Saar German-language newspaper ran under the picture of some of the pro-German leaders, who were clad in uniforms almost identical with those of Hitler's SS troops. Nor has it been a war of words only. The European Commission for the Referendum in the Saar has been examining case after case of violence charged against pro-German "shock troops" in the region. The outlook for approval of "Europeanization" has become so dim that there is talk of postponing the vote.

Meanwhile reliable reports say that Adenauer has chosen, as Bonn's future Ambassador to Moscow, Prince

Bismarck, who was Hitler's Director of Political Affairs in the German Foreign Office from 1937 to 1940 and served as minister plenipotentiary in Rome from 1940 to 1943. "Wir sind wieder da," indeed.

"Pass a Law"

Al Toffler's article in this issue (p. 323) calls attention to the inexcusably half-hearted efforts of the television networks to improve the quality of their programs for young viewers and to their elaborate but misleading attempts to convince the public that corrective measures have been taken. The reminder is timely. But we do not share the assumption that regulatory action by the Federal Communications Commission is called for. Ward Moore's comments on similar proposals for censorship of comic books (*The Nation*, May 15, 1954) voice our objections to "pass-a-law" solutions for problems of this kind. "No matter how menacing comic books are, censorship—even disguised as regulation—is more menacing. Further, it is an invocation of government in fields where it can do only harm. But is the individual competent to deal with the comic books? Perhaps not on the I-forbid-you-to-bring-this-trash-into-the-house level. But social gains . . . are not made only through government action or single-handed defiance. . . . Whatever the solution . . . the first step is for parents and psychiatrists to discover the comic books." He might have added: also sociologists and other social scientists. Perhaps part of the answer lies in the direction of devising ways and means by which better programs for young viewers can be presented. Efforts to prevent children from watching certain programs are not likely to be effective; indeed they may only advertise the program. What is needed are lively, interesting shows. Most of the crime-and-violence programs are neither lively nor interesting but dull and moronic. Better programs could easily capture this large viewing audience.

New Staff Contributor

Harvey O'Connor, a familiar name to *Nation* readers, has been added to our list of staff contributors. After some years residence in the East, Mr. O'Connor recently returned to Chicago, his former home, from which vantage point he will keep an eye on the Midwest scene for *The Nation* as well as inform our readers on significant developments in the American labor movement. Mr. O'Connor is one of the country's best known and most widely respected labor reporters. He served as editor of the nation's first trade-union daily, the Seattle *Union Record* (1919-1924), and later as editor and publicity director for the Oil Workers International Union—C. I. O. (1945-1948), of which he is still a member. His books include: "Mellon's Millions," "Steel-Dictator," "The Guggenheims," "The Astors," "History of the Oil Workers International Union," and, as co-editor, "Civil Liberties in Illinois."

Fiasco in France

Paris, October 10

THE FRENCH parliament has given Premier Faure a technical vote of support for his North Africa policy. How long the support will last depends upon how fast the Premier can move to make the policy a reality.

Faure has undoubtedly been a victim of his own attempts to reconcile the irreconcilable. His conciliatory efforts have been sabotaged regularly by the French military in Morocco who, like their mentor, Marshal Juin, believe in the strong hand. Thus Gilbert Grandval, sent by Faure to replace the weak Lacoste as Resident General of Morocco in an attempt to "liberalize" French policy, lasted only a few months. Now Grandval's successor, General Boyer de la Tour, has subscribed to a virtual sabotage of the government's plan for ousting the puppet Sultan, Ben Arafa, anathema of most Moroccan nationalists. Ben Arafa is out, it is true, but his seal of office was handed over to an obscure cousin instead of to a regency council as had been agreed upon only a month before.

Canard Enchaine, the vitriolic Paris journal, hit the bull's-eye with sly accuracy. A recent issue carried banner headlines: "Head of the Government Abandons Power to the Army," adding in microscopic type, "In Argentina, of course."

A bewildered French public watches anxiously as an increasing number of troops are dispatched to Morocco and Algeria, presaging further bloodshed. Most observers here were not surprised when the General Assembly voted, in an almost unprecedented defiance of its steering committee, to include the Algerian item on the agenda. Knowledgeable people tend to ascribe France's defeat to the country's loss of international prestige. How could things be otherwise, they ask, when the absurd figure of Antoine Pinay is found at the head of French diplomacy?

Le Monde, influential daily, called the Assembly vote an "affront" to France and demanded that the U. N. adopt a two-thirds-majority voting rule. The newspaper declared it "grotesque" that France should be the victim of a coalition of "Soviet, Latin-American, and Middle East despots." But, like other influential spokesmen in France, its editors hope that a face-saving device will be found which will enable the French delegation to return to the Assembly.

The need for a strong government here is felt keenly, but it is recognized that a Gaullist regime would inevitably be colonialist, while a Mendes-France government might run into the same kind of defiance as has Faure's. What might work wonders is a joint Anglo-American declaration of readiness to support a liberal French policy in North Africa. Such "interference" in France's domestic affairs would not be resented by the French; on the contrary, it would probably be greatly welcomed by a people who have lost faith both in the Faure government and in the North African military junta.

ALEXANDER WERTH

GENEVA ON 42nd STREET

A Spirit Haunts the U. N. . . *by Harold Greer*

United Nations

WHATEVER its other accomplishments, the tenth General Assembly has in three weeks established a record for sheer hard luck which few of its predecessors can equal. It was born handicapped by demands that it live up to the spirit of Geneva, a mystical standard of conduct which was not explained and which it did not understand. Then President Eisenhower, the oracle who had pointed the way to the new order of things, was suddenly removed from further effective leadership by an unfortunate heart attack. Finally, the Assembly itself, confused and lost in this strange new world, so forgot its own techniques that it took the unprecedented step of rejecting the recommendation of its steering committee against inclusion of the Algerian question on its agenda, thereby driving the French delegation from the great chamber.

Certainly, the tenth session was in fit state for some such cold-water treatment, however one may wish it might have come in a milder form. For two weeks, the general debate labored under the fantastic notion that the message from Geneva was roughly equivalent to the Sermon on the Mount. The "spirit of Geneva" became Alpha and Omega in the diplomatic lexicon; in the closed disarmament committee negotiations Harold E. Stassen actually invented a new calendar in which disarmament proposals were either "pre-Geneva" (unfavorable) of "post-Geneva" (favorable). There was even a suggestion, from Canada's Paul Martin, that rather than upset the budding *rapproachement* between the great powers, the rest of the Assembly might well forget about the business at hand for the time being. Unfortunately, this seems to be precisely what happened on Algeria; nobody bothered to do the legwork which would have revealed the possibility that the steering committee might be reversed and which would surely have led to the delaying tactics and the behind-the-scenes compromises customary in such situations.

This is not to say that the Geneva spirit is completely phony or that the two great protagonists of East and West are not seeking a *rapprochement* of sorts. There was indeed an agreement reached at Geneva. It was put on paper in the form of a directive for the Big Four foreign ministers when they return to Geneva this month. The United Nations problem has been to reconcile this directive with what the Big Three Western powers, and especially the United States, have said and done about it at New York.

IT IS rather difficult, for example, for a delegate to act in the spirit of Geneva when he hears Mr. Dulles report that the Big Four agreed at the summit to give priority at the foreign ministers' meeting to the "closely linked problem of the reunification of Germany and the problem of European security." The directive does not say this. It recognizes the close link between the two questions but it says nothing about priority, which is simply implied in the listing of items for discussion. The first heading on the agenda reads "European security and Germany," rather than the other way round, and its first paragraph, setting out various proposals to be considered in establishing European security, omits German unification. The second paragraph, however, says pointedly that German unification must be carried out in "the interests of European security," which is what Russia has been saying all along. Mr. Molotov did not labor in the drafting committee at Geneva for nothing.

Similarly, the Geneva directive committed the Big Four to develop "an acceptable system of disarmament" through the U. N. disarmament subcommittee and to instruct their representatives there "to take account . . . of the views and proposals" advanced on the summit. This obviously means the lengthy Soviet proposal of last May 10 (the only addition Premier Bulganin made to it at Geneva was a limitation of 150,000 to 200,000 men for the armed forces for the middle and lesser powers—i. e., for West Germany) as well as President Eisenhower's bilateral scheme for aerial reconnaissance and exchange of military blueprints. But one of Mr. Stassen's first acts in the resumed negotiations was to announce that the United States was reserving its position on everything that had been agreed to before Geneva. The subcommittee's first task, he said, was to get agreement on the Eisenhower proposal—which he admitted was not a disarmament proposal at all—and then the United States would see what it would see.

On the one hand, the United Nations was told, everything had changed; "a new spirit does indeed prevail," Mr. Dulles declared. But on the other hand, it saw that nothing had changed. Enjoined to transate "into practical facts . . . what in Geneva was an atmosphere and a philosophy," to quote Secretary-General Hammarskjold, the General Assembly simply developed an acute case of schizophrenia that came to a crisis over Algeria. The traditional obligation of diplomacy to avert crises was forgotten; the United States, undergoing a basic revision of its attitude on "colonial" issues, voted with France but neglected to bring its Latin-American bloc into line. Enough of the Latin Americans joined with the Arab-Asian and Soviet blocs to beat the steering committee's recommendation, 28 to 27.

The Communist vote, however consistent it may be with past Soviet policy on colonialism, is of course a clear indication of what the Kremlin

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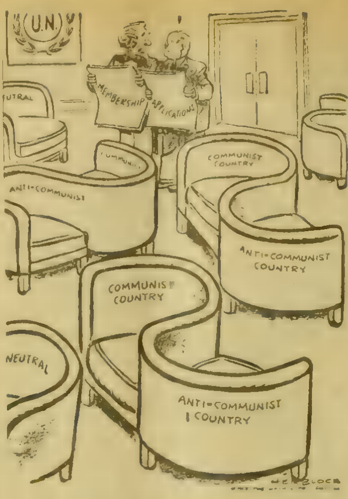
HAROLD GREER, Washington correspondent for the Toronto Star, *covers the United Nations regularly.*

really thinks of the Geneva spirit when the chips are down. It has been displaying the same attitude—someone has called it the "smiling *nyet*"—in private negotiations on two other matters vital to the United Nations: the admission of new members and the establishment of a U. N. atomic-energy agency. In both cases thus far, it has declined to turn the key that would open the door to agreement.

The key on admissions is Japan. Mr. Molotov at the U. N. celebrations in San Francisco this summer made several overtures to break the deadlock that has existed on new members since 1950. All of them were "package" or quid pro quo arrangements, but one of them at least came close to recognizing the principle of universality of membership in the United Nations without raising the difficult questions of Communist China (which Moscow recognizes as a question of representation rather than membership) and the divided countries. According to the Molotov suggestion, Austria, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Finland, Ceylon, Jordan, Nepal, Libya, Laos, Cambodia, Outer Mongolia, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, and Albania could all be admitted simultaneously. This was an important concession by the Soviet Union and the Canadian government quickly took the matter up with Washington see if the United States would drop its policy that each application be considered on its merits.

ANXIOUS to maintain support for its present opposition to Chinese Communist representation and to give some indication that it will not try to keep Peking out of the United Nations forever, Washington gave its qualified assent—the proviso being that Japan must be included in the deal. When the Canadian representatives took this up with the Russians in New York, they were told it was hardly possible, since the Soviet Union has not yet signed a peace treaty with Japan.

Similarly, the Soviet Union's announcement at Geneva that it would contribute fissionable material to the U. N. atomic-energy agency once it was established encouraged many to hope that it would assist in bringing the agency into being. But Russia has continued to insist that the agency be made responsible to the Security Council and hence to the Soviet veto.



Herblock in Washington Post

"Shall we open the doors now?"

What, then, is the outlook for this Assembly? There is, surely, little room for optimism. The French retirement, following hard upon the President's heart attack, will inevitably force the Soviet Union to pause and consider. It has now alienated the most susceptible target for its peace campaign; it has now lost the one man in the United States with whom it was prepared to do business. These are overriding considerations which will affect every move the Kremlin makes.

Assuredly, there is going to be an atomic-energy agency regardless of Russian opposition. But it will be more of a post office (American officials, indeed, compare it to the International Postal Union) than a bank, and hardly the powerful organ the world needs to store, control, and allocate fissionable material in an age when everyone will soon be able to make his own atomic bombs. The admissions question has now been horribly complicated by the application for membership from Spain. Russia, it was felt, would have accepted Japan providing a peace treaty could be signed this year. But there is no hope that it will accept Spain, and the announcement of American support for the Spanish application—despite a still extant Assembly resolution opposing Spain's entry as long as Franco is in power—can only lead to suspicions that the United States does not intend to accept a package deal after all.

On disarmament, the Soviet Union has made the mistake of taking the Eisenhower "open sky" proposal seriously, instead of treating it as the challenge and token of good faith it was meant to be. As an inspection system to warn again surprise attack, the idea is of course a military absurdity unless it is part of a more comprehensive scheme. Russia has therefore argued that it should be fitted in with the May 10 proposal and should be followed up with a genuine disarmament program, since surprise attacks are much less likely to occur if the military establishments necessary for their launching are substantially reduced. This was essentially the point of Premier Bulganin's letter and the United States must answer it. But because the answer goes to the fundamentals of American policy, only the President can answer and he is in no condition to do so.

THE TENTH Assembly began with high expectations. One year before, the United Nations was at its lowest point of influence on international affairs, by-passed on issues which were negotiable, the repository of issues which were not. A variety of factors—the San Francisco anniversary, Mr. Hammarskjold's success with the American prisoners in China, the atoms-for-peace conference in Geneva—restored its prestige and its self-confidence. The Charter requirement that the tenth Assembly study the question of Charter review, while generating no hope for important revisions in the Charter itself, at least led to widespread self-criticism. The United States, in particular, let it be known that it was ready to agree that the United Nations was being overloaded with inflammatory colonial issues about which it could do virtually nothing and that it intended in the future to judge such questions on the basis of whether U. N. debate would do more harm than good. Realistic attempts were initiated to solve the membership question, which drains the organization's vitality like a cancer. The two more important issues of the times—disarmament and the peaceful exploitation of the atom—became active subjects of U. N. responsibility.

Against this beginning, the ill-starred tenth session seems destined to be a colossal disappointment.

CANADA AIDS THE AGED

The Uniform Pension Plan . . *by Jay G. Sykes*

SEVERAL MONTHS ago Dr. Lawrence Kolb, former United States Assistant Surgeon General, announced that an increasing number of aged persons are being committed to mental hospitals throughout the country solely because they have no means of support and no other place to go. The announcement, substantiated by a similar finding by a New York State legislative committee, points up the problem of providing economic security for dependent, unproductive old age. Although our national income and industrial production are at an all-time high, millions of elderly people are ill-housed, undernourished, and in need of medical care they cannot afford. Of the some 14,000,000 persons over 65 in the United States, almost half depend either on public-assistance funds or federal old-age and survivors insurance. The average monthly per capita income from both averages $50.

Faced with a comparable problem, Canada adopted on January 1, 1952, the so-called universal old-age pension system used theretofore only by Sweden and New Zealand. Every man and woman reaching the age of seventy who has resided in Canada for twenty years is eligible for a federal pension of $40 a month. The pension is paid irrespective of need or of any record of prior earnings.

The plan is the outcome of exhaustive investigations by a joint committee of the Canadian Parliament which included members of all major political parties. The findings have obvious relevance for the United States. The committee first considered the "means"-test type of assistance now prevalent in the United States and then in force in Canada's provinces. It soon found out that it was unnecessary to make costly and unpleasant inquiries to prove what was already known—that the need for financial assistance among Canada's aged was almost universal. In a modern, wage-earning society, the committee reported, it is not possible for the average worker to save enough during his lifetime to take care of his old age. But the committee's rejection of the "means" test was based primarily on humanitarian grounds. The procedures involved, nearly all witnesses before the committee agreed, stamped the beneficiary with the stigma of indigence, penalized thrift, and was often a humiliating experience for the applicant.

The committee then turned to a consideration of a social-insurance system under which eligibility and amount of benefit would be related to earnings, as in the federal social-security system in the United States. While recognizing its merits, the committee thought it preferable to have benefits that were uniform and universal. The administrative burden required by a social-insurance system involving beneficiaries' contributions was, the committee felt, both undesirable and unnecessary. For it could be assumed that any person reaching the age of seventy after twenty years residence in Canada has already made a fair contribution to the productive life of the nation and to its tax revenues.

The committee therefore unanimously recommended that Canada adopt a flat-rate universal non-contributory pension, a program which, despite its unorthodoxy, had been favored by such diverse groups as the Trades and Labor Congress, the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, the Canadian Welfare Council, and the Canadian Life Insurance Association. Parliament accepted the proposal with but one dissenting vote. Six weeks later, the first payments were made and today nearly 750,000 men and women receive their monthly checks. (In the three Western provinces, supplemental grants ranging from $2.50 to $15 are paid if need is established.)

The system's few opponents argued that it was inequitable and wasteful to pay money to those who did not need it. A survey was recently conducted in the city of Victoria to determine the effect of the pension on the recipient's standard of living. Fifty pensioners between the ages of 72 and 76, all of whom had been ineligible for assistance under the pre-1952 "means" test, and were therefore theoretically not in need, were interviewed. Twenty-one of the fifty reported they were able to improve their housing; eighteen reported better medical care; eight wore better clothing; thirteen enjoyed more recreation; nine traveled more. "Other" improvements were reported by nineteen. Most said there had been improvement in more than one of these categories. Only five of the fifty said the pensions had not improved their living conditions. At least three persons were found to be eligible for the province's supplemental grant.

THE administration of the new program is simple and inexpensive. There is no need to compile and maintain vast, complex individual contribution records or to compute individual benefits, as required by the United States old-age and survivors' insurance plan. (O. A. S. I.), nor is there any longer a need to make continuing investigations of the resources of beneficiaries as under the old "means"-test program. Administrative costs for old-age pensions and family allowances (Canada's "baby bonus"), which are jointly administered, are about 83 cents for every $100 disbursed. This compares with $6.82 for the American O. A. S. I. program and $5.30 for American public-assistance outlays.

The program is supposed to be paid for out of current revenue. To finance it, Parliament enacted a 2 per cent increase in each of three existing taxes: the corporation tax, the manufacturer's sales tax, and

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the net-income tax. The increase is limited to $60 yearly. But the universal pensions are expensive. Annual benefits are now close to $350,000,000 (in terms of United States population, the figure would be over $3,500,000,000). "No one would favor such a program," the committee's report to Parliament stated, "if they had any fears that the cost would be more than the people were willing to pay, or if they were not deeply convinced that the Canadian people were not firm in their desire to achieve for our aged people the ends of social justice."

The program has, in fact, proven more costly than anticipated. The three specially earmarked taxes have not been enough to enable the Old Age Security Fund to pay for the pensions. In the past three fiscal years, the fund has had to "borrow" from "consolidated revenue" (Canada's general fund) $99,000,000, $55,000,000 and $62,000,000 respectively.

Despite this substantial deficit, there is no movement toward curtailment of the program. On the contrary, the pressure has been for liberalization. Last year the four major national labor organizations urged that the age of eligibility be set at sixty-five for men and sixty for women. Two groups wanted the pensions increased to $65, the other two to $50. The Ontario Federation of Labor, in annual convention, recently resolved that "$40 was plainly inadequate for the maintenance of independence and self-respect."

THE IDEA of a flat, pay-as-you-go, universal pension is not new to the United States. In the 1930's the Townsend Plan attracted national attention, but with the adoption of the old-age security program in 1935, it was all but consigned to the limbo of political nostrums. And yet as late as 1945 in Oregon a scheme that would have paid a flat $60 per month out of a gross-income tax was defeated by only 29,000 votes out of a total of 380,000. In 1950, the Senate appropriated $25,000 for a two-year study of the possibilities of a universal, pay-as-you-go program. The study has not yet been made. In the past session of Congress, a modified Townsend Plan reappeared in the form of HR 4471. With sixty cosponsors, this plan would pay to all retired persons over sixty uniform pensions, free of a means test, with monthly benefits to come out of revenues from a 2 per cent tax on all gross incomes over $250 a month. The benefits, paid equally to all recipients, would be recomputed each month. Proponents have calculated that in 1953, under this plan, each recipient would have received a monthly pension averaging $138.45.

As medical science increases longevity and inflation continues to reduce the purchasing power of those living on fixed incomes, the problem of old-age security becomes more acute. The magnitude of the problem—by 1975, over 21,000,000 Americans will be over 65—requires a thorough examination of our entire social-security structure. Canada's bold venture might be the starting point for such an inquiry.

BURGESS-MACLEAN CASE

Windfall for Reaction . . *by Andrew Roth*

London

REACTION here to the new disclosures about Burgess and Maclean, the British diplomats who defected to the Russians, show that a McCarthyite type of hysteria is not an American monopoly. Britons are behaving much the way Americans did in 1951 during the famous Alger Hiss case.

Most Britons feel strongly, and with some justification, that the Burgess-Maclean affair has revealed a weakness in the counter-espionage branch of the security services. But these services are by tradition shielded from investigation and attack. Thus, even the identities of the current heads of M. I. 5 (counter-intelligence) and M. I. 6 (foreign intelligence) are not publicly known. This understandable reserve deprives the services from full credit when credit is due, but also—as in this instance—makes it difficult to pin responsibility on them when things go wrong.

THE White Paper issued by the government alleges that by mid-May of 1951 Maclean was the leading suspect in an investigation begun as the result of a 1949 tip—perhaps from Gouzenko, the defecting Soviet code clerk in Canada—that the Soviets had been getting Foreign Office documents for some time. On the very day Maclean and Burgess made their hurried departure for the Continent en route to Moscow, the White Paper disclosed, the security forces had obtained the permission of the Foreign Secretary to interrogate Maclean. But no weekend surveillance was placed on him. The White Paper says in its attempt at an explanation:

> The watch on Maclean . . . was primarily aimed at collecting, if possible, further information, and not at preventing an escape. In imposing it, a calculated risk had to be taken that he might become aware of it and might take flight. It was inadvisable to increase this risk by extending the surveillance to his home in an isolated part of the country, and he was therefore watched in London only.

The fact almost certainly is that until Maclean's departure, the security services had very little against him. "There was . . . no legally admissible evidence to support prosecution under the Official Secrets Acts," the White Paper admits. This is confirmed by the fact that although the Foreign Secretary's permission had been obtained, interrogation of Maclean was deferred be-

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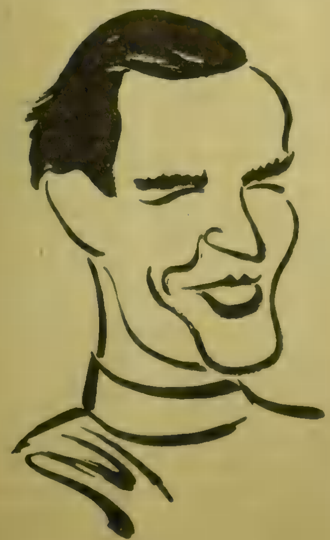
ANDREW ROTH is The Nation's *London correspondent.*

cause M. I. 5 wanted to have something with which to confront him.

The most striking evidence that suspicion of Maclean had not hardened was that the police at normal departure points were not even alerted to the fact that he might try to leave the country. The White Paper insists that there existed "no legal power to stop him" in any case. But alerted port security officers could have picked up his passport and, without one, the French police would have turned him back. Or, at a minimum, they could have informed the Foreign Office immediately. As it was, the very fact of his departure did not become known until three days after he had left.

THE inference that counter-intelligence had next to nothing to go on is further strengthened by the White Paper's virtual admission that Maclean's friend, Burgess, was under no suspicion of espionage. Like Maclean a neurotic dipsomaniac and homosexual, Burgess had been asked to resign just before he fled. But by omitting to state that the resignation had been demanded because of public misbehavior in the United States, and particularly for drunken driving, the White Paper conveyed the implication that security reasons were involved. Yet the document discloses that only *after* Burgess's flight did any real investigation of his activities begin:

> Investigations into Burgess's past have since shown that he, like Maclean, went through a period of Communist leanings while at Cambridge and that he, too, on leaving the university, outwardly renounced his views. No trace can be found in his subsequent career of direct participation in the activities of left-wing organizations. . . . The question has been asked whether the association of these two officers with each other did not give rise to suspicion. . . . They gave no evidence during the course of their career in the Foreign Service of any association other than would be normal between two colleagues.



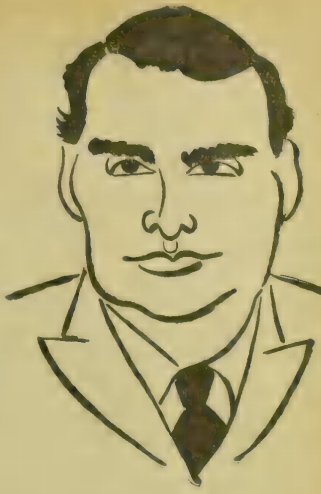
Donald Maclean

The last is a rather remarkable sentence, since both were said to be homosexuals.

Because the Foreign Office and the security services have hidden behind a pose of tight-lipped cloak-and-dagger omniscience, they have inflamed public suspicion that it was "old school tie" solidarity which prevented Maclean from being caught. "It was natural enough," points out the Manchester *Guardian*, "that his colleagues should be loth to suspect one of themselves, a man of great personal attraction, bearing an honored name." His father, Sir Donald Maclean, had been a Minister of Education. The Oxford don, A. J. P. Taylor, used his debut on commercial TV to assert that the Foreign Office was "just a gigantic system of outdoor relief to the British aristocracy." In short, the same complex of American prejudices against "cookie-pushers" and "sexual perverts" wearing "striped pants" has been displayed here.

Again, as in the United States, everyone is "trying to get in on the act." Even Taylor, who usually deplores snap judgments and witch-hunting, and who met Maclean only once in 1950, asserted that "it stood out a mile" that Maclean was a Soviet agent. The only evidence in support of this assertion, apparently, is that the unfortunate man was a dipsomaniac who, when drunk, often joked about being a "Soviet spy."

There are widespread demands for tighter security and a "purge" of the Foreign Office. They start from the assumption that someone tipped off Burgess and Maclean, although it is not impossible that the neurotic Burgess decided—and perhaps convinced the Soviets—that he was suspected of espionage instead of merely being in disfavor because of public drunkenness. The *Observer*, which deplores witch hunts, quoted Alexander Foote, former Soviet spy in Germany, as insisting that Soviet intelligence would help evacuate such people only if it feared that they would incriminate more important sources of intelligence. But Mr. Foote ignores the possibility that the Russians may have wanted to accomplish just what the affair has accomplished from its inception: The sowing of suspicion between Britain and the United States, a suspicion which has made it necessary for Britain to waste much time and money duplicating the atomic-research program in America.



Guy Burgess

MOST of Britain's panic over the case is based on the hearsay evidence of Vladimir Petrov, the Soviet intelligence agent who defected in Australia. It is indicative that when Petrov first made statements about Burgess and Maclean in 1954, the Foreign Office said: "Petrov had no first-hand knowledge whatsoever of the missing diplomats . . . any hearsay evidence that Petrov may produce must be treated with some reserve." Now that Petrov has made public in Australia, the United States, and Britain various versions of what he heard from Soviet security agents, the Foreign Office appears to accept them at their face value.

The Manchester *Guardian* has shown great skepticism about the Petrov revelations because of the manner in which the few scraps of information he had gathered were differently "doctored" for sale to

British, American, and Australian audiences. Thus the *Guardian* contrasted what appeared in the *U. S. News and World Report* and in *The People* on how Kislytzin, the Soviet agent, acted when he heard of Mrs. Maclean's disappearance. In the American version, Petrov "walked into the M. V. D. office . . . with a smile of pride and satisfaction on his face. He carried a newspaper. . . . 'So it has come off at last,' he said. 'I knew about this business. It has happened just as we planned it.' " In Petrov's British version, Kislytzin "burst into my [Petrov's] office. 'It's come off, at last, just as we planned it,' he shouted, waving a newspaper."

In the absence of better evidence, Maclean's "long-term" supply of documents is seriously doubted by such persons as Geoffrey Hoare, the knowledgeable *News Chronicle* correspondent, who wrote a recent book on the case. In the absence of solid information, the wildest sorts of allegations flourish. Demands for a purge of the Foreign Office usually stress the need to reassure Washington that British security is on its toes. Virtually all the British papers featured prominently the *U. S. News and World Report's* lurid and unsubstantiated allegation that China entered the Korean war on the basis of information from Maclean that the United States would not retaliate and attack China. Only the Manchester *Guardian* had the wit to check on the timetable of this "remarkable piece of fabrication." Wrote the *Guardian:*

> Maclean did not take over the American desk in the Foreign Office . . . until Monday, November 6, "just eighteen days before the Chinese armies attacked," according to the American magazine. Yet on November 5, the day before, General MacArthur had already reported contact with Chinese units in Korea. . . . Still, the Chinese might have gained some valuable clues from stolen documents; there is no knowing. The one certain thing is that U. S. News and World Report does not know. How can it? Unless it or its informants have access to state papers in Peking it cannot be certain what part stolen documents may have had in shaping Chinese policy.

There is a real danger, as Kenneth Younger, Labor M. P. and former Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, has warned, that the work of the Foreign Office could be impaired for twenty years by a purge such as that which has afflicted the State Department in Washington. What is needed, as R. H. S. Crossman has suggested in his *Daily Mirror* column, is a judicial tribunal which would be given access to the government's confidential files and empowered to summon witnesses and to take their evidence on oath. The members should be men with legal background, diplomatic experience, and a working knowledge of espionage and counter-intelligence operations. But above all they must be men who understand that democracy itself is a "calculated risk" and that, while security is essential, even the most totalitarian security system cannot prevent an occasional defection. After all, Petrov and Gouzenko were not even sex perverts.

OPIUM TRADE

Is China Responsible? . . *by John O'Kearney*

UNITED STATES officials time and time again have laid charges both in and out of the United Nations that Red China is engaged in an opium offensive against the peoples of the Western world. These charges, which help to keep the American public in a state of hypnotized conviction that the Peking government is to barbarous to be permitted to assume China's seat in the United Nations, are not borne out by the preponderance of evidence in the opium ports of the East where evidence is obtained. They are looked upon as largely poppycock by men whose job it is to beat the illicit narcotics traffic.

Moreover, though Red China cannot be absolved of having a part in the business, the best available evidence points accusing fingers at two nations to which the United States has given millions in aid and an inflated status as anti-Communist allies: Thailand and Turkey. Other countries culpable are Lebanon and Iran.

Harry J. Anslinger, United States narcotics commissioner and current chairman of the United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs, in a report to a House appropriations subcommittee released last March, charged that Red China has a "twenty-year plan to finance political activities and spread addiction among free peoples through the sale of heroin and opium." He called this plan a "multiheaded dragon, threatening to mutilate and destroy whole segments of populations."

Anslinger depicted Red China as the "uncontrolled reservoir" of the international drug racket, asserting that the growing addiction in Japan to heroin (diacetylmorphine, a derivative of opium) has been traced to the Japanese Communist Party, which is supposed to obtain its supplies from the Chinese mainland. However, an International Criminal Police Commission memorandum to the U. N. in 1954 puts the finger on Thailand as the manufacturer of 8,270 grams of morphine (the immediate base of heroin) seized in Japan during the year, though the memorandum names China as the source of the opium from which the morphine was extracted. And while Anslinger charges Red China with an "inundation" of the world with opium and opium derivatives, another U. N. report clearly concludes that if the pattern of seizures may be taken as evidence of the volume

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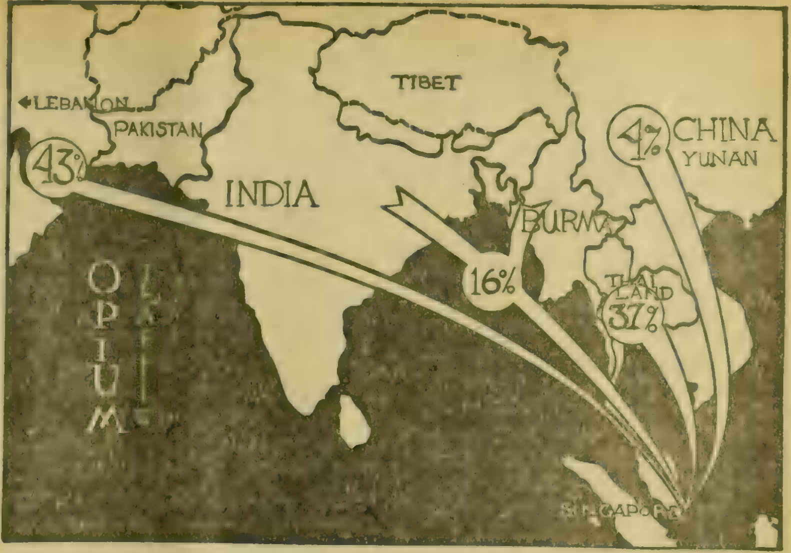
of illicit traffic in drugs, there has been "little change in the situation in the past twenty-five years." If any significant change has taken place, the report says, it appears to be in a "sharp fall" in the amount of Chinese opium making its way to Singapore, the major port of call for the seagoing narcotics traffickers of Southeast Asia.

The authority for this statement is the U. N. Commission on Narcotic Drugs itself. The commission's reports are summaries of the recorded drug seizures by narcotics-control authorities of U. N. member nations. Case histories are frequently incomplete. Essential facts are often wanting. But to the extent that the facts are known, they belie United States charges that China, under the Communist regime, is playing a greater part than formerly in the opium trade. They indicate, indeed, that its part may be growing less. A close reader of the statistics is led to conclude that the opium traffic has become a useful weapon in the hands of the anti-Communist propaganda warriors of the cold war.

THE United States has no narcotics agents assigned to the Far East, though occasionally, on sleuthing duties, they get out there. The Federal Narcotics Bureau must depend for the most part on narcotics agents native to foreign ports for its information on seizures and tips on shipments; and since the most responsible of these in the Far East—the narcotics men of British Hong Kong and Singapore—have stated in interviews that Anslinger's charges against Red China are "political exaggerations," it is difficult to escape the conclusion that Chiang Kai-shek's propagandists are having their effect on the Americans. While Nationalist Chinese give tonnage and acreage statistics on mainland opium production, Anslinger gives names and addresses of men within Red China who are alleged to be official processors and salesmen of a steadily-growing narcotics export trade.

But officials in Hong Kong laugh at Chiang Kai-shek's statistics; and their counterparts in the Narcotics Information Bureau in Singapore say that their most reliable intelligence is that Red China is ploughing up the opium fields of Yunnan Province to plant cotton.



It cannot be denied that opium is getting out of Red China, or that it gets into the world market over South China's Yunnan border into Burma, and down the rivers through Burma and Indo-China (Laos and Cambodia) into Thailand. Opium is as common as animism among the primitive peoples on both sides in that wild, almost roadless border country between China and Burma. Opium gets onto ships out of Red China ports. It is carried in smugglers' quantities by many of the thousands of junks that ply along the China coast. The poppy plant, which over the centuries has spread from Mesopotamia to farthest Asia like a creeping fungus, was a serious problem to Imperial China as far back as 1839, when China provoked the Opium War by prohibiting importation of the drug, and destroying a British opium warehouse in Canton.

THE Chinese have been trafficking in opium for as long as they have been traveling abroad; but to accuse Red China of plot and purpose on the simple basis of arrests of Chinese engaged in the trade, as Anslinger apparently does, is no more justified than to blame the United States for crimes committed by private American citizens in Africa. For example: The International Criminal Police Commission (I. C. P. C.) last year reported the arrests of twenty-seven Chinese involved in seizures of narcotics in France, India, the Netherlands Antilles (West Indies), and on Reunion Island off Madagascar. These men were undeniably Chinese, but no proof was found that they had been sent from Red China, nor was Communist China named as the country of origin of the opium.

The country of origin generally means the country where the poppy was grown, except that where the phrase is applied to manufactured heroin, it means the country of process. In the arrests of the twenty-seven Chinese, France listed the country of origin as Lebanon. Indian police gave the countries of origin as Iran and India. The Netherlands reported: "Probable origin, Singapore"; the Netherlands Antilles: "Places of purchase, Bombay and Liverpool"; Reunion: "Origin unknown."

Of all traffickers listed by the I. C. P. C. in its reports to the Economic and Social Council on the smuggling of raw and prepared opium, about 28.7 per cent were Chinese; but 97 per cent of the seized raw opium was identified as of Indian, Iranian, and Lebanese origin. Ninety-five per cent of this amount was known to have come from Lebanon alone. Perhaps the three per cent came from Red China. Perhaps.

In April, 1952, Anslinger gave names and addresses of firms in Red China which he said the Peking government was using as "gangsters and notorious traffickers," alleging that Red China was introducing narcotics to United States troops through North Korea. A month later Peking, through a Russian delegate to the U. N., countercharged that the United States itself deliberately had promoted addiction in Korea. And the Russian delegate added that Anslinger's charge against Red China was based on falsified figures surreptitiously planted in U. N. Secretariat files by the State Department. Anslinger returned to his charges in 1953, giving twenty-four pages of details on Chinese Communist narcotics operations throughout the Pacific area. He said that one shipment of 200 tons of raw opium had been offered by the Chinese for delivery in New York, though why a shipper should think of smuggling a quantity of opium as large as a house when heroin could be shipped in less space and with greater profit and safety, is not explained. The point is particularly relevant because Anslinger has emphasized that the Chinese are manufacturing heroin on a large scale.

SINCE the origin of narcotics in illicit trade can be determined only by evidence obtained in seizures, it may surely be agreed that the series of documents filed with the U. N. Secretariat under the title Summary of Illicit Transactions and Seizures gives a fair indication of whether Anslinger knows what he is talking about any more than did the Russian who accused the State Department of planting falsified figures. A typical summary—that for July and August, 1953, which goes back beyond January of that year—contained only one reference to Communist China. The seizure reports came from authorities in Malaya, France, India, Aden, Australia, Hong Kong, Egypt, Ceylon, Mauritius, Mexico, the United States, and many other places.

During that period there was a seizure of 1,478.178 kilograms of raw opium concealed in a load of firewood being trucked into Singapore. It was "believed to be of Yunnan origin." All the rest of the scores of seizure reports stated variously: believed to have come from Thailand . . . was almost certainly Thai origin . . . origin unknown . . . of Iranian origin . . . of Turkish origin . . . of unknown origin . . . suspected to be Turkish . . . origin unknown . . . of Thai origin . . . of Indian origin . . . of Pakistani origin . . . probably Burmese . . . opium from Mexico . . . of Thai origin—and so on, with by far the most "of unknown origin." Summary after summary follows the pattern.

Yet, despite this, Anslinger released a statement through the United States Mission to the U. N. in May of this year in which he said ". . . the Communist regime of mainland China is pouring opium, morphine, and heroin out through the province of Yunnan to augment the already existing lines of traffic out of Tientsin, Tsingtao, and Canton."

The Narcotics Bureau in Singapore has a map, which last January it would not release for publication, showing the main opium-producing areas of Burma, Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia. This map, based on seizure evidence and intelligence, indicates the routes along which opium makes its way to the seaports, down rivers flowing from the highlands of these states. The major centers of opium production are ringed. Opium routes out of Yunnan are indicated. Percentage statistics, based on seizures, go with the map. They indicate that 37 per cent of the opium and opium derivatives which pass through Singapore, caught and uncaught, has its origin in Thailand. Forty-three per cent comes from the Persian Gulf area. Sixteen per cent was laid to India and Burma. The rest was attributed to Yunnan. Of the trade in Burma, Anslinger said in May: "Despite the efforts of the Burmese government to control the illicit traffic in narcotics, hundreds of tons of cleaned and packaged opium in one-kilogram units are brought into Burma each year from Yunnan Province. . . . The hub of the traffic on the Yunnan side of the border is Tengyueh. Along the border are found trucks, military vehicles, carts, mules, and pack trains used for transporting opium."

This information presumably came from Burmese officials. These officials, who had only the border near Tengyueh to keep an eye on, managed in 1953, the last year for which full figures are at this moment available, to seize only thirteen tons of opium in all. Anslinger's hundreds of tons escaped them! And their seizures included what they took from Burmese producers, of which there are many.

Again, in his May, 1955, statement, Anslinger said: "There is still a large illicit traffic in opium—chiefly in raw opium—coming over the northern land frontiers into the interior of Thailand." Clearly, he meant opium from Yunnan.

IN Singapore, the most notorious name in narcotics is Phao Sriyamoda, a Thai general and the nation's chief of police. General Phao, according to British intelligence sources, "turns his back on illicit traffic worth millions of dollars a year." Informers in Bangkok, where opium dens are wide open and licensed and taxed by the government, say that Phao announces the seizure of contraband from Yunnan Province only so that he may claim large government rewards. A pretense of cooperation goes on with the Western world, while heroin flows from Bangkok's airport to Singapore and Hong Kong. Phao even supplies alibis for traffickers who are caught. An American sergeant arrested in Hong Kong in May with a load of soap-sized bars of heroin marked by a bas-relief letter A, and wrapped in Thai newspapers, told narcotics agents he had bought the stuff in the belief that the heroin blocks were "prehistoric tablets."

In New York, U. N. officials said last week: "Anslinger's attacks on China are a bit overdone" (this was a Briton speaking), and added: "Thailand is in for a rough time. They're coming up on the carpet, next session of the [narcotics] commission, and we'll get an honest report or know why."

CRIME IN YOUR PARLOR

TV Programs Under Fire . . *by Al Toffler*

ON August 28, in a modest ceremony in New York, representatives of the broadcasting world celebrated the thirty-third birthday of commercials on radio. At the brief observances, William S. Hedges, a vice-president of the National Broadcasting Company, explained that since that first primitive commercial, sponsors have poured twenty billion dollars into radio and television. "That," disclosed Mr. Hedges, "is why we love them. That is why you love them."

Mr. Hedges's murmurs of mutual affection notwithstanding, there were signs that not everyone did love everyone else. Specifically, a large portion of the public, including one Estes Kefauver, was not satisfied with what those lovable sponsors were doing to American youth. In fact, just two days before, a subcommittee headed by Senator Kefauver came up with a sheaf of proposals that brought an instant howl of rage from industry spokesmen.

The subcommittee findings, calling for increased FCC authority and citizens' watchdog committees as methods of toning down TV violence, were, according to the trade-journal *Broadcasting-Telecasting*, "palpably ridiculous," "a desperate groping for publicity by a man who cannot drive by the White House without breathing hard," "illegal, silly, and ominous."

It is unlikely that the Kefauver group's views would have elicited such bitter response had they not come at a time when the established networks face not only heightened criticism from alarmed viewers, educators, and parental groups, but also the far more dangerous criticism of pay-as-you-see-TV promoters who have made the low quality of present-day television a major argument for their cause.

Furthermore, the controversy over whether toll TV shall be permitted is due to be tossed squarely into the lap of Congress. This gives special significance to current Congressional criticism, and also to the admonition contained in the *Broadcasting-Telecasting* editorial—an admonition to broadcasters to "discourage Congress and the FCC from taking a cue from the ambitious Senator Kefauver."

THE personalized attack on Kefauver is reminiscent of the onslaught directed against Dr. Fredric Wertham by the crime-comics publishers as a result of his campaign for restrictions on their industry. A newsletter sent to communications media last February declared: "It is of no consequence whether crime comics are harmful or not . . . the immediate enemy is Fredric Werham, not some other publisher. He cannot be reasoned with. He must be discredited and rendered ineffective. This is a job for the bomb-disposal squad. . . ."

This similarity is ironic. Kefauver's Senate committee investigating crime a few years back went easy on the comic-book publishers, and, only recently, Wertham had occasion to renew his charge that Kefauver had whitewashed the industry. But the similarity between the response of the television world and the crime-comic publishers goes further. Taking a leaf from the publishers' book, the networks are getting committee-conscious. Frank Stanton, head of the Columbia Broadcasting System, announced to the recent convention of the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters that his company was going to set up a committee of eminent public figures (including one from labor) to study "what the public wants."

N. B. C., as a matter of fact, has just publicized the findings of its own committee to study children's programming. The vigorous N. B. C. press department mailed these findings out to newspapers all over the country under the headline: "Searching analysis of telecasts made." It was subtitled: "First reports of kind —in part commendatory, in part critical—prepared for network by a group of prominent experts."

The committee had three members: Mrs. Douglas Horton, former president of Wellesley College and, oddly, a member of the board of directors of N. B. C.; Dr. Frances Horwich, "one of the country's leading authorities on primary education" and star of "Ding-Dong School," an N. B. C. show; and Dr. Robert Goldenson, "a psychologist and expert on family relations."

The committee held six meetings attended by "officers and staff members of the company," and it announced at the outset: "The committee would misrepresent its own position if it did not begin its report with an expression of satisfaction in what it has discovered about company policy."

In points 1, 2, 3, and 4, the committee finds this policy to be "highly commendable"; it is "impressed"; it "heartily endorses," etc. At length, blushingly, it arrives at the section it calls "concerns." Here the committee lists a dozen or so mild criticisms such as excessive slapstick and bad grammar. In fairness, it does mention a few matters of somewhat greater consequence, too. It urges intelligent treatment of racial and nationality groups.

BUT nowhere in the entire eleven pages of the report, in the three-page summary, or in the two-page accompanying letter which presumably has been sent to program producers, does this expert committee, engaged in a "searching analysis" of juvenile programs, seriously discuss the main subject of public concern and anxiety—violence.

Exactly thirty-four words are devoted to expressing solicitude over programs which are overexciting or which might induce fear. In the only

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AL TOFFLER is a feature writer and editor. Note editorial comment on page 314 in connection with his article.

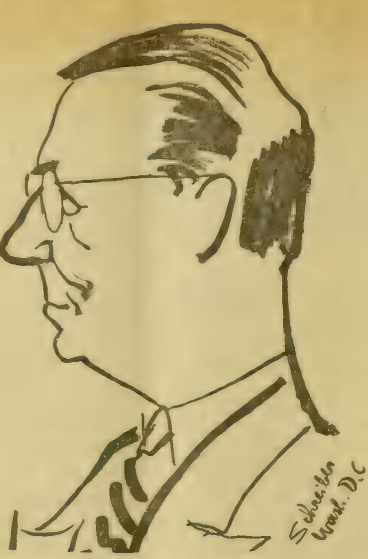
other paragraph that tangentially deals with the subject, the committee "recognizes the progress" made by the network in the avoidance of killing in Westerns. (Seen any lately?) In fact, the committee goes out of its way to cite professional authority to the effect that Westerns aren't so bad anyway, since they are removed in time and place from the child's life. They are really only a "harmless, vicarious outlet." Interestingly, spokesmen for the crime-comics industry cite the same argument.

In short, though it raised some points worth raising (even though they have been raised for years by educators and parental groups) the N. B. C. Children's Program Review Committee report is intriguing chiefly because it reveals anew the agility with which a self-appointed probe can sidestep the most important issues.

And so, with the filing of this report another committee has bitten the dust. Relevant are the vital facts cited by the National Association for Better Radio and Television in a report that concludes:

> This year [1954] more than at any time in the past, this committee is dismayed over the volume of crime and the degree of violence which dominate television programs for children. . . . Today, crime programs are being produced specifically for television in a volume approximately four times greater than in 1951.
>
> This committee is alarmed by the acceptance, by TV film producers, sponsors and broadcasters, of crime as the basic theme for children's programming, in spite of protests. . . . Murder, torture, sadism, morbid suspense, and other fear-and-tension-inducing elements are saturating children's minds. . . .
>
> More money is spent for the production of one half-hour crime Western than for the production of the entire twenty-one program periods classified as "excellent" by this committee. This fantastic 20-to-1 production-cost ratio is no doubt the prime cause of the generally low audience ratings of the "better" programs. . . .

This is precisely the point at which the Kefauver subcommittee centered its interest. The group readily admitted that it couldn't prove a direct causal relationship between criminal deeds and the viewing on television of violence and crime. On the other hand, it is patently absurd to try to reduce juvenile delinquency to a single factor, and none of TV's responsible critics attempt this.


Senator Kefauver

What Dr. Wertham wrote about comic books has relevance here. In an article in the *Saturday Review of Literature* last February, he noted: "It is not true that a child reads a comic book one day, then does something wrong on account of that the next. Very often the child may not do anything wrong at all; but the damage may be there nonetheless . . . nobody ever claimed that [comics] are [the sole factor]. . . ."

The television industry, in this connection, is faced with a dilemma. On the one hand it insists that kids aren't influenced by what they see, while on the other hand it spends tens of thousands annually to convince potential advertisers that it is the most effective of all media in implanting both conscious and unconscious desires in the viewer.

How children can spend an average of twenty hours a week before the screen and remain unaffected by what they see is rather hard to explain. Take for example these comments which are attributed to the spokesmen of advertising agencies by the author of How to Pitch to Children, in *Television,* May, 1955: "It is important to have the sales message delivered by a star or 'hero' in whom the kids believe." Or, "We sell the kids. They usually get what they want if the product is okay. Mother won't make a scene in the supermarket." Is it credible to draw a fine line between the commercial and the dramatic portions of the programs the kids see? The agencies themselves know that such a distinction is artificial when they urge that the "hero" be the one to make the sales pitch.

The Kefauver subcommittee came to the conclusion that television crime is potentially more injurious than movies radio, or comic books: "Television, available at the flick of a knob and combining visual and audible aspects into a 'live' story, has a greater impact on its child audience."

What particularly irked the editorial writer for *Broadcasting-Telecasting,* however, were the specific forms of restraint urged by the subcommittee. One suggestion was for the establishment of citizens' listening councils at the local level, "sober, unbiased adults, maintaining steady watch over the programs offered to children and promptly reporting offensive material to responsible sources."

The one that brought down the house, though, was the recommendation that the Federal Communications Commission be given power to levy fines and revoke the licenses of stations which violate an established code. This would involve preparation of minimal standards as to what constitutes program balance, and what materials, damaging to children, should be prohibited.

Needless to say, *Broadcasting-Telecating* has already seized on this proposal as being "unbearable government control." Like the crime-comics publishers, the networks have, until now, made effective use of constitutional guarantees to prevent restrictive legislation. And unquestionably it is a difficult point. With the FCC currently dominated by ultra-conservatives and under attack for its fantastic activities in the Lamb case, it has not won the respect of civil-rights minded citizens.

Yet, it is not legitimate, as the networks and others insist, to place the whole responsibility for juvenile waywardness on parental laxity or ignorance. It is absurd to ignore the fact that acts and threats of violence on TV were averaging 3,539 a week as far back as 1953, and have undoubtedly increased since. Coupled with the circulation of eighty or ninety million crime comics a month, and the rising curve of juvenile delinquency, TV shoot-'em-ups merit public concern and inquiry.

BOOKS

Detour to Democracy

LA BATALLA DE GUATEMALA. By Guillermo Toriello. Ediciones Cuadernos Americanos. Mexico, D. F. $1.80.

By David L. Graham

IT SEEMS unlikely that Secretary Dulles will follow up the Yalta revelations by permitting the State Department's file on Guatemala to be made public. That will doubtless have to await the coming of a Democrat. But the State Department's case against President Arbenz, who was overthrown by Colonel Castillo Armas, has been published: it is called "Intervention of International Communism in Guatemala."

Now comes the lawyer for the defense, Guillermo Toriello, U. N. Representative and Foreign Minister of the Arbenz government. Reticent as Toriello is about the Communists in pre-rebellion Guatemala—a handful were very active and by no means unsuccessful in grabbing key positions, notably in the labor movement—Toriello and the State Department nevertheless agree on the main facts: namely, that there were only four Communists among the fifty-six deputies in the Guatemalan Congress and that there were none in the Arbenz Cabinet.

Where Toriello disagrees with the State Department, and disagrees violently, is in his interpretation of the facts of the Communist situation and of the ensuing United States intervention. According to him, the State Department resorted to McCarthyism on an international scale, creating the impression that a very weak Guatemalan government, that of Arbenz, was completely in the grip of an all-powerful Communist Party; whereas the truth was that a very strong and popular government was supported by, among others, a tiny Communist Party.

If communism was such a power in Guatemala, one feels inclined to ask, why was it so easily crushed? Daniel James in his shrill "Red Design for Latin America" writes wonderingly: "The [Communist] party remained strangely ineffective during the whole crucial period immediately preceding and following the outbreak of civil war." Could the party's strength have been grossly exaggerated?

"What happened in Guatemala," writes Toriello, "was clearly and simply an aggression both diplomatic and military to reestablish the privileged position of the United Fruit Company and other American monopolies which represent the interests of neither the American people nor the American government." It wasn't communism that was stamped out in Guatemala but democracy.

Guillermo Toriello is no Communist nor has he been accused of being a Communist. Born into a wealthy Guatemalan family, he distinguished himself in the overthrow of General Ubico, the tyrant who ruled Guatemala from 1931 to 1944. As a lawyer he had money and position; as his country's representative at the 1954 Caracas conference he received probably the most spontaneous ovation any Latin American diplomat has ever inspired—not only for standing up to Mr. Dulles but for departing so frankly from the high level of hypocrisy along which these conferences have usually glided in previous years.

TORIELLO is no writer, but his indignation enables him to express himself with force and obvious sincerity. He is indignant because he and the legal government he belonged to were driven from office—chiefly, he claims, as a result of United States intervention, diplomatic and financial. In Mr. Dulles he finds that curious Anglo-Saxon combination of piety, energy, and guile that has always baffled and enraged the Latin spirit. What most bedevils him are the Dulles references to the Monroe Doctrine, the hullabaloo over the Alfhem arms shipment, and the Dulles speech hailing Operation Guatemala as a "glorious victory."

This part of the book is probably the most valuable for North Americans, since it reveals not only how many Latin Americans feel about us but how they see themselves. According to Toriello, the people of the United States are lamentably misinformed on both counts. Take the Monroe Doctrine: we are always patting ourselves on the back for it as a noble, brotherly pronouncement and policy; Latin Americans resent it as a high-handed intrusion into their affairs, a monstrously hypocritical way of dressing up political and economic depredations.

What Toriello has to say about these depredations, even if only half of it is true, is rather sickening. Although he admits that Guatemala under Arbenz was no utopia, he maintains that never had the national government been more truly representative of the people. Living standards were up, illiteracy was down, the privileged interests were being curbed, and great public works were under way.

Then came the "liberation," he says, and the whole progressive trend was thrown into reverse. Under the banner of "anti-communism" and the sheltering power of the American-sponsored dictatorship, all the old special interests swooped down on the prostrate country. Vast tracts of land were handed over to the big operators, debts owed the government by foreign monopolies were forgiven, and taxes levied on those who could most easily afford to pay were canceled. The excuse given was that all this was necessary in order to get the national economy running again. But it proves, according to Toriello, that the purpose of the "liberation" was not to oust communism but to restore monopoly.

Much of this may be surmise, but the fact remains that after his seizure of power Castillo disbanded the unions, halted land reform, outlawed all political parties, limited suffrage, abolished Congress, and set up no fewer than ten secret-police outfits—for a population about that of Philadelphia. This may be the road to democracy, but it looks like a detour.

As to the famous Alfhem arms

DAVID L. GRAHAM is a free-lance writer specializing in Latin American affairs. His article, Castillo's Guatemala, appeared in The Nation *of May 21.*

shipment, certainly we bought arms, says Toriello, ordering them from a British agent because for eight years the United States had ignored our requests and pressured other countries into doing so. The State Department deliberately allowed this one shipment to get through, because it happened to come from behind the iron curtain, and then tremendously exaggerated the transaction. Another shipment that came from Switzerland a little later was seized quietly. It had no propaganda value.

The Arbenz government needed arms for normal training purposes and for the defense of the country; several minor revolts had already broken out and the big Castillo Armas insurrection was openly organizing in Nicaragua and Honduras—as was well known in Washington at the time.

Bitter as his experience was, the former Guatemalan Foreign Minister shows no animosity toward the American people. His explanation of his government's demise reads almost like a Democratic campaign tract: he blames it all on the Republican Administration acting for big business. Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy was a fine thing, he says, and marvelously successful in uniting the Western Hemisphere; but as soon as the Republicans took over they reverted to dollar diplomacy and the big stick.

How true all this is awaits further revelations. But for millions of Latin Americans, Operation Guatemala was the clincher to the argument that the United States is an imperialist power. One more such "glorious victory" and the United States will have lost the cold war in Latin America.

Science in Support of Ethics

THE DIRECTION OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT. Biological and Social Bases. By M. F. Ashley Montagu. Harper and Brothers. $5.

By Abraham Edel

IN WESTERN thought man has been pictured dominantly as a predatory individual restrained only by fear of hell fire or human retribution, or else curbed by the pressures of social conditioning. In modern times suspicion has grown to the point of conviction that this is not inherent human nature but the product of a way of life in which the predatory is encouraged as the path to success while kindly and affectionate sentiments are penalized. The sciences of man are now faced with the question: is man an inherently neutral stuff which can be shaped in many sharply differing patterns, or is he inherently a loving, naturally cooperative being who can be turned into the opposite only at the price of distortion, basic individual unhappiness, as well as social conflict? Such a question calls for a scientific answer, through synthesis of growing data and developing theories of biologists, psychologists, and social scientists.

Such a synthesis is the task that Professor Montagu has undertaken. He marshals evidence from animal studies on the biological basis of cooperation, as varied as the "social appetite" of a frog's eggs whose cells when shaken apart in water move slowly together again, and the training of a ferocious rat-killing alley cat to cooperate with a rat in operating a food-providing mechanical device. He deals with the role of mutual influence, dependence, and love in the individual from the pre-natal situation and the birth experience through the psychological development of the young child in relation to maternal affection and into the social response of the adult to group acceptance or rejection. Professor Montagu's stand, strongly and even vehemently affirmed, is that love is central throughout the whole of human life, not only as a condition of proper human development, but even as the very meaning of the life quest.

THE BOOK is highly readable, with only occasional technical passages. Its experimental materials from a variety of fields are especially interesting, and its attempt at an integration which underscores the intimate, inseparable relation of heredity and environment, biology and culture, is illuminating. Opposing basic positions are not, however, analyzed fully, so that much of the material seems to be more an illustration of a thesis than evidence for a hypothesis. The richest data are presented in the biological context; in dealing with social and philosophical themes such as the human good and the meaning of value the account becomes sketchy. The same detailed treatment of qualities, processes, and mechanisms that Professor Montagu exhibits in the biological investigations is required in the cultural and historical if we are to have a clear picture of goals in human development.

The vision of scientific support for basic ethical goals and attitudes is an intoxicating one. Therein lies a danger which Professor Montagu has not wholly escaped—for example, in such declarations as that to love thy neighbor as thyself is perfectly sound biology. Ultimately neither science nor ethics will be served by replacing an ideology of the predatory economic man with an ideological cult of love. The questions at issue have to be approached with the attitude of "cold science" with its careful analysis of concepts and its full exploration of alternative interpretations of experiments. The tremendous accumulation of contemporary evidence pointing in the direction of a more hopeful conception of man may very well spur us on to greater scientific efforts and even to proposed reorientation of social policies, but a final reckoning is not yet in sight.

ABRAHAM EDEL is a member of the Department of Philosophy at the City College of New York and author of "Ethical Judgment: The Use of Science in Ethics" and "The Theory and Practice of Philosophy."

Selected New Books

American Foreign Policy

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. Report of a Study Group Sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the National Planning Association. Holt. $6. In 1952 Columbia University Press published "United States Foreign Policy: Its Organization and Control," a report of a study group for the W. W. F. The present volume on economic foreign policy is the product of a second study group, jointly sponsored by W. W. F. and N. P. A. The chairman of both groups was Professor William Yandell Elliott of Harvard. His new collaborators are Frank Altschul, Richard M. Bissell, Jr., Courtney C. Brown, H. vanB. Cleveland, Theodore Geiger, Harry D. Gideonse, Edward S. Mason, and Don K. Price. The report is an eloquent, thought-provoking, and vastly informative appeal for a greater measure of economic integration among the Atlantic communities and a fresh approach to the problems of the underdeveloped countries. The answers offered are tentative and sometimes nebulous. But it is the great merit of these pages that they often raise the right questions—which is a rare virtue deserving commendation and warranting careful reading and cogitation.

THE UNITED STATES AS A WORLD POWER. By Samuel Flagg Bemis. Holt. $6.95. Professor Bemis of Yale here gives us, in a 500-page revision, Part III of the third edition (1950) of his standard "Diplomatic History of the United States." The result is an admirable survey of United States foreign policy from 1900 to 1955. Only sixty pages—alas!—are devoted to the past decade. Eccentricities of style and evaluation will irritate some readers and stimulate others This is, nevertheless, a richly factual and highly readable narrative.

FOREIGN POLICY AND PARTY POLITICS: Pearl Harbor to Korea. By H. Bradford Westerfield. Yale. $6. This first book by an instructor at Harvard, inspired by W. Y. Elliott et al., is a fascinating analysis of partisan, non-partisan, bi-partisan, and "extrapartisan" handling in Congress of the major issues of foreign policy between 1941 and 1950. The conclusion is implicit in the premise—i.e., that, for obvious reasons, foreign policy should be above and beyond party politics. The implications of this familiar proposition are not adequately explored. But the author has put together an absorbing story and drawn from it some useful generalizations. Both deserve to be read and pondered by all who are concerned with substituting statesmanship for demagoguery in foreign affairs.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

COMING

"The Desert and the Stars: A Biography of Lawrence of Arabia"
By Flora Armitage
Reviewed by George Dangerfield

"Tom Barber"
By Forrest Reid
Reviewed by Jessamyn West

"Time for Living"
By George Soule
Reviewed by Joseph Dorfman

HISTORY OF THE

COLD WAR

by Kenneth Ingram

Unquestionably an important contribution to the recorded history of our time, Mr. Ingram's new book is a study of the relations of the Soviet Union and other Communist states with the Western Democracies, during the period between the end of the Second World War (1945) and the death of Stalin (1953).

With firm and penetrating objectivity the author traces the development of cold war tension in events such as the coup d'etat in Czechoslovakia, the Berlin blockade, Marshall Aid, rearmament plans, the Korean War and unrest in Indonesia and Indo-China, the use of the veto in the Security Council, the speeches of statesmen and the comments of press and radio.

In each case the author gives both the Communist and the Western interpretations of these events, leaving it to the reader to form his own judgments.

In the final chapter he reviews the existing situation in its historical context.

COMMENT FROM A REVIEW OF THIS BOOK

by Frederick L. Schuman
in The Nation

"The author surveys in broad strokes the background, the events of 1945, the Paris Peace Conference of 1946, the Marshall Plan, the Battle of Berlin, the Czech **coup**, the Yugoslav schism, the atomic deadlock, NATO and German rearmament, unofficial East-West relations, the rising tide of color against white colonialism, China, the Korean War, the Japanese treaty, and the passing of Stalin. To have put all this together in 233 pages, on the whole readably and judiciously, is no small achievement. Readers will find the narrative highly rewarding . . .

"Here is no sugar-coating of Soviet ruthlessness and stupidity, nor any acceptance of American policy as a righteous crusade for freedom. He notes, sagely, that in the nature of power politics all claims that NATO and the Soviet alliances are purely 'defensive' are wholly unconvincing to the other side . . .

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Books in Brief

Man the Traveler

CONQUEST BY MAN. By Paul Herrmann. Translated by Michael Bullock. Harper. $6.

This is a fascinating book but—read it with caution. Drawing on the vast storehouse of material which scholars have accumulated on history and pre-history, the author has chosen to tell of man the ubiquitous trader, the purposive traveler, the inquiring explorer. The book starts with Neolithic times and ends with the great Portuguese discoveries, the beginning for most accounts of exploration. It brings together a mass of obscure but important and arresting material: the extended trade routes of Hallstatt salt; the cargoes and wide-ranging voyages of Egyptian freighters, the island-hopping discoveries of the Vikings; the size and luxury of medieval Chinese ocean-going junks; the riches of Eastern traffic when Arab merchants served as intercontinental middlemen.

All this is told with verve and wonderful detail; the author's enthusiasm is contagious. But—and here comes the caution—the reader is forced to discriminate between the factual and the hypothetical and conjectural. Thus the author gives the same credence to the message on the Kensington "rune stone" which "proves" that in the fourteenth century Norsemen went to Douglas County, Minnesota, as to the inscriptions on the tomb of the Egyptian Hatshepstut, which record a voyage made in 1500 B. C. from Thebes to the Somali coast to obtain incense. He uses sagas and myths with equal authority; no one questions the sagas telling of Viking visits to North America, but his use of the Quetzacoatl legend to demonstrate the presence of European missionaries in the New World a thousand years before Columbus's landfall, is unfortunate.

A Lesser Cary

NOT HONOUR MORE. By Joyce Cary. Harper. $3.50.

"Not Honour More" is the final volume of a Joyce Cary trilogy—the story of British politician Chester Nimmo. Mr. Cary has impressed readers and critics on both sides of the Atlantic as one of the most important novelists now working, a composite of the deliberate craftsman and nimble satirist. With "Not Honour More," however, Mr. Cary comes up against an old structural problem: the fact that any novel told entirely from a single point of view demands a narrator whose mind must be sensitive and complex enough to provide dramatic fiction.

Cary's use of point of view has provided some fascinating results, since he uses the method on such large canvases. The first volume of the Nimmo series, for example was narrated by Nina, Nimmo's wife; the second by Nimmo himself; and the present book by Captain Jim Latter, Nina's first lover and second husband. This alternation adds richness to the sequence as readers are faced with the challenge of many interlacing values and judgments.

In "Not Honour More," however, Cary limits himself to the narrow and rigid area of Captain Latter's mind, a mind which distrusts all words, tends to think in terms of exact right and exact wrong, and ultimately defines truth in terms of action. Imprisoned within this mind, the resulting prose is thin and rigid, just as it was rich and complex when the point of view was Nimmo's in "Except the Lord." The portrait of Latter becomes artistically weak because the single dimension in which he functions and speaks cannot support the burden of 309 pages of fiction.

Equally damaging is the fact that by limiting his narrative entirely to Latter's point of view, Cary turns Nimmo and Nina into creatures lacking any meaning whatever for the reader who has not read the two previous volumes. Considered on its own merits, a book seen only through the mind of a narrator incapable of nuance or insight, is not likely to have much of an impact.

Films

Robert Hatch

THE INTENTION of "The Night of the Hunter" is to make you cry out in horror. If at times you snort in indignation, that may be because Robert Mitchum and Charles Laughton (in his first assignment as a director) overwork the material. There is too much brooding menace in the air, too much fe, fi, fo, fum in Mitchum's characterization of a revivalist preacher who goes about the country marrying and murdering susceptible converts for the money in their mattresses. He rolls his eyes and foams at the mouth and behaves in all ways like the madman he is—or like John Barrymore with the bit in his teeth.

But there are good things in the picture. One of these is Shelley Winters as the last victim—a young widow made dim by misery, but with the courage to take what she senses is a rather desperate last snatch at happiness. No one will snort during her scenes. On their wedding night her mad husband reviles her, and Miss Winters raises this to a passage of authentic horror—a horror of the soul. She is one of the few actors in the studios who can create a depth of personality. As in most of her recent roles, there is a convincing ambiguity about the pathetic widow—she is a little revolting, more than a little admirable, demure but avid. It is intelligent, exciting work.

Also excellent is Laughton's evocation of a decent, small-minded community: kind but petty, shrewd but gullible, God-fearing but trembling for malicious gossip. And then there is a long, nightmare flight down the river; a little boy and girl (children of the murdered woman by her first marriage) drifting on and on, and still hearing their pursuer singing hymns on the road above them. They finally reach haven in the home of an eccentric brood hen, and there, despite the capable acting of Lillian Gish, the picture collapses fatally into "Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm."

Laughton has worked in a misty, slightly elliptic style that is meant to be poetic and powerfully suggestive. As often as not, it is merely affected; and from time to time it drops disconcertingly into conventional camera realism. The picture is not a success, but it is a good failure. It is based on a novel by Davis Grubb, adapted by the late James Agee.

IN SICILY, Audie Murphy killed Germans one by one; at Anzio he dropped them by squads, and up around Colmar he was executing them in platoons. By then, he had the *Wehrmacht* in full flight and his fellows in arms were sprinting to keep in sight of the war. Or so it would appear in "To Hell and Back."

I do not mean to ridicule the record of a young, brave, and frighteningly effective soldier, but Universal has made a ridiculous movie of his combat memoirs. Aside from the questionable taste of asking him to play himself as an all-American hero, it has embroidered a scenario in which the fortunes of the whole Mediterranean campaign are made to fall on his shoulders. The rest of the army has almost nothing to do but chorus "gosh, Murph!" and kiss the girls he liberates. And the enemy fires volley after volley at his exposed person with a futility that suggests blank ammunition.

It must be said for Murphy that he wears the embarrassing mantle of omnipotence with surprising grace. He has come a long way in a few years. Hollywood hired him just after the war for the publicity value of his decorations, and in his early pictures he looked like a high-school kid with no talent or taste for amateur theatricals. But he has gained a lot of poise since then and he survives "To Hell and Back" by assuming a pose of modest amusement. In the circumstances, this is fine acting and Murphy could easily become a fine actor. The compact athlete's body and the quick and original mind that made him a dangerous soldier are valuable assets in the theater.

THE death of James Dean in a car accident last month deprives Hollywood of one of its best young actors. Dean had presence, intelligence, and style. A good many people—myself included—pointed out that the style, as shown in his first picture, "East of Eden," was not yet entirely his own. He was given too much to do too quickly, but he was obviously much more than an imitator and could have become one of the Coast's most eloquent performers. Two pictures in which he appears—"Giant" and "Rebel Without Cause"—have yet to be released.

THE LATEST version of "My Sister Eileen," starring Janet Leigh and Betty Garrett, is a routine but sound musical comedy. . . . "Will Any Gentleman?" imported from England, is a work of stale slapstick involving hypnosis and the pinching of housemaids.

THE PRINCIPALS in "The Left Hand of God" wrestle in sweaty agony with an instance of mortal sin. This causes them to strike poses of wooden introspection which I might find more effective if I could believe in the reality of their problem.

The ticklish situation is that a downed American flier has assumed the masquerade of a Catholic priest in order to escape from forced service in the guerilla army of a Chinese warlord. In this guise he arrives at a remote village where a priest is expected and where he is greeted with adulation by the people and with mixed feelings by the white residents. That is, the mission doctor thinks he is fishy, and the mission nurse thinks he is uncommonly attractive. The psuedo priest ingeniously avoids performing any such major offices as conducting mass or hearing confessions and he keeps himself at an irreproachable distance from the young lady until his masquerade is exposed. But, with proper respect for the way news travels in the back country, he maintains the disguise until his former boss rides down from the hills and forces his hand. He also wins the love and trust of the community and that, apparently, is what galls the proper officers of the church when they arrive. They take a stern but compassionate view of the imposture: the now-enthralled lovers are merely forced to renounce their love. I presume that a less magnanimous sentence might have been burning at the stake.

Humphrey Bogart plays the perplexed and devout airman; Gene Tierney is the nurse, horrified by her seemingly unnatural inclinations; Lee Cobb is the Chinese robber chief (he was educated in the States, which is why he looks and talks like a Chicago gangster). Edward Dmytryk directs what might have been an exciting adventure if so much time had not been spent in testing the alleged thinness of the religious ice.

Theater

Shepard Traube

[*Mr. Traube, producer and director of such hits as "Angel Street" and "Time Out for Ginger," pinch-hits this week for Harold Clurman,* The Nation's *regular theater critic.* —Editors.]

THE PRODUCTION of N. C. Hunter's distinguished comedy, "A Day by the Sea," at the ANTA Playhouse evokes a rueful examination of the Broadway theatrical system.

Even had the play not been damned by the metropolitan drama critics (with one notable exception), it probably would have been destined for a brief life in our canyons. In fact, Huntington Hartford and Stephen Mitchell, the producers, announced the venture for a "limited engagement," evidently considering their production a labor of love and holding out scant hope for any widespread popular success. It seems to me that they have fared considerably more poorly than they deserved, since they do not have so much as the satisfaction of a *success d'estime.* The play will go down without a trace, as though it were the most hackneyed kind of commercial "flop."

For this observer it is saddening to note the short shrift accorded to "A Day by the Sea," because this play is clearly the work of an enlightened mind. Mr. Hunter is a wise and witty man who knows a great deal about the foibles of people in our modern society and can write about them for the stage with penetration and affection. He is an author who knows how to set characters into motion dramatically and how trace their inner secrets with delicate purpose. His point of view is always wry and understanding, never bitter or malicious. Mr. Hunter is a stylist who can find the humor in life, even when living is touched with defeat.

It is astonishing that the play was dismissed so summarily as a Chekovian conversation-piece. (Actually, if there is any Russian work to which Mr. Hunter's play may be compared at all accurately, I would declare it to be Turgenieff's "A Month in the Country," another comedy dealing in the frailty of human character.) The exasperating fact is that the Broadway theater is frequently most unkind to the writer whose play aspires for approval on any kind of an intellectual level, and will treat him more shabbily than the writer of what is frankly trash.

In London's West End, "A Day by the Sea" was blessed with an all-star cast and enjoyed a long engagement, perhaps because London audiences not only support their established stars, but also are civilized enough to enjoy an evening of good talk.

A first-class company of actors was assembled for the New York production and given a careful preliminary test on the West Coast. Directed with precisely the correct sophisticated touch by Cedric Hardwicke, some of the most excellent actors we have on this side of the water played in "A Day by the Sea" with exquisite skill. Dennis King, at the top of his form as a bibulous lost soul, was unfailingly brilliant. Jessica Tandy and Hume Cronyn were heart-breakingly true throughout the entire evening. Aline MacMahon, Halliwell Hobbes, Leo Britt, and Megs Jenkins were equally superb in a company that performed the comedy in perfect taste.

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Should N. C. Hunter be dismayed by the curiously unqualified failure of "A Day by the Sea" in New York, let him take small comfort in our own puzzlement.

ANOTHER "limited engagement" is that of the D'Oyly Carte Savoyards at the Shubert Theater. But since their Gilbert and Sullivan audience in this country is pre-sold, their fate is sturdier than that of "A Day by the Sea."

The production of "Iolanthe," conducted by the sagacious Isidore Godfrey, proved to be a constant delight—played with authentic verve, as the masters themselves must have ordered it, by a great company.

Of particular note is the meteoric success of Peter Pratt, who has inherited the roles once played by such stalwarts as George Grossmith and Martyn Green. Only thirty-two years of age, Mr. Pratt is absolutely dazzling as the Lord Chancellor of "Iolanthe," a marvelous character actor, and one of the best comic dancers ever to appear on a stage anywhere. How gratifying to have a theater system like the British, which nourishes the D'Oyly Carte institution and makes it possible for young Peter Pratt to devote himself to this kind of a career! He may never make a fortune, but he is an artist who will always know where he is at.

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE DENSELY polyphonic, rich, and subtle writing in Debussy's "Iberia" is heard also in the two other pieces of "Images" that are almost never played—"Gigues" and "Rondes de printemps," in the latter of which it is especially rich, lending itself wonderfully to the evocative purposes of an excitingly beautiful aural "image" of spring that is one of the high points of Debussy's creative achievement (why Toscanini never played it is one of the mysteries of his selection of repertory: when asked he would nod and smile and say "Yes . . . Debussy sent me the score"; period). There has been a Victor record of very poor performances of all three pieces by Monteux with the San Francisco Symphony: and so it is a pleasure to report Epic's release on LC-3147 of excellent performances of all three by van Beinum with the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra. They are reproduced with remarkable clarity and distinctness by the kind of recording that I think places the ear too close to the various instruments; and with crackling noises that are not caused by any scratches on the record.

What is usually played as Franck's "Psyche" is several instrumental movements of what I now discover to be a work that also includes a couple of movements for orchestra and chorus. I owe the discovery to Epic LC-3146, which offers a beautiful performance by van Otterloo with the Hague Philharmonic and the Netherlands Chamber Choir. The instrumental writing is delicate and lovely and free of the bombastic proclamation of some of Franck's other symphonic music, though not free of his tendency to repeat himself; the choral movements offer the mellifluous and sweet writing of the saintly Franck.

Epic LC-3157 has given me my first hearing of Mozart's Violin Concerto K.211, which turns out to be a modestly engaging work, but one that is insignificant by the side of K.219, which is on the same record. The violin-playing of Grumiaux has a distinction which the playing of the Vienna Symphony under Paumgartner lacks; but though Grumiaux's playing is superb, I find it unpoised and hectic in the first movement of K.219—even in the wonderful slow melody with which the solo violin makes its first entrance. The recorded sound is sharp and somewhat coarse, requiring reduction of treble.

London LL-1262 offers Gershwin's Piano Concerto and "Rhapsody in Blue" played by Katchen with Mantovani's Orchestra. After the brutal treatments of the piano part of the Concerto in some other recorded performances it is a pleasure to hear Katchen's deft brilliance and sensitive phrasing; and my only reservation concerns a few of the orchestra's inflections that seem to me exaggerated, and the—to me—exaggeratedly low-down style of the solo trumpet in the second movement. In the Rhapsody there is fussing by the piano as well as the orchestra—the piece apparently being one that nobody can play without this heavy underscoring of every point.

I will add that it was a pleasure to hear anew after the considerable interval the pieces of Gershwin show-music in the two works—including the ones that are variants or developments of the others. For example, in the first movement, the "bridge passage" from the proclamatory first theme to the "second subject"—a delightful anticipatory variant of the expansive melody of the "second subject"; and the further variants in the "development" that follows. The whole idea of producing the sequence of exposition, development, and recapitulation of sonata form with this material was wrong; but some of the episodes Gershwin produced from his themes in the process are superb.

JANSZEN Laboratories is now offering the remarkable high-frequency speaker that I discussed in my July 16 column with either one or two Bozak low-frequency woofers in cabinets which are excellently constructed and very handsome. The one-woofer combination ($335) produces a marvelously beautiful sound with perfect balance of treble and bass; the two-woofer combination ($537) a sound that has an additional impressive solidity down below. Places I know of where they can be heard are Radio Stack in Boston and Harvey Radio in New York.

I have also heard the Acoustic Research AR-1 speaker system, which achieves the seemingly impossible: a real and clearly defined bass in a cabinet only 14 by 11 3/8 by 25 inches in size. The woofer-and-tweeter combination produces a good sound; and vastly superior sound is had by combining the woofer ($145) with the Janszen high-frequency speaker ($161 in black utility cabinet; $184 in finished wood). I should add that I heard the AR-1 with a McIntosh 60-watt amplifier, and that it needs an amplifier of such power.

And finally I can report that Bogen's new PR-100 pre-amplifier ($99.50, plus $20 for cabinet if desired) is excellent in every way—one of its valuable features being steep roll-offs (for the occasions when they are needed) which do not produce the ringing resonances that usually are the undesirable concomitant of such roll-offs.

Letters

Behind the Argentine Revolt

[The author of the following letter, which was written immediately after the successful uprising in Argentina and brought by hand from Buenos Aires to New York, is a well-known Argentine economist and an old-time contributor to The Nation.—The Editors.]

Dear Sirs: Five days of blood and anguish have shattered to pieces a dictatorship with a quasi-fascist organization. What to thousands and thousands of Argentines seemed for years impossible to attain is now a reality. The country has been liberated from a regime which brought oppression to every citizen in every activity. The feverish cavalcade of events in the last three months helps explain the complex political background of this liberating struggle.

June 16: The navy in revolt and Buenos Aires under air attack—this was the tragic warning that the political conflict was likely to be resolved only by violent means. However, a final pacific way out seemed open. After losing control of the armed forces and after demonstrating the inefficiency of his civil organization (mainly, the General Confederation of Workers) to cope with the armed threat, Peron still had time to seek an understanding with the political parties and return to democratic standards of coexistence. The chance was there, for many people eagerly wished for a peaceful solution, even at the price of dealing with a man whose word could not be trusted.

Between June 16 and August 31, a sharp line was drawn between those committed to a solution of force and those against. The line ran through most political groups and parties, as well as through the armed forces, the Catholic church, and the workers. Even in official circles some opinion sup-

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ported a conciliatory attitude, with the vested interests (the new oligarchy, the profiteers, and the oil-contract backers) pushing Peron to the old expedients of violence and intimidation.

Peron's speech of August 31 marked the decisive turn. It closed every door, blocked off every pacific and intelligent way out. Peron pushed all non-Peronists, whatever their political beliefs, into the same corner and to all he promised death—death without process, by any self-appointed executioner, with the single condition that the executioner should be a Peronist. The dividing line became sharper: almost the whole opposition was thrown into the camp of revolution. A de facto over-all coalition became an invisible but potent reality. The few advocates of non-violence found themselves grasping at air.

What were Peron's plans? Intimidation by bluff and corruption, as in many previous instances? The only plan he announced was the fantastic one of substituting armed syndicalism for the organized armed forces of the nation—social revolution, but without socialism and with the purpose of consolidating a voracious new oligarchy and putting through the oil contract.

The plan was still-born. For the social historian it will be another item to examine in evaluating a regime which used modern revolutionary terminology to cover a process of consolidating class interests and foreign investments.

One main theme underlies this national upheaval: the will to end repression and restore freedom. Among many recent instances of political persecution, the Ingalinella case—the physician tortured to death in Rosario by Peron's political police two days after the June 16 revolt—particularly shocked the nation and crystallized every shade of opinion in a quiet but powerful protest against the systematic tortures applied to political prisoners.

Two other factors prompted the revolution. One was the church conflict, which mobilized the church as an institution and the Catholic masses against the regime, while liberal opinion—favorable to the disestablishment of the church—openly repudiated the dictator's brutal handling of the issue.

The second was the ill-fated oil contract. Signed by Peron and the California Argentina Oil Company of Delaware, it was to become law by September 30. It is a contract typical of old-fashioned economic and political colonialism and was publicly repudiated by every Argentine political party, with the exception of the Peronists. It aroused public indignation to such a degree that it became a national issue of most extreme urgency.

With the victory of the revolution, the way is now open to a restoration of liberties, a peaceful reevaluation of relations between church and state, and a solution of the oil and power problem based on true national interests. Many other lines of progress have also become possible: the development of a strong, independent, progressive labor movement; an intellectual flowering, with the return from exile—or silence—of the country's intelligentsia; a reappraisal of international relations, mainly with South American countries, from a truly democratic point of view.

The fulfillment of these hopes will rest in the hands not only of the new government, but of the political parties, the workers' organizations, and independent public opinion.

SERGIO BAGU.

Buenos Aires.

Alternatives to Atomic War

Dear Sirs: Because the United Packinghouse Workers of America believe that there can be an end to the tensions which have kept the world divided, and because we believe in trying to end those tensions, District 3 of the U. P. W. A., along with six other organizations, is sponsoring a Conference on Alternatives to Atomic War, to be held in Des Moines, Iowa, at the Willkie House on October 21 and 22.

We extend a heartfelt invitation to any readers of The Nation who live in the Midwest to attend this conference. The registration fee will not exceed $3.00. The major speaker will be Frank P. Graham.

Other groups helping to sponsor the conference are the American Friends Service Committee, Iowa Council of Churches, Iowa Council of United Church Women, Iowa State C. I. O. Council, Hadassah (Des Moines Chapter), and the United World Federalists.

DICK BRUNER
Program Coordinator
U. P. W. A. District 3

Des Moines, Iowa.

Reviewer's Correction

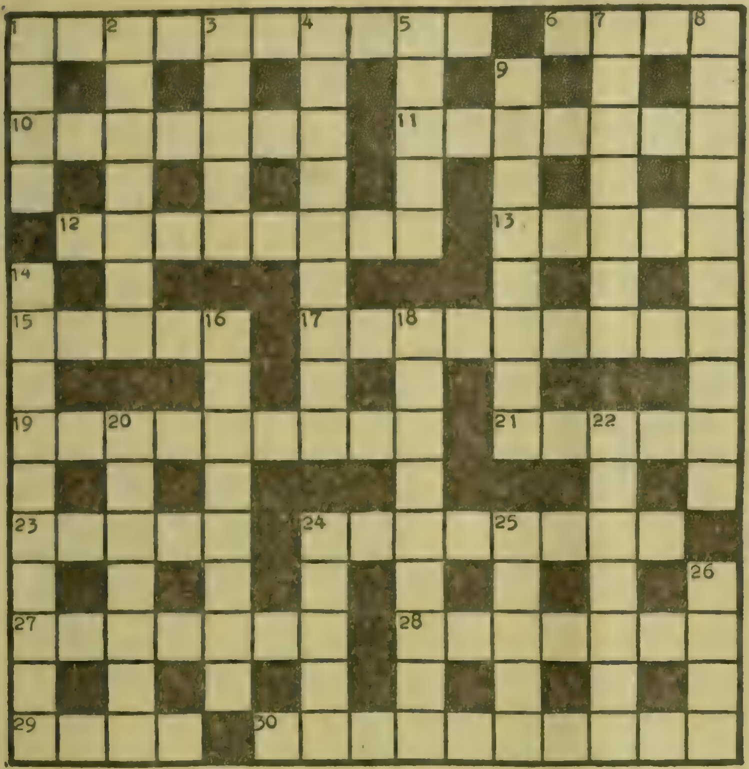
Dear Sirs: Quotation marks should have enclosed the next but last paragraph in my review of John Scott's book in The Nation, September 17, but through an error these were omitted, so that the text appears to be the reviewer's rather than Mr. Scott's. My apologies to the author.

EDGAR SNOW

Palisades, N. Y.

Crossword Puzzle No. 641

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Certainly not a slow way to create lace. (10)
6 Cloud. (4)
10 Proving even a parvenu sort of puts on skill. (7)
11 Trouble in a dynasty, when it comes to getting the letters started. (7)
12 General engineer who confused the inside between the ends. (8)
13 Quite a brilliant feat to have such a large number in to breakfast, perhaps. (5)
15 Just the place for an unnumbered 13 in Germany. (5)
17 High-class Fellow of the Royal Academy, no doubt (3-6)
19 and 21 The way they used to fuss about 5 and 2! (1,7,1,5)
23 Certainly didn't imply a cold ride in Chicago, but there might be plenty of room here. (5)
24 Tires, but probably back of them in cars. (8)
27 The way one makes a finger-wave? (7)
28 Arrangement of duets to offer the most protection. (7)
29 This part of the building is always in a state of collapse. (4)
30 See 3 down.

DOWN

1 Touch an article except this! (4)
2 Suggesting duties are little more than habit? (7)
3 and 30 across It doesn't look like a Cardinal should have the poorest fielding average (5,19)
4 Is a bad act filled with terror? Quite the reverse when it pulls back. (9)
5 Equivalent to X? (5)
7 Eggs in the grass are probably. (4,3)
8 Uniform of the day? (5,5)
9 Embraced the opinions of the party holding the drink? You can still beat it! (4,4)
14 A phone-box I dislike, when it comes to strangers. (10)
16 An open loan of gold at one time. (8)
18 Looking ahead, one might get to hit copper in an unrefined state. (9)
20 Attracts nothing but the nice set, obviously. (7)
22 The old soak expresses pain to remove unnatural effects of detail. (7)
24 One way to break a lease! (5)
25 1 down is by a tuba arrangement (5)
26 What one wouldn't say to a goose or rustic. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. [illegible]

ACROSS: 1 and 9 down THE CHILD IS FATHER OF THE MAN; 10 PLEDGES; 11 FLATCAR; 12 WRIGHT BROTHERS; 14 INCENSES; 15 PRESTO; 16 ERASES; 18 SHUFFLER; 22 STENOGRAPHICAL; 24 AMNESIA; 25 IMMENSE; 26 and 23 DOORYARD; 27 MESSENGERS. DOWN: 1 TYPEWRITER; 2 ELEGIAC; 3 HIGHHANDEDNESS; 4 LOSABLE; 5 INFLOW; 7 OXCARTS; 8 and 6 TURNCOAT; 13 LOGROLLERS; 17 ANTONIO; 19 HEAVIES; 20 LICENSE; 21 AGNATE.

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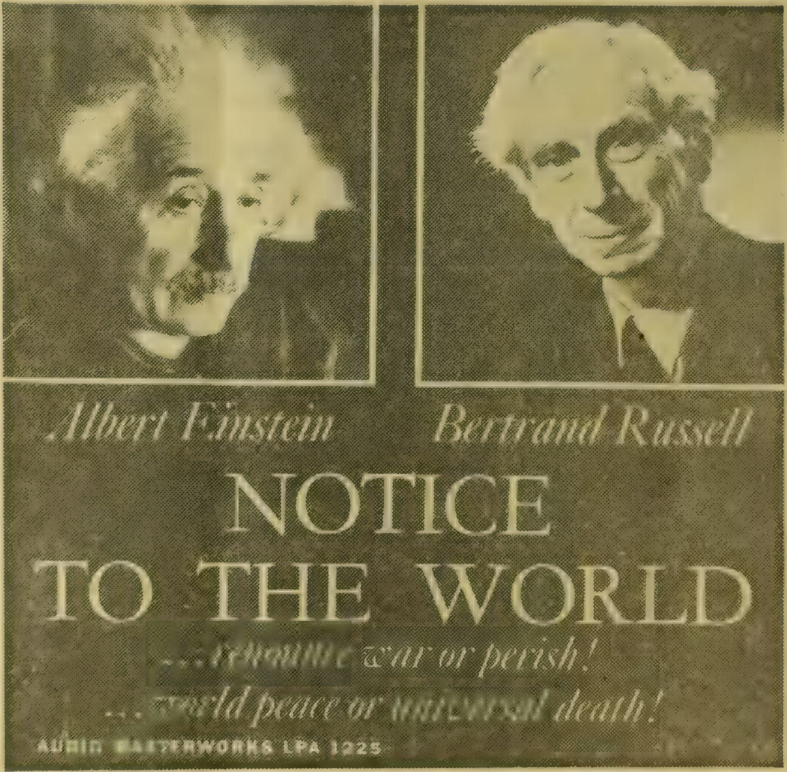
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THE RECKLESS LEGION . . *by Bert Collier*

Colonialism: a New Challenge

by Edgar Snow

In Defense of Movie Music

by Dore Schary

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In Defense of Movie Music
by DORE SCHARY

Letters

In Defense of Movie Music

Dear Sirs: In the issue of September 24, 1955, Robert Hatch launches an impassioned attack on music in pictures. Unfortunately, his passion does not match the facts. His attack is as old-fashioned as the scores which he abuses.

Mr. Hatch should go to see more pictures. Picture-makers, including, I may add, composers, have long recognized the childishness of creating scores for every minute of any given motion picture. For many years now music has been used more sparingly, and many of the cliches that Mr. Hatch rumbles about have long since disappeared. Every once in a while there is some reversion, but this is normal in any field of artistic expression.

But let me present some evidence to prove my point. I will talk about some M. G. M. pictures because I know about them, though I am certain a similar case could be made for pictures at other studios. "Executive Suite" did not have a note of music—not even in the introductory title. While this was a suggestion of both Mr. John Houseman, the producer, and myself, Mr. Johnny Green, the director of our music department, not only endorsed the notion but worked ingeniously for sound effects which were substituted for music. "Blackboard Jungle" is scored in only the main and end titles, but it was done so effectively that the song used, "Rock Around the Clock," was rocketed into number-one position on the Hit Parade for many weeks. The picture "Bad Day at Black Rock," out of a running time of one hour and twenty-eight minutes, used exactly nine minutes of music. The new motion picture, "Trial," again uses only an opening and end title, because all of us felt in this particular kind of picture, which is harsh and realistic, we did not need or want a musical score.

There are any number of pictures, however, that profit by music. It is not true that music makes the job easier for the directors and actors. Music, under ideal circumstances, is employed to supplement all other effort that has gone into the making of a film, to permit an audience to enjoy it to its fullest extent. Music, properly employed, heightens emotional response, can create greater appreciation of the effects intended; i. e., the effective use of music in the opening of "Great Expectations." Pictures like "A Place in the Sun" (a Paramount Picture), or "Ivanhoe" (M. G. M.), or "From Here to Eternity" (Columbia), "High Noon" (Stanley Kramer), or "Shane" (Paramount), were all aided by beautiful and effective scores.

The suggestion that the use of music encourages actors to be incompetent is as careless a statement as I have ever read in movie criticism. Mr. Hatch doesn't know actors—or at least not good ones. Anyone who knows anything about them knows they usually don't want anything to intrude on their performance—not music, not another actor, and very often not even the director.

When Mr. Hatch says that "movie music is rarely music in any real sense, but has a quality of its own," he is indulging in the kind of esoteric double-talk that is quite difficult to follow. What kind of quality does movie music have? Is it the quality of dialogue—or painting—or a foreign language, perhaps Sanskrit? Is Mr. Hatch aware of the enormous musical accomplishments and contributions to American music of men such as Max Steiner, Franz Waxman, Miklos Rozsa, Bronislau Kaper, Alfred Newman, Dimitri Tiomkin, and countless others?

Mr. Hatch should make himself available to some professional picture-makers who will prove conclusively that the music is not "poured" over the pictures indiscriminately. Perhaps Mr. Hatch wrote his piece with his tongue in his cheek and his logic someplace else—perhaps he wrote it just to stir up an answer such as this. If the reason is the latter, he's stirred it up. I suggest Mr. Hatch go to the movies more frequently, and I think he'd come up with an angry answer to his own article.

DORE SCHARY

Culver City, Calif.

Mr. Hatch's Reply

Dear Sirs: It is probable that Mr. Schary has caught me in a common fallacy—that of recalling more vividly the incidents that prove one's point than those that oppose it. I am forced by his evidence to admit that my complaints were too sweeping.

However, the kind of musical interference that irritates me still occurs. I have just seen a forthcoming picture—not an M. G. M. release—in which moments of high tension are underlined by assertive orchestration. One such moment I noticed particularly because all the logic of the situation seemed to me to demand silence.

When music is used to "heighten emotional response" or to "startle or frighten audiences into greater appreciation of the effects intended," I think it trespasses on acting and directness, and is being used to elicit from the audience a response that the situation or performance would not produce. This may "aid" the picture from the producer's point of view, but it makes me dig in my heels in the suspicion that I am being tricked.

ROBERT HATCH

New York, N. Y.

More on Holohan

Dear Sirs: In re the piece on the Holohan case, I remember Holohan very well from the S. E. C. days. He was an extremely forthright, persistent and, if I may say so, a somewhat obstinate person with a strong will and ability to work hard. The whole thing to me is a very shocking matter, and the description of the activities of the Pentagon in this connection increases rather than diminishes the sense of shock that the whole matter arouses. The opinion that the two men allegedly involved in this affair could not be prosecuted in the United States for their conduct seems to have been arrived at from the standpoint of a desire to wash one's hands of the entire matter rather than as a thorough and considered opinion based upon the laws that govern such things.

JAMES M. LANDIS

New York, N. Y.

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1955
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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Nationalism-Colonialism: The New Challenge (I)

. . by Edgar Snow

This is the first of two guest editorials on a new major threat to world peace. Edgar Snow, a frequent contributor to The Nation, *is the author of "Red Star Over China" and other books on international affairs.*

THE UNEASY peace of Europe is now poised on what Churchill called the balance of terror inherent in possession of absolute weapons on both sides. But will the very knowledge that the major atomic powers dare not use their thermonuclear thunderbolts now encourage a new crop of conventional wars in the corridors of world power—including rebellions, civil wars, and national colonial revolutions?

Events indicate that such might prove to be the case unless the "new friendliness" fairly quickly broadens to something beyond a mutual *nyet* on the H-bomb.

Right now, as Allied foreign ministers prepare to meet once more to talk about disarmament and Germany, two post-Geneva developments are disturbing those who made the error of supposing that "peaceful coexistence" could possibly mean a blissful settling down to things as they are. Mr. Dulles and his intimates are vexed by various signs of West European complacency which, it is feared, foreshadow a premature weakening or even total disintegration of NATO. There has been what James Reston of the New York *Times* (October 9) described as "a serious slippage in the Western position." Britain precipitately announced a planned reduction in her fighting services by about 100,000 men. Similar cuts were contemplated in France before the North African crisis.

Western Europeans now seem convinced that Russia's price for releasing Eastern Germany cannot be reduced below its own participation in NATO—or possibly a separate, but general, security pact. Either one would have the effect of neutralizing Germany. It would also virtually end NATO. Yet reports suggest that sentiment in Western Europe is now tending toward the idea of discussing such an alternative if, in exchange, Russia would agree to lower the iron curtain all along the line.

Considered with another development, the new complacency seems especially alarming to incurable believers in the possibility of a status-quo world. This second development is of course the recrudescence of anti-colonial activity over widely scattered areas. This, we may as well remind ourselves, is still known among the Reds as "anti-imperialist liberation." Closely related to colonial troubles, as well as to European relaxation, and yet with aspects of an independent problem is the moral, political, and material support which rebels have been receiving from the Asian-African bloc, as well as from Russia. Particularly disturbing to some was the unexpected support given to the Algerians in the U. N. The Communist powers and the Asian-African bloc, joined by the Philippines, Greece, and six normally pro-United States South American states, defeated France's demands to deny the Algerian nationalists a hearing before the General Assembly.

GREECE had earlier insisted that Cyprus's plea for self-determination also be considered. This brought it into conflict with the British in the U. N., as well as with its neighbor and ally, Turkey. Athens had evidently expected support from Mr. Dulles, not unreasonably in view of the United States Congressional resolution which pledged faithful adherence and support for our badly tattered Wilsonian principles. The fact was, however, that the American delegation joined Turkey and Britain in defeating the motion. That helped explain Greece's vote against France on Algeria —another split in the NATO front. Awaiting its turn before the U. N. also is Yemen, where the Arabs want Aden and its oil riches. Our British allies face more agitation in Central America. Guatemala and Honduras demand a plebiscite for British Honduras. Argentina is claiming the Falkland Islands. Meanwhile Britain's problems on the other side of the world include guerrillas in the Malayan jungle and a political powder keg in the bastion of Singapore itself.

On top of this the Russians have separately announced their entry into the arms trade in the Mediterrean area—hitherto a closed Anglo-American market for such material. Egypt has signed a contract to buy munitions from Czechoslovakia. In reply to criticism, Prague declared that its guns are available to any state with the ability to pay—including Israel. The possibilities of serious mischief which might arise out of direct or indirect Soviet arming of Arab rebels in the Middle East and Moslems across North Africa are obvious.

Nor are they easily reconciled with those who believe that the "new friendliness" ought to embrace also the sentiments of semi-colonial and colonial peoples, as well as newly liberated Asian-African nationalists toward their masters and former masters.

This does not exhaust the list of immediate troubles stirring along the periphery of the NATO political system. But it is enough to show that nationalism and colonialism, key issues for a century, are once more visibly a major, if not the very first, threat to Western unity and world peace. For this time the movement has gathered behind it the political strength and confidence of millions of newly liberated ex-colonials. They are full of ambitions born of the victory of Communist and national revolutions which have put well over a billion men and women of the East in sovereign status.

This threat is also a collective challenge—addressed not just to colonial powers or the United States, but to all the advanced nations of the world. It is inevitably also a direct challenge to the U. N. made up of those nations. Indeed the U. N. may stand or fall by its usefulness in working out peaceful solutions for the colonial and under-developed areas of the world involved in this new upsurge. If such solutions are not speedily found out, and in accordance with basic principles of the U. N. Charter, Africa and the remaining colonial countries of the world may soon be embarked on even bloodier roads certain to renew the peril to world peace. Can we in America escape responsibility for urging a speedy and realistic approach to the whole question of colonies and the complex and enormous human needs of the under-developed land? The answer seems to be in another question. Can we avoid competitive coexistence? For that is the essence of the new challenge.

The Shape of Things

Square Ds and Perfect Circles

The relative absence of violent strikes in the last decade, coupled with widespread acceptance of the principles of collective bargaining which came as an aspect of New Deal labor legislation, has created the illusion that labor's gains are a permanent part of the postwar social structure. But here and there storm signs have begun to appear on the horizon. For one thing, recent strikes, while few in number, have been unusually embittered and protracted. The U. A. W.'s strike at the Kohler plant in Wisconsin is now in its nineteenth month. The Packinghouse Workers-C. I. O. strike against the Colonial Provision Company in Boston is now nearly a year old. Still another sign: Justice Carroll G. Walter's sweeping permanent injunction (state supreme court in New York) prohibiting District 65 of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Employees from picketing a non-union shop which had discharged an employee who belonged to the union. The New York *Daily News* characterized the injunction as "far more drastic than anything handed down in the last thirty years in any New York state or federal court."

An even more significant warning signal is Governor George N. Craig's invocation of full martial law in three areas of eastern Indiana affected by the U. A. W.'s strike against the Perfect Circle Corporation. The declaration of martial law came in the wake of an outburst of violence in which eight persons were wounded. Shots were fired from within the plant into a crowd of more than a thousand demonstrators at the gates. The first invocation of martial law in connection with a labor dispute since 1941, Governor Craig's action carries the unmistakable accent of a phase of industrial relations so thoroughly discredited that it seemed unlikely ever to be revived. The proclamation has an almost nineteenth-century sweep and vigor. Judge Wesley J. Ratcliff of Henry County has announced, after reading the proclamation, that his court will be suspended for the duration of martial law. Judge Ratcliff objects, as well he might, to a section of the proclamation which states that the military authorities should "conduct the affairs of this district in cooperation with the civil authorities, which shall become . . . an agency of the military." From the Square D strike in Detroit *(The Nation,* December 4, 1954) to Indiana's Perfect Circle, there has been a noticeable stiffening of employer reflexes—as though the militancy of American labor were being deliberately probed and tested.

New Anti-Labor Front

Square D and Perfect Circle are not the only signs that distorted and outmoded anti-labor attitudes still survive despite a decade of industrial relations characterized by a relative absence of strife and violence. A new nation-wide anti-labor front is being forged at the moment under the auspices of the Committee for Constitutional Government. The objective: to launch a campaign for an amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act which would outlaw the union shop. In the drive for funds to finance this brash undertaking, careful stress is being laid on the forthcoming C. I. O.-A. F. of L. merger which, it is said, "seriously threatens our republic." The campaign aims at reaching "one million leadership individuals." Closely related to this effort is the formation in Memphis of the Committee for the Forty-Eight States. The new group seeks to raise a huge war chest to further a drive for constitutional amendments: the Bricker amendment, the Reed-Dirksen amendment to limit federal income taxes to a 25 per cent maximum, the Byrd-Bridges amendment requiring a balanced budget unless Congress approves an unbalanced one by a three-fourths vote, the Mundt-Coudert amendment which would rob city voters of proportionate election power by reestablishing the Electoral College in line with Congressional districts, and the Reed-Walter amendment to give states the power to amend the Constitution without the intervention of Congress. None of these amendments is specifically anti-labor, but all five have been selected as points around which a rally-to-the-Right might be organized. This is, of course, the kind of rally or "front" which was often used in the past to screen an anti-labor offensive. In retrospect Square D and Perfect Circle may be regarded as preliminary skirmishes in what may yet prove to be a major battle to rob American labor of the basic gains which it has made in the last fifteen or twenty years.

Those Secret Microphones

The great editorial and Congressional hue and cry that has been raised over the disclosure that microphones were concealed in a Wichita jury room is directly related not to the merits of the issue, which are important and worthy of comment, but to the current campaign to "smear" the Ford Foundation and the Fund for the Republic. The case is ideally adapted to these purposes. It involves legal scholars at the University of Chicago, an institution which must be punished because its former president has been identified with the Ford Foundation and the Fund. The Ford Foundation, of course, financed the research on the jury system out of which the incident arose.

Not only is the sound and fury which the case has aroused somewhat suspect because of its motivation but it seems oddly out of relation to the known facts. Microphones were concealed in the jury rooms in six civil cases with the consent of Federal District Judge Delmas Hill and Circuit Judge Orrie L. Phillips. Counsel for the both parties consented. The local United States Attorney gave his approval. The study was endorsed by five past presidents of the Association of American Law Schools and by a number of distinguished jurists and legal scholars. A total of not more than eight or ten persons, all connected with the project, had access to the recordings which were regarded as confidential scientific material. There was no intention of making the material public. This summer, however, some of the recordings were played back to a conference of jurists but care was taken to remove all clues which might have made identification possible.

Perhaps the experiment did transgress on the secrecy of jury proceedings; but there was nothing surreptitious about it. Yet it has provoked a Congressional hearing, denunciation by the Attorney General and his assistants, demands for the impeachment of a federal judge, and proposals for legislation which would make it a crime to conceal microphones in jury rooms. Even so the agitation may serve a public purpose if it provides Senators Eastland and Jenner, and Mr. Brownell, with an opportunity to clarify their views on wiretapping. It was Mr. Brownell, wasn't it, who sponsored a wiretap bill before Congress which would have allowed him to designate those whose telephone lines were to be tapped, for purposes which can hardly be described as scientific, and in whose homes and offices secret microphones were to be planted? Is the jury room more sacred than a man's home? Should it be made a criminal offense to eavesdrop on the deliberations of a jury weighing the issues in a personal injury suit while eavesdropping on private conversations is regarded as perfectly proper? Mr. Brownell should make another speech and let us all know just where he stands on wiretapping.

A Matter of Magnitude

Optimists in the ranks of the economic forecasters continue to brush aside warnings of a possible downturn in the business cycle with airy assurances that, in an election year, the Administration would be quick to safeguard its favorite campaign theme—"prosperity"—by large-scale governmental intervention aimed at stimulating new investment. These assurances usually fail to take into account the magnitude of the new investment that might be required to maintain present levels of income and employment. An analysis in the September issue of the *Illinois Business Review* suggests that a decline in the annual rate of investment of $50,000,000,000 might have to be taken into account should there be a major American depression. The growth of the economy since 1929 has, of course, changed the magnitudes involved. "The potential magnitude of such a decline," to quote from the analysis, "is far in excess of any contemplated government action." In other words, the assurances become less convincing as one substitutes the question, "How *much* will government do?" for the question, "Will government intervene?" The first question gives rise to numerous doubts and queries. For example, military appropriations that could be obtained with relative ease during the coldest of the cold-war years might not be so easily obtained tomorrow. A related problem is that expenditures by state and local governments are affected by the rate of private investment; if the latter declines, the former are also likely to decline. In short the willingness of the Administration to intervene may be taken for granted; but this does not mean, as the editor of the *Review* observes, that "the problem of stabilization has been solved."

Wallace Stevens 1879-1955

Wallace Stevens is dead and one of the sources of order in our time is no longer there. The created order remains there in the poems, to be sure, but what reason is there to believe that Stevens dead will be more widely read than Stevens alive? The age would have to endure a change of imagination to enter his mind, and it is the sickness of the age that it has no such endurance in it.

For most of the serious-minded, therefore, Stevens will remain the name of an unread "poet's poet," remotely admirable and much awarded, but strictly a property of other poets and therefore apart from the turning wheels and the business of the newsrooms.

But if so, it is the serious who are diminished. "To me," Stevens said, "poetry is a very important sanction to life—life from which traditional sanctions are disappearing." That sanction is dramatized everywhere in the poems:

> I placed a jar in Tennessee,
> And round it was, upon a hill.
> It made the slovenly wilderness
> Surround that hill.

That "made" shape of order in the slovenly wilderness is more than esthete's play. It is not a specific concern of poets, but of every human. For an age, finally, exists in its own mind, and the literal-serious must learn that this age will never stand as high in its own mind as Stevens has stood for it.

Let it pass. Our poets, even the great ones, are nothing to us. Why pretend they are? Stevens is dead. The book is there to be read. And mostly it will not be read. *Vale.* And write on the stone this line: "What has there been to love that I have not loved?"

Then let the forecasters, the seers, the insiders, and the mystics at the teletypes find the age if they can. But try to imagine that line across the front of a public building or on the seal of the War Department and see if the age does not become more visible in its failure.

JOHN CIARDI.

THE RECKLESS LEGION

UNESCO Smeared Again . . *by Bert Collier*

Miami, Florida

DURING the American Legion's Miami convention last week a hush-hush but bitter intramural fight raged over whether the Legion should approve the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and participate in its program, or reject it as a force toward world government. The enemies of UNESCO were victorious.

In condemning UNESCO and asking Congress to investigate its activities the Legion acted swiftly and without open debate. Not a voice was raised in public to resolve the controversy that seethed for days behind the guarded doors of committee rooms and kept Legion brass on tiptoes of suspense. But in avoiding an open fight, the Legion left unanswered the questions and issues raised in the long struggle over UNESCO.

ON ONE side was the Legion's special committee on the Covenant of Human Rights and United Nations, which submitted a report clearing UNESCO of charges of subversion. In giving UNESCO a clean bill of health the committee, headed by Ray Murphy, former national commander of the Legion, said: "We have been deeply disturbed by an intolerance and implacability of attitudes that we have found all too prevalent and which can serve no one well."

The open opposition to UNESCO included the Americanism committee of the Legion's Eighth Texas District. This group issued a document severely criticizing the Legion's top officials for their handling of the Murphy report. "We are at a loss to understand why the national leadership of the Legion would permit the un-American and un-democratic procedure of presenting one side of a vital issue to the Legion membership and deny the other side an opportunity to present its case," the Texas group said. The Texans asserted that national headquarters refused circulation of a special Legion study unfavorable to UNESCO while publicizing the Murphy report before official action was taken, and leaking copies to unauthorized agencies, including the United States Department of State.

Militant opposition to the Murphy report came from Lieutenant Sumter T. Lowry, retired National Guard officer who flew to Miami to condemn the Murphy "whitewash." Lowry said he had "plenty of ammunition" to fire on the question, but the barrage was delivered in secret committee sessions. Perhaps the most powerful voice in the last-minute maneuverings was that of Lieutenant General George E. Stratemeyer, retired former commander of the Far East air forces. He wrote the convention urging that the Murphy report be "overwhelmingly rejected."

AS THE HOUR of decision approached at Miami, it was obvious that the big interest of Legion leadership was to avoid an open struggle. Committee consideration of the twelve resolutions dealing with UNESCO and the Murphy study went on in secret. Newsmen covering the story were urged to report nothing unless it came from an official source. In the final stages the UNESCO issue was in the hands of a special subcommittee of twelve which met behind closed doors. As reporters waited outside, with no word trickling through the guarded portals, they amused themselves by questioning passing Legionnaires about what was happening inside.

John McElhaney, World War I veteran from Long Island, voiced a general reaction: "I don't know anything about it. That's up to the brass. I'm just a buck private."

The subcommittee's report was kept secret until a few moments before National Commander Seaborn

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BERT COLLIER is on the staff of the Miami Herald.

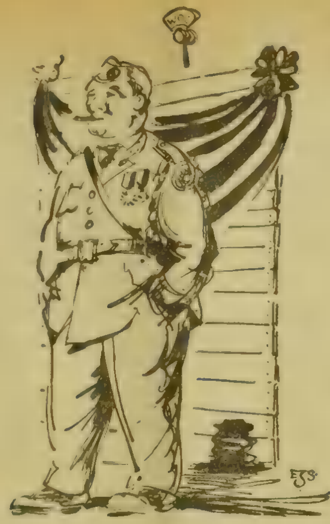
Collins called the matter up for action on the convention floor and handed down the word to the "buck privates."

The report was a complete repudiation of the Murphy committee. It criticized "certain segments of the press" for citing the Murphy report as evidence that the Legion had reversed its long opposition to UNESCO. "The American Legion's policy is now, as it has always been, in opposition to UNESCO," the subcommittee said, and asked for three specific actions to strengthen and intensify the Legion's stand:

Congress should repeal laws creating the United States National Commission for UNESCO; also, Congress should mandate all United States government agencies to "desist from further dissemination of UNESCO and United States National Commission for UNESCO materials, reports and programs"; and Congress should investigate UNESCO to determine if it is violating provisions of the Congressional resolution under which the United States participates in its program.

SWIFTLY the report was adopted in a voice vote, without debate. Afterward, when the Iowa department commander, Churchill T. Williams, asked that his state's 109 delegate votes be recorded against the report, he was ruled out of order. "We fully expected this ruling," Williams said. "A lot of people are against UNESCO who do not even know what it is." Iowa's opposition to the convention action, he said, was a gesture of confidence in the integrity of Ray Murphy. Murphy was a state official in Iowa when he served as national Legion commander in 1935.

The Legion's blow at UNESCO was more than a reiteration of a stand which the organization has maintained since 1953. It repudiated the Murphy committee, which traced opposition to UNESCO to outside sources arising in the National Action League, an organization designated "Fascist" by the Attorney General, and in the American Flag Committee. The vote was a stinging slap at the Legion's national leadership and headquarters staff for giving any weight and consideration to the Murphy report. In this aspect the struggle over UNESCO was a reflection of old charges of "king-makers" and "ruling cliques" in the Legion, which cropped up in another way at the Miami convention when the "blue-cap boys," the Legion's rank and file, attempted to clip the power of the "red-cap boys"—national officers and committeemen—by a liberalization of voting procedures. The movement failed.



The history of the UNESCO controversy presents a startling picture of hidden pressures. The first Legion action on UNESCO was a vote of censure by the national executice committee in May, 1953. At the national convention five months later, the Committee on the Covenant of Human Rights (Murphy committee) was directed to study the agency.

Members of this committee, besides Murphy, included Paul M. Herbert, former department commander and former lieutenant governor of Ohio; the Reverend Gordon L. Kidd, a Hyde Park minister and former New York department chaplain; Jacob Ark, Rochester, New York, attorney and former department commander; Mrs. Harold S. Burdette, Brooklyn, past president of the Legion's National Auxiliary, and William McKinley, Jersey City executive of the Bell Telephone Company, and a member of the Legion's national executive committee. It is of some interest to note that McKinley was a member of the convention subcommittee which brought in the report rejecting the work of the Murphy committee.

The Murphy group, after eighteen months' study, returned its controversial report. It said the evidence showed UNESCO is not favorable toward world government, that its program and functions are not such as to tend toward world government, that it is not atheistic and that it is "in no sense and no degree communistic."

"We have carefully read and considered every word of every bit of testimony against UNESCO, together with every supporting document appearing in the records of all the many Congressional hearings since 1951," the committee said.

"Altogether the testimony and the documents run into thousands of pages. Running clearly through all the maze of charges and the volumes of testimony, and as clearly through the mass of give-away material spread across the nation, is a thread that leads back to 867 Granite Street, Philadelphia, and the office of the American Flag Committee and the home of its guiding genius, W. Henry MacFarland, Jr."

THE Murphy committee said the American Flag Committee was organized in 1950 for the stated purpose of "taking specific action against the widespread efforts to expand the power of the United Nations."

"Mr. MacFarland then organized the Philadelphia Committee for Nationalist Action and during the Republican and Democratic presidential conventions he and his new committee reportedly distributed an unprecedented amount of anti-United Nations, anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-G. O. P., and anti-Democratic Administration literature.

"According to further reports, agents of the committee raced through hotel corridors showering scurrilous leaflets and pamphlets over transoms and through open doors, in telephone booths and public rest rooms. At this time, it is said, appeared the first printed material asserting that General Eisenhower is a 'Swedish Jew.' "

The report cites a document of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, "Preliminary Report on Neo-Fascist and Hate Groups." This traces MacFarland's connection with the publication *Common Sense,* which the committee called "a channel for hate propaganda."

"This, then," the Murphy report

continues, "is the sordid story of the beginning of the national hate campaign against UNESCO—a campaign inspired perhaps less by hatred than by hope of personal aggrandizement—the campaign of Patrioteers for Profit.

"There has been the good and the bad against UNESCO, and there are those who have been revealed to this special committee as unstable and irresponsible critics and pseudo-authorities in the field of UNESCO, a field which they have scarcely scratched—people who either ignore or are made furious by the facts."

But on the basis of what they called overwhelming evidence, the report continued: "This special committee can only conclude, and does conclude, that UNESCO is not, and does not support or tend to support world government."

The special committee added a personal word in behalf of its six members that threw some light on the bitterness of the controversy which the Legion succeeded in keeping under wraps at Miami.

"The subject of our research has been involved in furious controversy, making even more difficult a major and perhaps thankless assignment, a task we have refused to shirk despite pressures put upon us to abandon it. Let us hope that not all the name calling nor all the hate propaganda that floods and seeks to divide America and the American Legion today can cast doubt on the good faith and integrity and loyalty of the committee.

"We would have greatly preferred to have made a report today that was factual only, without the necessity of stating our conclusions.

"We have no choice in view of the nature of the task which has been ours, and in view of the fact that our intelligence, integrity and loyalty to the American Legion and to America have been questioned, and that coercive attempts have been made to thwart the mandate of the 1954 national convention that this committee continue its study. The pressures that have been put upon us are without precedent in the long and honorable history of the American Legion."

THE "UTE" SCANDAL

Co-Ops Take a Beating . . *by W. C. Lamoreaux*

Salt Lake City

THE BLEAK and rugged terrain shared by the southern parts of Utah and Colorado offered scant attraction to private power companies a few years ago. Electricity was furnished to the area by the pioneering efforts of the Empire Electric and San Miguel Power cooperatives. Utah Power and Light Company and its subsidiary, Western Colorado Power, were not interested. But then came the discovery of some of the richest uranium deposits in the world, and all has changed. Mines and processing plants are sprouting all over the desert—and their power needs are vast.

The belatedly awakened free enterprisers are now demanding possession of the high-voltage loot, and the rural-electrification cooperatives are in a legal battle for survival. Backing the invaders is a ruling of the Utah Power Commission, whose decree permitting Utah Power and Light wires to enter the region is now under appeal before the Utah Supreme Court.

The power company came late, but it struck fast. Late in 1954 it called the state power commission's attention to a Utah statute designed to protect "public utilities" doing satisfactory jobs. Empire Electric and San Miguel Power, it argued, were not utilities and hence not entitled to legal consideration. The commission agreed. Utah Power and Light thereupon applied for permission to move in on the cooperatives. Requests by the cooperatives to file objections to the application were denied, on the ground that they were not subject to the jurisdiction of the commission. The cooperatives then took the matter to court, with a hearing scheduled for late this year.

THE issue at stake has broad importance for the rural-electrification program all over the country. In countless places, local people, starved for light and power by the indifference of private utilities companies, have negotiated government loans and formed successful cooperatives under the most primitive conditions. Does private capital now have the right to seize the fruits of their investments once the areas are developed? Judging from the situation in Colorado and Utah, the Eisenhower Administration seems to think so.

In order to make the necessary expansion for supplying the needs of the mills and mines operating in their territories, the cooperatives formed the Colorado-Ute Electric Association, a combination of four operating associations in southwest Colorado, and applied for a $10,000,000 loan for a new plant and other facilities. The national Rural Electrification Administration forced the new association into a pseudo-partnership with Western Colorado Power, as a condition for granting the loan. Under the terms of the arrangement, the association builds the plant with government funds, but the private power subsidiary gets to operate it and to take off excess power at bare cost. The cooperatives' brief before the Utah supreme court accuses Utah Power and Light of jeopardizing the loan by the threatened invasion while at the same time finagling through its subsidiary to get the maximum benefits from the plant the loan will build.

At no time has the service rendered by the San Miguel and Em-

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pire electric associations been questioned, nor are the large corporations in the area eager for a change in their sources of power. San Miguel has depositions from United States Vanadium Corporation and the Vanadium Corporation of America, with large uranium mills at Uravan and Naturita, Colorado, calling its service "excellent." Empire received citations, under oath, of "pretty swell," and "very, very excellent," from the Diamond Match Company and the president of the Colorado Milling Association. Other impressive depositions were also collected, but the Utah Power Commission refused to let them be read at the hearing. At the same time, it spared utilities-company witnesses cross-examination when they testified that a "dependable power supply" was needed.

But everyone is entitled to his day in court, and there will be a reckoning. The old cry of socialization of power does not ring true when the president of the invader admits no confidence in the area, lets the people remain in darkness but for R. E. A., and then undertakes to seize the lush loads. A large Utah Power and Light stockholder, whose home had gone without power until San Miguel came in, testified: "It doesn't seem quite fair for a fellow to pioneer a country and then have some other company come in and cross his lines to go over to some mines. I think the fellow that is there now is entitled to the load that might be there."

RESPECTABLE RACISM

Dixie's Citizens Councils . . *by Dan Wakefield*

Jackson, Mississippi

THEIR SHIRTS aren't red and they don't wear sheets—after all, times have changed, and this is 1955. The Citizens Councils that have grown up in the South since the United States Supreme Court decision on school integration are composed of "respectable" gentlemen and ladies (there is now an auxiliary) who are dedicated to depriving the Negro of his civil rights by means of the latest, most up-to-date methods.

The movement, born in Mississippi and copied in Louisiana, Alabama, Texas, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina (with similar but differently named organizations in Missouri, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia) is a proud, flag-waving challenge to what one council leader labelled the "socialistic doctrine" passed on May 17, 1954. And it is an answer to the call of United States Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, who, shortly after the Supreme Court decision was rendered, declared: "We are about to embark on a great crusade. A crusade to restore Americanism, and return the control of our government to the people. . . . Generations of Southerners yet unborn will cherish our memory because they will realize that the fight we now wage will have preserved for them their untainted racial heritage, their culture, and the institutions of the Anglo-Saxon race. We of the South have seen the tides rise before. We know what it is to fight. We will carry the fight to victory."

IN THE FACE of the rising tides, fourteen men met together in Sunflower county, Mississippi, in July, 1954 and formed the first Citizens Council. One of those original crusaders, a thirty-two-year-old, red-headed planter from Indianola, Mississippi, who had fought the good fight as captain of Mississippi State's football team not too many years before, is now executive secretary of the state council. The zeal of this man, Robert D. "Tut" Patterson, has been rewarded with a mushrooming of Mississippi membership to more than 60,000. When recently asked what he thought about Mississippi Governor Hugh White's estimate that integration was 100 years away, Mr. Patterson promptly replied, "I say 6,000 years."

"This isn't just a delaying action," he said. "There won't be any integration in Mississippi. Not now, not 100 years from now, maybe not 6,000 years from now—maybe never."

Attorneys, bankers, planters, mayors, former local chamber of commerce presidents, and assorted school officials are among the civic leaders who have joined to help "Tut" Patterson hold back the flood. Just how they are going about it is rather vague, at least in official council announcements. It was first reported that the councils, although definitely opposed to violence, would keep the land pure by "economic pressure." The idea of "economic pressure" drew many bad press clippings, however, and now "Tut" Patterson says there is no such thing.

"We do not recommend economic pressure," he said. "That's false propaganda from the press. But of course, we don't denounce 'freedom of choice' in business arrangements. If employers fire their help, that's their business." When asked what methods are used in the "crusade" if violence and economic pressure are not council weapons, Mr. Patterson laughed and said "Would Montgomery Ward tell Sears Roebuck how he operates?"

One tool used by the Jackson, Mississippi, council is a mimeographed "confidential communique" mailed to members. "Confidential Communique No. 14," dated August 22, gave information about a Negro named Arrington High who publishes a newspaper urging integration. The "communique" did not suggest any action, but merely reported the situation. Soon after that, Arrington High was asked to remove his money from a local

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DAN WAKEFIELD covered the Till murder trial on assignment from The Nation.

bank, and windows were smashed in his home.

The councilmen assume no responsibility. They grind out the letters on the mimeograph and hope that hate and fear will do the rest. They talk a great deal about the difference between their organization and the Ku Klux Klan, and yet the difference is slight. The klansmen hid their faces with sheets and paraded their deeds in the open. The councilmen hide many of their deeds, or at least many of the deeds their words inspire, behind memos and mimeographs and parade their faces in the open. But whether the means be a memo or a fiery cross, the end is the same—a climate of distrust and fear that breeds unsolved murders and threats of more. Phone calls threatening death are common to the Mississippi Negro leaders, and one National Association for the Advancement of Colored People official in Jackson said shots have been fired into his house.

IT CAN never, of course, be established just which of the incidents that have occurred since the growth of the councils are results, direct or indirect, of council actions. The white front is so united in many Southern towns that the law and civic leaders are often dedicated first to their racial commitments and second to the duties of office. As the Mississippi Citizens Councils' Annual Report puts it in reviewing the year's accomplishments, "The idea of solid and unified backing of circuit clerks, sheriffs, and local and state officials in the proper discharge of their sworn duties was worked out."

This racial priority was evidenced at Sumner, Mississippi, when the prosecutors in the Emmett Till murder case sent state police to search a county jail for a missing prosecution witness. It was seen by a Southern reporter who went to Belzoni, Mississippi, this May to investigate the murder of George Wesley Lee, a Negro minister who had committed the error of trying to vote. The reporter was given the names of four Negro witnesses. When he tried to find them he learned they were all in jail. The sheriff explained they were booked on charges of "stealing" although what they had stolen was strangely unknown.

But all this seems far removed from the chaste room in the Hotel Walthall in downtown Jackson, where much of the business of the Jackson Council and the state Association of Councils is carried on. There a tall, mustachioed man of thirty-nine sits at a long metal office desk with a two-volume "works" of Thomas Jefferson on it and a wrinkled map of Mississippi scotch-taped to the wall above. The man is W. J. "Bill" Simmons, who prepared for the task ahead with a B. A. at Millsaps College and graduate study at Toule, France, and the Sorbonne. He, like "Tut" Patterson and three office helpers, is a full-time council worker. Recently he volunteered to shoulder another new burden for the cause—editorship of a proposed Citizens Council newspaper that will hopefully "grow into the official organ of all Citizens Councils in the nation."

The office in Room 203 of the Walthall where this and other major plans of strategy are hatched is said to be a rent-free donation from hotel owner E. O. Spencer. Ironically enough, Mr. Spencer is a personal and political friend of Herbert Brownell, and the Attorney General supposedly uses him to dole out what Republican patronage there is in the state of Mississippi. It is a strange connection indeed that joins a patron of the councils with a man who must bear his share of responsibility for the integration decision.

The office in Jackson like the one in Winona where Patterson himself holds forth, does not hope to bind the hundreds of councils into any hierarchy or strictly defined organization. On the contrary, the looser the network the less the responsibility the leaders need to take. Mr. Simmons emphasized that the state office has no jurisdiction over what local councils may do to help the cause in their own community.

This approach allows the leaders formally to disclaim responsibility for any group's actions—allows, for instance, "Tut" Patterson to say the councils don't use economic pressure, while at Yazoo City, fifty-three Negro signers of a petition for school integration were refused the purchase of food supplies, lost their jobs, and had their credit cut off until all but two of the original petitioners removed their names. Petitions for school integration were filed late this summer in four other Mississippi cities—Clarksdale, Vicksburg, Jackson, and Natchez. Legal technicalities that nullified the petitions were claimed by the school boards, and names of the petitioners were published in local newspapers. No list remains with all of its original signers.

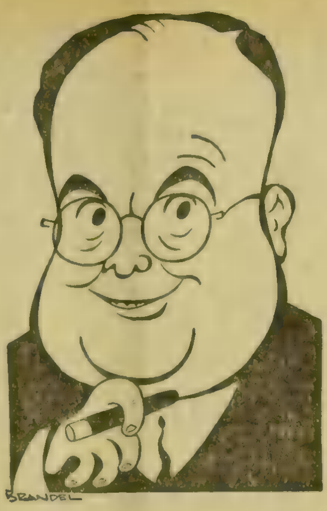
AS UNWELCOME as the petitions are, however, the councils have found that they serve to awaken the whites to the "danger of mongrelization" (a favorite term of council propaganda.)

"Our Jackson council started in April with only sixty members," Bill Simmons said, "and by mid-July we had 300. But after the N. A. A. C. P. petition was filed in late July we went over 1,000 in two weeks' time."

There are, of course, many sections of the South where the process of desegregation is advancing with harmony. In West Virginia, Oklahoma, Maryland, Kentucky, and Delaware, where Negroes have already started to schools with whites in one or more cities, the Association of Citizens Councils claims no foothold. It is areas such as these, proceeding calmly with integration, that are most disturbing to the councils. Wherever they can, council leaders try to monkeywrench this kind of progress. Speakers and organizers from Mississippi councils have traveled through nine other Southern states to promote their cause, and it was council pressure from Mississippi that helped slow the school integration at Hoxie, Arkansas, which had progressed without incident until white-supremacy crusaders came in with propaganda and meetings. These finally culminated in threats to the school superintendent and an early closing of the school's summer term.

Senator Eastland—who jumps to the call of segregation like Pavlov's dog to the sound of a bell—was one of the speakers at a meeting where men from Hoxie were asked to come for council enlightenment. This was the same enterprising Eastland who led a violent one-man Senate internal-security subcommittee investigation of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which happened to be the only interracial group in the South pressing for desegregation.

Senator Eastland hit another high point in May when he delivered a speech to the Senate "exposing" the Supreme Court decision as a Marxist plot to destroy the government. The court, he said, had been brainwashed by left-wing pressure groups who are "part and parcel of the Communist conspiracy to destroy our country."



Senator Eastland

The integration issue has submerged other political questions in the Deep South, and in many places election campaigns have been turned into contests among the candidates to surpass each other in promises of maintaining segregation. In last year's gubernatorial election in Georgia, platform planks included pledges to go to jail if the schools were mixed, and suggestions that a state board of psychiatrists examine any white people who wanted their children to go to school with Negroes.

The "crusade" is on, sometimes attached to the name of the councils, sometimes not—but the mimeograph machines are rolling, and new "confidential communiques" are on the way. Racial suppression has been made respectable, and those who doubt it have only to ask how one may join the councils. A recent advertisement in a Clarksdale, Mississippi, newspaper urged all the whites of the county to go to "your nearest local bank" and enlist in the cause.

MOROCCO AND THE U. S.

A Time to Intercede . . *by Alexander Werth*

Paris, October 14

IN THE view of many observers, a solemn Anglo-American declaration urging France to adopt and execute a liberal policy toward North Africa is the most useful step that could be taken at this critical juncture in France's empire affairs. It is pointed out that the United States especially, with its important vested military interest in Morocco, is in a strategic position to demand that the present chaos be brought to an end.

The French Assembly debate on Algeria, still in progress as this is written, emphasizes Premier Faure's need for backbone. The Socialists have proposed a vote of non-confidence which is driving the Premier, who wants to hold on to his job, to seek the support of the enemies of the liberal policy he is supposed to represent. Unless the government acquires the courage to get rough with the die-hard imperialists, the situation in neither Algeria nor Morocco is likely to improve. And most observers agree that it will be easier for Faure to get rough if he knows that he has the active support of his Western allies. Although the French die-hards in North Africa depend ultimately on Paris for their financial and military support, they persist in ignoring the will of Parliament.

The name on the lips of everybody who knows anything about Moroccan wirepulling is Emile Roche. Emile Roche, an old Radical-Socialist, and for many years the *alter ego* of Joseph Caillaux, is the honorary president of Radical Federations of Morocco, a pillar of the North African lobby, and the man most closely associated with the French Moroccans' organization, *Presence Francaise*. And it is they who appeared to have won over the new Resident-General, General Boyer de La Tour, who subscribed to the astonishing plan of the puppet sultan, Ben Arafa, handing the seals of his office to an obscure cousin instead of to a Crown Council, as agreed upon at the Aix-les-Bains Conference at the end of August. Great embarrassment in Paris, contradictory statements by cabinet ministers and press officers, an attempt by *Figaro* to persuade its readers that what happened was perfectly normal, and that the regency council will be "the next step." At the same time a message from President Coty to Arafa assuring him that neither the exiled Sultan Ben Yussef nor any of his sons can possibly succeed Arafa on the Moroccan throne, whatever happens.

What it all amounts to is what could already be foreseen in Morocco a long time ago: a kind of "French separatism"—the rule of Morocco by the French settlers there, independently of Paris— has been in swing. General de Latour has ob-

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viously done what the French in Morocco demanded of him, and not what he was ordered to do by the Faure government. And meantime, north and east of Fez—in the Riff country, where Abd El Krim waged a war against the French in 1925 and 1926—an insurrection of the tribes against the French has broken out. Was this to protest the departure of Arafa, the puppet sultan? Although a few Paris papers actually suggest this, that is obviously not the reason. The reason is simply that the North African lobby had sabotaged the Crown Council, the precondition for any reasonable settlement. [The council finally came into being on October 15, with results still to be determined as this issue went to press.—The Editors.]

The French Radical Party—to which such very different people as Emile Roche, "McCarthy" Martinaud Deplat, Edgar Faure, and Mendes-France all belong—is, for all that, the most powerful French link with what may now rightly be called French North African "separatism." As *Temps Modernes'* issue on the French Left says:

> The Radical Party does not monopolize all the links with finance and Big Business, but certainly the North African interests (Omnium Nord-African, Parisbas, Epinat, Penarroya, etc.) have a determining influence on the party, and the names of Rene Mayer, Martinaud-Deplat, Emile Roche, and Borgeaud symbolize this link between the North Africa lobby and the Radical Party. . . . Every time there is a cabinet crisis, Senator Borgeaud is called in for consultation to the Elysee, and the North African lobby has an overwhelming influence on the Radical Party.

Premier Faure

This North African separatism, if it is allowed to triumph, is rapidly leading France into the worst crisis of her history since the Liberation. Some months ago, Mendes-France told me that the next five years would be "absolutely decisive" for the future of France: either it would remain at the head of a great empire, or if it behaved stupidly, the empire would be "smashed up." He thought the next Parliament would have to face this major problem. The question that now arises is whether there is enough time left even before the next Parliament meets in the summer to save the French Empire. Recently in a speech in Normandy he again made the same prophecy about "the next five years." But time is getting short, and France may not be given five years in which to "save" its empire. And who can still save the situation? Mauriac, in one of the most vehement articles to have come from his pen, attacked Edgar Faure for playing the role of "a bogus Mendes-France," with the implication that the latter would have acted quite differently, and that France's only hope was in his return to power. Mendes-France is going to be extremely active in the coming months; he (as well as Mauriac) will contribute regular articles to a new daily, *L'Express,* which started this month. But two questions inevitably arise. Will he have the necessary strength of character to carry out a revolution in North Africa? And will the North African separatists obey him, any more than they have obeyed Faure? We know what happened to Grandval, generally believed to have been Mendes-France's nominee. Does the North Africa lobby and do the settlers believe that the time in North Africa is ripe (as was already whispered for several years past) for Malanism?

To make matters worse, Spain has been guilty of encouraging the North Africans to revolt. In a recent article in the London *Daily Express,* Sefton Delmar writes from Casablanca: "You ask me who is behind the present uprising in the Riff mountains? The answer is. . . . Franco, the dictator of fascist and anti-Communist Spain."

Everything else at the moment (the future of socialism in France, the future of the Communist Party, their respective tactics in the next general election, etc.) seems irrelevant. The whole French scene is dominated today by this problem of North Africa; will France be able to keep it, without first having to crush a major insurrection which might be worse than another Indo-China war? The North African problem has not only poisoned the whole atmosphere in France; it is the first bucket of poison to be poured into the pure waters of "Geneva." *Aurore* announced with glee on its front page: "That ridiculous 'friendship' journey will not take place." That is, Faure's and Pinay's journey to Moscow, scheduled for October 13, was cancelled as a result of the Russian U. N. vote on Algeria.

It must be said that this vote—so different from the vote on Cyprus—created a most painful impression everywhere in France. The idea of France "walking out of U. N." created a sense of isolation and loneliness which had not been felt since the time when Churchill threatened Mendes-France with the "empty chair" if France did not ratify German rearmament. And in France, feelings about North Africa are terribly mixed. Every school child for the last fifty years has had it drummed into him that North Africa was the "natural extension" of France, and to most it is still inconceivable that North Africa may be lost. On the whole, too, there is no active liking for the North Africans—there are nearly 500,000 hungry Algerians in France. But few people seem to know what exactly should be done about the problem.

If North Africa were lost, there would be terrible bitterness and frustration in France. France would become more and more "continental," and in time might well come more and more under the influence of Germany, especially a united one, and Russia. Insofar as any advice can be offered, I should say it was this: The French government is weak and isolated, and is more and more conscious of its utter helplessness to deal with North Africa. If Britain and the United States do not wish to see France hopelessly weakened and demoralized (and this would eventually lead France to turn away from the West and turn East) they should strongly intervene in favor of a liberal policy in North Africa.

BRITISH LABOR'S DILEMMA

Needed: a Positive Platform . . *by T. Balogh*

London

THE CONFERENCE of the British Labor Party which has just ended may well decide its fortunes for a long time to come. The question is whether the party can find new inspiration and a new program or will remain content in hoping for a new spell of power entirely on the basis of Tory mistakes and the inevitable swing of the political pendulum. Two lost elections testify to the futility of that hope. But the dominant trade-union leadership seems well content to keep its political partner in the wilderness, checking Tory exuberance but unable to carry out a policy of purposive planning for collective action.

The 1951 election was fought with incredible political ineptitude during a financial crisis subtly analogous to 1931 which Labor had neither the foresight nor the determination to master. But Labor still had two powerful arguments to counter the Tory drive toward "economic freedom." The first was that the Conservative Party could not be trusted with foreign policy and the maintenance of peace. The second was that they could not be trusted with full employment. Otherwise Labor, exhausted after the effort of 1945-49, had hardly any positive program. What it promised then, and continues to promise, was consolidation. What it aimed at was to give least offense.

Both arguments have proved dangerous. In foreign affairs, the Conservative Party cut rearmament by half, and succeeded in eliciting, just before the last election, American consent to high-level talks. On the economic front Labor's discomfiture was not less complete. True enough, Tory "free enterprise" involved high rates of interest in 1952 and a rise of unemployment. But Labor's satisfaction was temporary. By 1953 a fortunate conjuncture of circumstances and sharp cuts in Labor's original rearmament plans had sufficiently improved the balance of payments to enable the Conservatives to reverse the trend and inaugurate a policy of rapid expansion.

NOW, after two consecutive electoral defeats, is the time for a radical change in strategy and tactics. The Tories, too, after 1945 went through a period of "self-criticism." Lord Woolton took charge of the party organization and built up a machine whose functioning is as esthetically pleasing as a well-conducted opera. And a team of very un-Baldwinian intellectuals under Mr. Butler reshaped policy. The former was entirely in keeping with tradition. The latter was hard for Conservatives to swallow, especially when the biennial financial crises and the preaching (if not practice) of austerity made Labor look so vulnerable and a Conservative victory so easy to obtain without bothering about a "new look" in policy. The fact that Mr. Butler successfully resisted the pressure has much to do with the resurgence of his party's mass support.

Now that "free enterprise" once more looks less capable of giving both guns and butter the temptation of Labor will be equally cruel. It could sit back and wait until the disgruntlement of an ill-assorted but growing number of special-interest groups voted it back to office, sedulously refraining from any new ideas—for ideas might alienate votes—and being interested in power *per se* rather than policies based on some concept of social needs and justice.

I do not believe that it is by a retreat from planned collective action toward opportunistic opposition that Labor can in its turn look for salvation. A bunch of oligarchic office-seekers looking round for grievances to put them "in" might (though I doubt it) be capable of achieving electoral victory in the United States, with its more evenly balanced social structure and gullibility. It would not work in Britain. And it clearly shows the superior insight of Mr. Butler that he resisted the same temptation in 1947 and 1949 to scrap his positive program.

The parallel is obvious. The Conservative administration is now obviously in some difficulty of its own creation not unlike Dalton's or Cripps's tribulations. The desire in the Labor Party must be great to forget the lesson of 1952 and throw all basic criticism of the policy of "liberalization" to the winds. However terrible the temptation may be, it should be firmly resisted. One good reason for restraint is that this type of appeal might well bounce back, as it did at the last election with disastrous results. A second and more vital reason is that it would show a poverty in ideas, a lack of real conviction which the electorate is bound to notice—and despise. It would be futile for the party to look for immediate electoral backing because there will be no election in the immediate future.

The siren voices which advocate the throwing overboard of the policy of extended public ownership because some privileged workers would not like to lose their privilege (mainly fancied) should be resisted. Nor should Labor join belatedly (and rather half-heartedly) in a monopoly-hunt instead of trying to work out the Socialist answer to the multiplication of types and the growing waste and discomfort due to advertising. Labor, if it is to be as successful as its opponents in getting the "confidence" of entrepreneurs, would have to be *more* and not less conciliatory to the rich than the Conservatives. It would have to tax them less, not more. Nothing can change this basic truth.

Labor cannot woo the large investor away from his present allegiance or secure his full cooperation.

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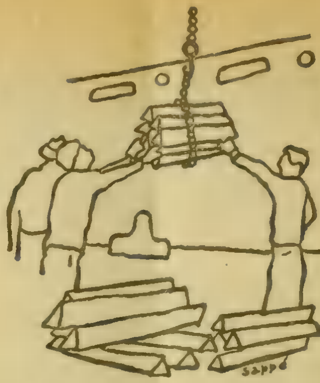
Nothing showed this more clearly than the attitude of the United States government before the last British election. In no relationship was Labor more conciliatory than toward the American Administration. Yet the Americans helped the Tories in the election campaign by agreeing to hold high-level talks just in time to rob Labor's most powerful appeal of all its force. And America (unlike the British rich) had little to fear from a Labor victory. When in office, Labor granted atom bases without any conditions. It imposed a rearmament program on the country which was twice as great as the one carried out by the Conservatives. There is something tragi-comically futile in the yearning of Labor to steal respectability from the Tories.

To join the Tories in chasing after competitive individual advantage, is to disregard the resultant frustration and aggression which characterize most unbridled free-enterprise communities. Nor is it wise (once more imitating the Tories) to accept the "Americanization" of tastes which robs technical progress of much of its fruit in terms of satisfaction. The Tories are much better at boosting "free enterprise" and therefore less inhibited.

IT IS significant that both the Tories and United States Republicans, both parties well versed in propaganda and sensitive to psychology, have picked on long-term prospects (doubling your income in twenty-five years) to impress the electorate. Labor must do better.

Anyone who knows the United States with its pressures for conformity in spiritual and material ways must be appalled that the achievement of something like that should be England's reward—if we are "lucky"—after twenty-five more years of toil. And the electorate will be disillusioned as the futility of that ambition becomes apparent.

What is the alternative? Labor has still opportunity to insist on the importance of education, on bettering the social environment through the establishment of a more balanced community life and on facilities for collective enjoyment so completely and dreadfully lacking in the large and ugly provincial conurbations of Britain. By all means let us promote technical progress—but



surely not for the purpose of competitive showing off, of being led by advertisers to futile extravagance. Labor's purpose should be to insist on more leisure, and less toil at work, and on education to make leisure worth having. The miles of soulless suburbia, magazines without books, veneer without depth, the rise of juvenile delinquency and growing demand for psychoanalysts —are they so desirable? Yet can they be separated from the American way of life? Should we British do nothing to promote a different conception of "progress"?

What would such a program involve? The first requirement is for a coherent wage policy which would avoid the biennial foreign-exchange crises by limiting wage increases to the increase in overall productivity. In the absence of unemployment this can only be achieved by obtaining a voluntary restraint on the part of the trade unions. Such voluntary restraint is unobtainable if workers are not assured that the burdens and benefits of changing national fortunes are equitably shared.

This implies some direct curb on speculative excesses and a conscious policy for more equitable distribution of income. We have, however, seen that the ends of progressive taxation are largely defeated in present-day Britain by avoidance and evasion. Moreover, the imposition of harsh taxation creates a "spiv" society in which the more unscrupulous will win out over the honest. The consequence is a distortion of the social structure and the rise of a cynical attitude which must defeat endeavors to achieve social harmony.

For this reason, if for nothing else, the extension of direct public ownership must remain an essential ingredient of Labor policy. A further and hardly less important reason is that public ownership would enable a higher rate of investment and thus a quicker rate of increase in productivity and income. This in turn would permit satisfaction of wage claims without producing renewed crises in our international economic relations. Finally, public ownership would permit a Socialist answer to the curse of monopoly and monopolistic competition, to the extravagant multiplication of types, and the consequent inability to produce durable goods cheap enough for the masses. The price of refrigerators, stoves, and other household appliances could be cut by a third or even more if there was standardization. The German *Volkswagon* is a triumphant example of the success of nationalized industry.

IF PUBLIC ownership is to be extended, Labor must reconsider its views on the organization of nationally-owned industries. What was wrong in the nationalized industries was the thoughtless extension to vast centers of power of schemes which might have been quite effective if limited to municipal undertakings. The theory was to keep them out of politics. What happened was the creation of virtual undemocratic irresponsibility through the so-called "independence" of the Boards of those industries.

Without an extension of collective ownership neither greater equality nor quickened, yet stable, progress is possible. The first would be swamped by massive capital gains, the latter stifled by continued restrictions. It is not a coincidence that economic progress in Britain has slowed down and inequalities have increased since the Tory victory in 1951. All these arguments, however, can hardly impress if they are not put forward in a positive manner pointing to a better future.

Nor must Labor be content with advocating national selfishness. It must face clearly the burden which its program for poorer areas—especially in the Commonwealth—implies. Price guarantees should not be restricted to British farmers and selective control of imports should be used to buttress stability in the Commonwealth. Such a program of unselfish idealism will appeal to the elector in the long run.

BOOKS

The Parody of a Hero

THE DESERT AND THE STARS. By Flora Armitage. Henry Holt and Company. $4.

By George Dangerfield

THOMAS EDWARD LAWRENCE—"Lawrence of Arabia"—was born in 1888, the second of five sons, and brought up among the respectabilities of clerical and donnish Oxford. The atmosphere of his home was abstemious and pious, for the parents practiced a strict Evangelical religion, and the boys were encouraged to look for companionship only in the family circle. At some time between the ages of seventeen and nineteen, Lawrence discovered that he was illegitimate. The shock was so great that he ran away from home, enlisted in the Royal Artillery, and was rescued by his father after a brief and probably a very rough experience. He then continued his home life very much as before; his letters to his parents give no evidence of estrangement, and his career at Oxford University was crowned with a First in History.

A sensitive egotist, however, raised in such conventional circumstances, could not be expected to recover easily from the knowledge that his birth was "shameful." Lawrence did not openly abandon his parents, but he did abandon their religious beliefs—with one significant exception. His belief in original sin remained with him. He began to think of his own body as degraded, of sexuality as dangerous, and of the act of procreation as preposterous and disgusting. In later life, he tried to take his parents' guilt upon his own shoulders. "Isn't it true," he wrote in one letter, "that the fault of birth rests somewhat on the child?"

Guilt and atonement for guilt are the clues to Lawrence's unhappy life. Miss Armitage makes this clear enough in "The Desert and the Stars," and although her biography is disfigured by a verbal silliness which might compel the reader to inattention, this defect is of the surface only, a stylistic acne which does not conceal her actual theme. She is reluctantly but honestly obliged to show that her hero was not a hero at all. He was a kind of anti-hero—a man of genius, magnetic, charming, brave, a born leader, who meddled in the wrong kind of politics for the wrong kind of reasons, and who dedicated his later years to a conscious search for futility and despair.

The middle-class culture of Edwardian England, with its emphasis on the dangers of sexuality, and its cultivation of all the idiocies of *mens sana in corpore sano,* tended to bring its young men up in a state of permanent adolescence. Lawrence was, perhaps, an extreme example of this tendency. "The Seven Pillars of Wisdom," however, which is evidently a work of genius, testifies to some singular, some more profound maladjustment. As a record of the Arab revolt of World War I, it seems to me to be often flat and redundant. As the transcription of introspective experience, where all external events—landscapes, persons, marches, forays—are the *dramatis personae* of acute inner tensions, it is pretty nearly unique. Miss Armitage is quite right to find its climax in that terrible chapter where Lawrence tells how he went in disguise to reconnoiter the Turkish post at Der-a, was captured, flogged, and vilely abused by the Turkish garrison, and emerged with the feeling that his integrity had been lost forever. She sees this incident as Lawrence's atonement for his own birth and for the shoddy deceptions of Whitehall; and she believes that the experience broke him because it was a source not only of anguish and horror but also of obscure masochistic pleasure.

Perhaps we could go a little further than this. "The Seven Pillars," besides being the product of a brilliant and sensitive observation, is curiously full of self-pride and self-pity, and is haunted throughout by an immense immodesty. This is not (as Richard Aldington claimed in a recent diatribe) the immodesty of imposture, but the immodesty of impersonation. It really seems as if Lawrence dimly conceived of himself as a Christ-like figure who, after being tempted in the desert, deliberately went down to meet his agony at Der-a. That is to say, this is how he conceived of himself in retrospect. This parody of the Atonement fitted in with his growing conviction that he himself was the parody of a hero.

Of course, one could lay far too much stress on this. Yet I believe that one approach to the character of Lawrence is by way of the persistence of those religious dogmas which he had learned in his childhood and had consciously abandoned as he grew older. His later retreat into the life of an enlisted man in the tank corps and the Royal Air Force, in the light of his comment in "The Mint" that the animal life of the barracks might be *guiltless* in unreflecting men, is a supreme example of what he called his "moral masochism." As a reflecting man, he was guilty when he shared in this (to him) abominable life and thus, by extension, he sacrificed himself *for* it. His subtle mind condescended to the mindless flesh of the barracks, and his career, as an enlisted man who had put off all the glory of Colonel Lawrence of Arabia to be simply "Aircraftsman Shaw," became a parody of the Incarnation.

This strain of religious parody in his life is what, I think, makes us so acutely uneasy when we read any of the biographies that have been written about him, chiefly because it was serious parody—something at once essential and pointless. (His military and political careers provoke more direct emotions and antipathies.) But he has left us "The Seven Pillars of Wisdom," a wonderful book in its own way, and an impressive example of how genius can make use of even the most acute neurosis. Few books, after all, tell us more by implication about the middle-class culture which could both refine and warp an exceptional mind. It is perhaps unnecessary to add that "The Seven Pillars" also tells us a good deal about the sickness of that commercial and industrial Empire which, contemptuously but faithfully, under several names and in several uniforms, Lawrence served until his death.

GEORGE DANGERFIELD is the author of "The Era of Good Feelings" and other books.

The Shrinking Security Yardstick

THE OPPENHEIMER CASE. The Trial of a Security System. By Charles P. Curtis. Simon and Schuster. $4.

By Anthony Lewis

IT IS hard to believe that only a little more than a year has passed since the Atomic Energy Commission voted, 4 to 1, to end J. Robert Oppenheimer's access to restricted data. To me, at least, the case seems more distant. That may be because the atmosphere on the Communists-in-government issue has changed so much in the last year. The charges were brought against Dr. Oppenheimer, and considered, in a period when the Administration was riding the issue for all it was worth politically. Injustices are still being done. But I believe the politics of security have changed sufficiently so that if Lewis Strauss had become chairman of the A. E. C. in July, 1955, instead of two years earlier, no charges would ever have been brought against Dr. Oppenheimer.

In the general loyalty-security picture, the Oppenheimer case was unique for its level of procedural fairness. While not up to trial standards, the hearing was infinitely better than most, especially in that all witnesses were produced and made subject to cross-examination. But the case hung not on the evidence, but on what the judges felt was the significance of the evidence—the yardstick against which it must be measured.

In a murder case the prosecutor can establish objective facts: that the defendant's gun was next to the body, for example, and bore his fingerprints. But in a security case the judges are asked essentially to make a subjective judgment on what a man's conduct will be in the future. The "evidence" that the man associated with someone or joined something in the past may not prove anything about his future conduct.

But we do not trust subjective judgments, we do not want to give security judges the power to say simply, "We trust this man," or "We do not trust him." So we have set up elaborate standards of association and elaborate pseudo-hearings to determine the associations. The result is often to forget the goal of finding untrustworthy men. A man flunks the standard on some past association, and the judges do not bother to make the overall judgment on his trustworthiness.

That was the lesson of the Oppenheimer case. The Security Board, Gordon Gray, Thomas A. Morgan, and Ward V. Evans, found Dr. Oppenheimer loyal and said he had "a high degree of discretion reflecting an unusual ability to keep to himself vital secrets." But the board, Dr. Evans dissenting, found him a risk because of his "disregard" for something it termed "the security system," an unsystematic collection of rules and ideas designed to protect secrets.

Commissioner Thomas E. Murray agreed and went further to say that Dr. Oppenheimer had been "disloyal" to the "security system," even though he had never revealed any secrets. Commissioners Strauss, Eugene M. Zuckert, and Joseph Campbell found, in addition to disregard of the "security system," "fundamental defects" in Dr. Oppenheimer's "character." (It is amusing to remember that Mr. Strauss was among those who voted shortly afterward to retain as head of the Institute for Advanced Study this person with "fundamental defects of character.")

Commissioner Henry D. Smyth, dissenting, put the paradox succinctly: "The only question being determined by the A. E. C. is whether there is a possibility that Dr. Oppenheimer will intentionally or unintentionally reveal secret information to persons who should not have it. . . . Character and associations are important only insofar as they bear on the possibility that secret information will be improperly revealed. . . . There is no indication in the entire record that Dr. Oppenheimer has ever divulged any secret information."

Or in Dr. Evans's homelier language: "No one on the board doubts his loyalty—even the witnesses adverse to him admit that—and he is certainly less of a security risk than he was in 1947, when he was cleared."

The failing of this new book on the Oppenheimer case is that it pays too little attention to the vagueness and distortion of the security yardstick. Mr. Curtis, a Boston lawyer and former member of the Harvard Corporation, has analyzed the case as if it were a trial, sifting the evidence carefully on each point. To paraphrase a comment by R. L. Duffus, this is a little like going back over the evidence at a trial for witchcraft. It is not the evidence that is important, but the legal definition of the crime.

For those who want a thorough, understandable record of the case, Mr. Curtis has done a good job (though not so brilliantly clear, I think, as the much shorter treatment by Professor Harry Kalvan in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists).* A great deal of the book consists of sections of the Oppenheimer hearing transcript, skilfully arranged. Criticism can be made of the small type used for these transcript excerpts and of some sloppy proofreading. But Mr. Curtis is valuable when he steps back and discusses the nastiness of prosecutor Roger Robb, the uninformed or fantastic comments of some of the judges, the twists and turns that make the case of J. Robert Oppenheimer the most fascinating as well as the most important of all loyalty-security proceedings.

ANTHONY LEWIS is a New York newspaperman. In 1955 he won a Pulitzer Prize for his reporting on the security case of Abraham Chasanow.

Books in Brief

Manhattan Corner

IN A FARTHER COUNTRY. By William Goyen. Random House. $3.

Occasionally a book appears which is called a novel because all things, including books, must be given a name. These mavericks of literature, because of their structural eccentricity, often irritate or confuse readers. When the work is as lovely as "In a Farther Country," however, the question of what sort of a book it is hardly matters. For William Goyen uses his own rules of wandering plot and improbable character to fashion a volume at once romance, poem, and myth.

Goyen's previous novel, "The House of Breath," was an exercise in stream-of-consciousness; *avant-garde,* derivative, and self-conscious. It is good to see him emerge from what C. P. Snow has called the "esthetic cul-de-sac." The dense language and rich poetry are still very much in evidence, but no longer weighted by mechanical obscurity. As a result, the reader is free to concentrate on the poetry itself, the interweaving of story with story, color against color, the sudden flashes of bitter-sweet comedy which act as counterpoint to the intense lyricism of the narrative.

"In a Farther Country" takes place in a dingy little shop on Twenty-third Street in Manhattan, where a man named MacDougal, "who could imitate anything,"makes art copies in wood and plaster. Marietta McGee-Chavez, a Texas woman of mixed and warring ancestry, marries MacDougal and transforms his shop into a place of memory and dream. Into this shop come others: a priest, a bullfighter-turned-coroner, and a nun; an actor, a clerk, and a female "speaker of poems." There is also a hobo who carries a mandolin strung with woman's hair. The novel then takes the form of medieval story-telling, with each character relating his past and future.

Within this deceptively simple structure, Mr. Goyen has created an entrancing book. The rhythms of his prose defy quotation. Realistic dialogue alternates with bold flights of rhetoric, becoming graceful and ponderous, meditative and violent, traveling rapidly over the entire spectrum of emotion. The book certainly is artifice; Twenty-third Street was never like this. Mr. Goyen, however, is craftsman enough and poet enough to control his artifice and render it as art.

Wouk in the Pulpit

MARJORIE MORNINGSTAR. By Herman Wouk. Doubleday. $4.95.

Herman Wouk's new novel, "Marjorie Morningstar," continues the post-World War II revolution—or counter-revolution—against what *Time* magazine has termed "three decades of United States fiction dominated by skeptical criticism, sexual emancipation, social protest, and psychoanalytical sermonizing." Mr. Wouk, stellar attraction among the young neo-conservatives, is condescending toward the criticism, very much against the sexual emancipation, and indifferent to the protest. He is not, however, at all hesitant in using sermons at the slightest provocation.

Mr. Wouk's sermons, of course, are issued from a traditional pulpit. Celebrating the virtues of triumphant mediocrity, he applauds the well upholstered life, the "basic" values of home, family, and religion. The intellectual is once again the villain. Although the intellectual in "Marjorie Morningstar" is talented, he is rationalist, skeptical, and hedonist, therefore doomed to spiritual sterility.

The book's intellectual, a young man named Noel Airman, seduces Marjorie, and she finds the whole business unpleasant. She is, of course, quite right: the seduction is unpleasant, both for Noel, who acts like a cad because he is symbolically crippled and morally "lost": and for Marjorie, who soils herself in a misguided attempt at rebellion. Only when Marjorie realizes the error of her ways and turns to sanctified breeding, does she achieve contentment. And contentment—as mother, wife, and ladies' auxiliary member—is the most basic of all Wouk's "basic" values.

While Wouk does provide some interesting and reasonably accurate details of upper-middle-class Jewish life, his narrative is limited because he places neat and rather obvious labels on character and motivation. He describes Marjorie, for example, as a "sweetly innocent" girl with a "red mouth" who sleeps in "golden sunlight," has a "disordered mass of curls," wears an "expensive evening gown," and laughs with "girlish giggles." Emotional flux is created with similar ease: at one point, for example, Wouk simply tells his audience that a character is "filled with feelings of puzzlement and dread."

"Marjorie Morningstar" is comfortable, easy to understand, and affirmative. The book gives added weight to the opinion of those highbrow critics who insist that Wouk is essentially a slick-magazine writer; he has here made a good thing of applying lacquer-surface realism to a particular religious group.

World of the Courtesan

THE GAME OF HEARTS. Harriette Wilson's Memoirs. Edited, and with an introduction by Lesley Blanch. Simon and Schuster. $5.

In last year's "The Wilder Shores of Love" Lesley Blanch revivified four lively ladies of the nineteenth century, famous or infamous in their day but long since forgotten. She continues this work of interesting restoration by now presenting the memoirs of Harriette Wilson, a celebrated courtesan of Regency England. Harriette numbered among her protectors and acquaintances the Duke of Wellington, a brother of Lord Melbourne, Byron, Beau Brummel, and many other scions of England's noblest families. She was not a good girl but she must have been wonderfully good company; evident throughout the memoirs are her wit, intelligence, and good nature. She was faithful, in her fashion, to each of her aristocratic protectors during his tenure and often impulsively generous, as when, with a grand gesture, she voluntarily surrendered the Marquis of Worcester's letters to his father who might have paid her up to two thousand pounds for them.

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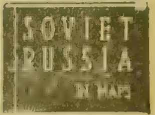

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In her introduction Miss Blanch gives us an entertaining picture of the Regency world of fashion as well as a witty dissertation on the now vanished race of grand courtesans. To be as successful as Harriette Wilson the courtesan had to be equipped to supply, besides physical charms, companionship, understanding, and mental stimulus.

Miss Blanch has had the clever idea of interpolating occasional excerpts from the confessions of Julia Johnstone, Harriette's life-long friend but professional rival, who became particularly bitter after the sensational success of the memoirs. Her malicious comments and flat contradictions of many of Harriette's self-laudatory statements have a moralizing effect. Beguiled by Harriette's charm the reader might have forgotten what a baggage she could be. The memoirs were written primarily as a blackmailing scheme. The fortnightly installments were preceded by circulars announcing the aristocratic names to be mentioned. On receipt of two hundred pounds Harriette agreed, and always scrupulously kept her promise, to expunge the names of the payers. Her considerable financial profit from this racket is the reader's loss in some very entertaining reading.

Western Battleground

CIVIL WAR ON THE WESTERN BORDER, 1854-1865. By Jay Monaghan. Little, Brown. $6.

This is undoubtedly the most informative book on the trans-Mississippi military campaigns of the Civil War. It gives useful facts on the early warfare in Kansas, the big battles in the West, organized bushwhacking and Quantrill's sacking of Lawrence, and on the horrifying extent of brutality, casual and deliberate.

But its faults are many: a preference for the colorful over the significant, a tendency to isolate military affairs in the West from what was happening elsewhere in the country and even from civilian life in Missouri and Kansas, an episodic approach that is jumbled and disjointed. The absence of maps makes it impossible to follow the campaigns. Negroes appear in these pages solely in undignified postures, either begging for mercy or entertaining the white troops.

Theater

Shepard Traube

SINCE "A Tiger at the Gates" (Plymouth Theater) seems to be a resounding success, this is a dissident report. Considering the circumstances whereby I happen to be examining the Jean Giradoux-Christopher Fry play in the role of substitute drama critic, I hope it doesn't prove to be a churlish commentary. It is altogether possible that the play may have many themes for as many people. For me, beyond any question, its major intent is to discuss the inevitability of war, even when men of good will convene as the heads of nations to avert it. Moreover, let there be no mistake about my use of the verb "discuss," for "A Tiger at the Gates" is a massive conversation piece.

"If you sing a song of peace with enough gestures and grimaces," declares Paris cynically in the second act, "it will become a war song." It is that cynicism which pervades the play. Giradoux wrote the source work in French in another period of history. Fry has done his translation in our own day a completely different frame of reference. Consequently this now is a play that we evaluate on the heels of the Geneva meeting which gave us the vaulting hope that mankind will not destroy itself with atomic weapons.

Since "A Tiger at the Gates" ends with the ironic assurance that the Trojan War (or any war?) could not be prevented but only retarded—despite every effort on the part of Hector, an enlightened soldier—I find myself incapable of liking the play. Incidentally, in dramatic terms, a fairly shallow trick is employed to effect this conclusion to the plot. There is no doubt that both Giradoux and Fry share a passionate hatred of war, for their play is filled with it. But the play succumbs to the thesis of "inevitability" in the climactic moments. Beyond my distaste for what I judge to be the basic content of "A Tiger at the Gates," it seems to me that the style of the production is declamatory. More than occasionally the evening rang out with pear-shaped tones, until I became a bit surfeited with them.

I am second to no one in my admiration for Harold Clurman, a gifted director, also the noted critic whose remarks on the current theater customarily fill these columns. But I think his production of "A Tiger at the Gates" is occasionally static and merely pictorial. For, despite a determined effort on my part to concentrate on the drama, I found myself woolgathering through a number of scenes. Undoubtedly there is a certain artificiality in the writing, difficult for any director to avoid completely, but as the evening wore on, I found myself restless throughout long passages where actors squared off to each other and let fly with gusty, literary perorations. I found myself longing for a more inventive approach to the production, other than the handsome stage pictures.

I saw the play on the second night, and, in all probability, there was not the electricity in the performance that must have pervaded the cast the night before. It seemed to me that Michael Redgrave, who is a stunning actor, was not quite at the top of his form, but nevertheless, his passionate interpretation of the idealist-warrior, Hector, had great power and beauty. I enjoyed Diane Cilento's limpid and kittenish Helen, not to mention her pulchritude. Leueen MacGrath's Cassandra was strikingly effective, and Barbara Jefford's Andromache was sumptuous and arresting. Catherine Lacey's Hecuba was dipped in irony, John Laurie's fatuous politician-poet had the right whine, Leo Ciceri's Paris was both handsome and amusing, and Wyndham Goldie's international legal expert was a masterpiece of dry wit. Morris Carnovsky was handsome and regal as Priam, although the role was without substance for this superb actor. Finally, Walter Fitzgerald's magnificently cerebral portrait of Ulysses seemed to me to be one of the real triumphs of the production.

ARTHUR MILLER is indisputably one of the giant figures in our theater. The towering magnificence of "Death of a Salesman" bears the stamp of genius and leaves us everlastingly in his debt He is also an artist of conscience and purpose, who can write about what troubles him in our society, and write with burning scorn. We need only recall "The Crucible," a play which seems to have achieved more influence in Europe than it did here at home, a phenomenon that is not too surprising, considering the recent temper of the times.

Miller's latest produced work, two plays brought together under the title of "A View from the Bridge (Coronet Theater), presented by Kermit Bloomgarden, Robert Whitehead, and Roger Stevens, was not intended originally, I believe, for the commercial Broadway milieu. At first, Martin Ritt, the director, planned special matinee performances for the two plays. ("A Memory of Two Mondays," a short mood piece, and the title play, which is almost full-length.) But the plans grew and evolved into a full-scale Broadway venture, subjected to our pitiless system whereby the critics vote for hit or flop.

These are not major works by Arthur Miller, but they are always interesting, frequently stirring, and steadily illuminated by the incandescence of an author whose thinking about human beings is always profound. Martin Ritt has staged the two plays with great sensitivity and skill, avoiding the trap of underlining "big" scenes with violence and, as a result, achieving real suspense when it is required.

Van Heflin has returned from Hollywood to the Broadway stage in "A View from the Bridge" and I assure you this alone. is reason enough for buying your tickets. Heflin is simply tremendous, an actor to cherish and admire, and his homecoming is an important event. You'll never see a finer performance than the one he gives in " A View from the Bridge." There are also two brilliant interpretations by Jack Warden and Biff McGuire, with excellent support from Eileen Heckart, Richard Davalos, and Gloria Marlowe.

Boris Aronson's settings have grandeur and poetry in them, and Helen Pons has executed costumes that suit the action perfectly.

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Records

B. H. Haggin

SOMEONE interested in the Budapest Quartet's recordings would want to know that on the records of the Beethoven quartets the cello sound is hard and dry, the violin sound is edged, and loud chords of the entire group are the worse for the terrific echo of the empty hall; and that the performances of Mozart, Schubert, and Haydn are reproduced less poorly but not well—the sound of Schubert's "Death and the Maiden" also being dry, hard, and edged. This is the kind of fact he would expect to be told in a record guide; but in Harold C. Schonberg's "Guide to Long-Playing Records: Chamber and Solo Instrument Music" (Knopf, $3.50) there is mention only of a little thinness and occasional shrillness in the Beethoven recordings, and of the Schubert performances being "so well recorded by Columbia."

One would think the beauty of Pierlot's oboe tone and Rampal's flute tone is an objective fact no ear could fail to perceive, even if their phrasing and the enchanting ensemble-playing they and their associates do in pieces by Vivaldi on Haydn Society 82 might require the ear of a record critic; but to Schonberg "none of the soloists is an outstanding workman, but they collaborate well, playing with taste and musical integrity." Someone who had heard the Juilliard Quartet only in Bartok and Schoenberg might not expect the grace and exquisite phrasing of its playing of Mozart's K.499, but—one would think—could not fail to hear what is so plainly to be heard; however Schonberg hears that "Mozart is not the Juilliard's dish of tea. The phrasing is stiff, and there are some strange tempos. . . ." Nobody, one would suppose, could fail to hear the difference between the Budapest and Schneider performances of Haydn's Quartets Op. 76—the refinement and smoothness of the Budapest playing as against the Schneider's more energetically detailed, more sharply rhythmed inflection; but Schonberg writes that "the Budapest's playing is a little fuller in tone and stronger in concept" and "the Schneider . . . is frequently more gracious and intimate-sounding."

Nothing could be more striking than the contrast between Wuehrer's drily correct playing of the notes of Schubert's Sonata in B flat, and Kempff's fussing with finicky nuance; but to Schonberg "Kempff and Wuehrer are pianists very much in the same style. Both exhibit the Teutonic school of playing; both work in broad, massive strokes; both have strength and integrity." And discussing other performances of the sonata he writes that "Aitken . . . has some interesting ideas, but not always the authority to put them across." This is a favorite locution: in Schumann's Fantasy "Yves Nat . . . has interesting ideas, but the veteran pianist is no longer up to the technical demands"; but if Schonberg meant anything real by "interesting ideas" he would say what the ideas are. Actually there is nothing out-of-the-way in Nat's fine performance, for which he has all the necessary technique; and Aitken's brutal treatment of much of the sonata, which *is* unusual, is unconvincing not for lack of authority but for lack of valid relation with the inherent expressive character of the music.

There isn't the space in which to document further the absence in this book of the slightest manifestation of the perception, understanding, judgment, and taste that could be of use to a reader; or to show that the mere written English is some of the worst ever to receive mistaken publication. But I take a few more lines to put out how monstrous is the situation—not only in this book—in which outstanding musical talent, dedicated study, and long experience produce something like the playing of Pierlot and Rampal in the Vivaldi pieces or the Julliard Quartet performance of Mozart's K.499, only to have it struck down for thousands of readers in a mere sentence by someone with no talent whatever for *his* task of critical evaluation.

At this point a record-buyer will ask what writing on records there is that does provide the dependable information and evaluation I have said he needs. The way to answer that is to say that I too need such information and evaluation—about some of the records that aren't sent to me for review; I too, then, have to depend on the reports of other reviewers; I too have to estimate their dependability concerning the records I don't know from what they say about the records I do know; and applying this method to the writing in the newspapers and magazines I see, I have discovered none—outside of Mr. Gans's occasional notes here—that I have felt I could depend on myself and recommend to anyone else for accurate perception of even the simplest facts of performance and recorded sound. Thus, not only Kolodin's review of the Toscanini "Pictures at an Exhibition" but every review I have seen has talked about the outstanding fidelity and beauty of the sound that is so abominably falsified by excessive peaking of the treble.

AT IT happens, Rampal's beautiful playing, with finely adjusted harpsichord-playing by Veyron-Lacroix, is heard in eight Sonatas for flute and continuo by Leclair on the two records of Oiseau-Lyre OL-50051. For the most part these are engaging works—engaging both in the lyrical and dance passages, and astonishing one occasionally with an unusual harmonic progression. It is Nos. 7 and 9 that I found least interesting; Nos. 5 and 6, on the other hand, impressed me most.

McIntosh 1001 offers the Benedetto Marcello-Bach Concerto in D minor and Vivaldi-Bach Concertos in F, C, and G, played on the harpsichord by Julietta Goldschwartz, whose pounding of the instrument is such as to make it impossible for me to get any reliable impression of the music.

But what is played on that record as the Adagio of the Vivaldi-Bach Concerto in F, is offered on London LD-9135 as the Adagio of an Oboe Concerto in C minor by Alessandro Marcello, played on the piano by Paolo Spagnolo with quietly sensitive phrasing which enables me to hear that the music is quite lovely. On the same side are two delightful Scarlatti Sonatas, Longo 5 and 30, that I don't recall hearing before, played with the proper lightness and brilliance. But the pieces by Mompou, Rodrigo, and Margola on the reverse side I don't care for.

Art

A. L. Chanin

FANTASY and Surrealism are the curtain-raisers of the new art season. A double exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art (to October 30) couples the early, spellbound paintings of Georgio de Chirico, a precursor of the movement, with a retrospective survey of Yves Tanguy, Surrealist, who died last January at the age of fifty-five.

The exclusion of all but the early work of de Chirico underlines the enigma of his shocking decline Since his youthful star-touched years before and during the first World War, de Chirico has become a lost leader, a reactionary producing pallid derivations of Renaissance classics. Moreover, de Chirico finds it necessary to disown his early work, and to castigate modern art as the work "of the gangsters who are the art dealers, critics, and snobs." Yet de Chirico cannot quite lay the ghost, nor discourage the eagerness of collectors for the early work; "I now paint," he admits, "so-called metaphysical works or 'Italian Piazza' pictures for anyone who wants to order and pay for them."

BORN sixty-seven years ago, in Greece, of Italian parents, de Chirico studied art in Athens, Munich, and Italy. He was intrigued with minor nineteenth-century German romantic painters, and he pored over Nietzche. "After having read the works of Friedrich Nietzche, I became aware that there is a host of strange, unknown, solitary things which can be translated into painting. . . ."

When the brooding young painter arrived in Paris in 1911, Cubism was on the rise. Among other innovations, Cubism rejected story, poem, and symbol as so much literary baggage. But de Chirico challenged this with his amazing series of compositions steeped in feelings of mystery, melancholy, and disquietude. In time these paintings became a jumping-off point for Surrealism, which, probing uninhibited dreams and memories from a hitherto unexplored subconscious, flirted with Freudian symbols. They held dreams and hallucinations to be more truthful and significant than the world of logic.

In the Paris paintings—the heart of the exhibition—de Chirico created a distinctive personal iconography, or repertoire of images; vistas of shadowy, neo-classic arcades in silent squares, large, slanting shadows, silent Victorian or classic statues, trains and toys and fluttering pennants, factory chimneys and strange towers.

Often the symbols shock the mind with their audacious incongruity, as in Song of Love (1914), a cryptic combination of a surgeon's rubber glove beside the head of Apollo. In The Child's Brain (1914) (widely interpreted as a psychological portrait of his father) a pasty-fleshed face

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A. L. CHANIN is the staff lecturer of the Museum of Modern Art.

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and torso, partly veiled by a curtain, looks with closed eyes on a brightly covered book—an uncanny and disturbing portrayal. The Mystery and Melancholy of a Street (1914) is perhaps the classic of the Italian square pictures, a trancelike painting in which ominous foreboding is achieved with a few devices—the shadowlike girl running with a hoop past an empty carnival wagon and a dark arcade toward the shadow of an unseen statue.

In his next phase, when de Chirico founded the short-lived and equally famous metaphysical school, mannequins and triangular drafting tools, interiors, and still lifes like The Sacred Fish, of 1919—one of the last of the important pictures—are fine examples of mystic poetry.

If this is the sum total of the early de Chirico it would indeed be more literature than painting, for painting cannot live on iconography alone. But de Chirico combined his images with a firm command of painting qualities. He exploits sudden jarring movements of space ("Who can deny the troubling connection," he wrote, "that exists between perspective and metaphysics?") into genuine compositional force. He counterpoints, with telling pictorial effect, line against mass, dark against light, and flat forms against three-dimensional structure. Forms are inventively related one to the other. Color, now bright or somber, thin or rich, is chosen with sparse economy; it achieves luminosity and variety, and binds his best compositions into a brilliant unity.

IN 1923, a de Chirico canvas in a Paris gallery window, glimpsed from a passing bus, confirmed Yves Tanguy's resolution to paint, and to paint fantasy motifs. Before that, the Paris-born youth had sailed as sailor to Africa and South America, served in the army, discussed literature with the poet and future film director, Jacques Prevert, and sketched incessantly on cafe napkins.

Some four years after the chance encounter with the picture in the window, Tanguy, self-taught, found his way to the now famous dreamlike sky and submarine panoramas. With The Shadow Country, and the macabre Mama, Papa Is Wounded! —a title which lingered in his mind from a psychiatric case history—Tanguy became an important member of the Surrealist group. Thereafter, Tanguy perfected his style, becoming a suave and meticulous craftsman with paint and brush. His art increased in range and inventiveness, but rarely deviated from his major theme.

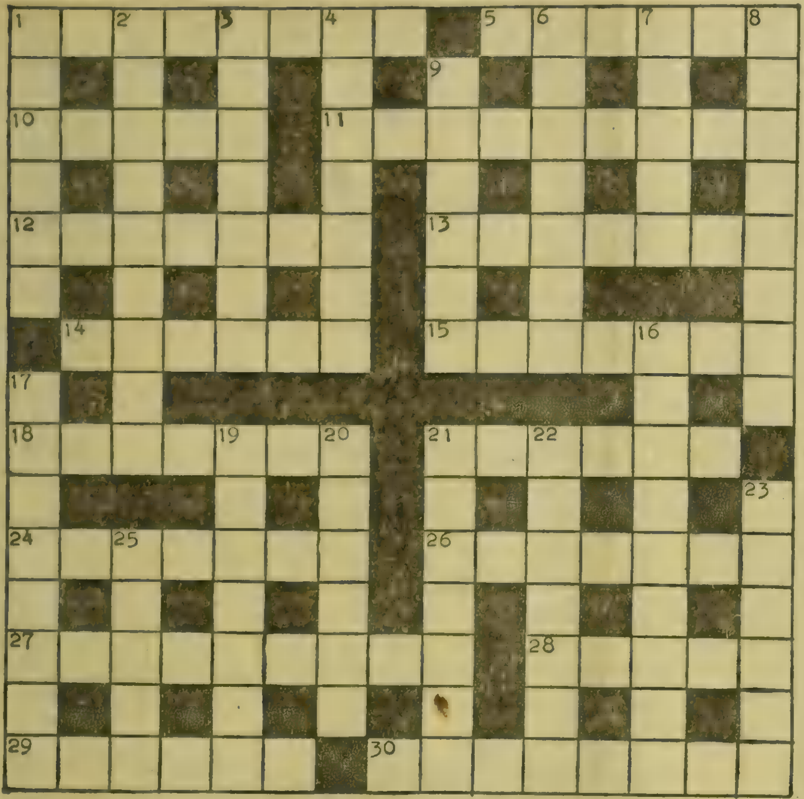
A characteristic Tanguy canvas is filled with odd, beguiling, and entangled forms which often recall fantastic stone formations. These curious constructions, one changing into another in a complex web, are poised in space against magnificent skies, or float against a fusion of sky and earth units. In canvas after canvas, as Tanguy enriches this basic theme with ingenious variations, with changes in scale, and a distance from near to far, with soft light and strange shadows, he conjures up some fantasy wasteland.

"Surprises are my pleasures in painting," Tanguy remarked—almost his only comment on his art. And if the spectator abandons the desire to find "real" things in his landscapes, he can enter a world of whimsical fancy, charming in color, space, and shape, but behind which lurk unknown omens.

REGINALD MARSH, who is seen full length in a memorial exhibition at the Whitney Museum (to November 6th; thereafter, Columbus, Detroit, St. Louis, Dallas, Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, San Francisco), loved to record the swarm of bathers at Coney Island, strippers, faces in a subway, cheap movie facades, the jaunty strut of Rubenesque girls, and grey men under the "L" along the Bowery. Paintings and drawings like Why Not Use the "L"?, 1930; Hudson Bay Fur Company, 1932; Tattoo and Haircut, 1932; and the Bowery at Pell Street, 1952, are guaranteed immortality as pictorial documents of America. They might also have possessed equal immortality as memorable art, like Hogarth's pithy compositions, for example, if Marsh had been gifted with a finer sense of color. But his color is mere surface tinting, and often without quality. Consequently his keen drawing must carry the full burden of large compositions. But as an immensely vital recorder of the big city, Marsh has no peers since the best of John Sloan and William Glackens at the turn of the century.

Crossword Puzzle No. 642

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 This ibex shows its camouflage. (8)
5 See 4 down.
10 See 12 across.
11 Came into being in the ride? (9)
12, 10, and 9 down Copper flint-lock? (3,4,3,2,3,3)
13 Look like a Villain around, and yet associated with a Hero. (7)
14 and 24 Implying nothing, for just a second. (6-4-3)
15 They have agitators in the cleaning movement nowadays. (7)
18 and 21 Does this give a legal look? (5,2,6)
24 See 14 across.
26 Worn by Bradman? (7)
27 Some 15 are fully this. (9)
28 The reign of France? (5)
29 Sort of allow the naval vessel inside to fight. (6)
30 The goal of aerial attack is so reached. (2-6)

DOWN

1 Makes the laws of ascent. (6)
2 I follow a poor actor to the arena, causing quite a blow. (9)
3 Bare skin? Nothing on? How ludicrous. (7)
4 and 5 across The index of fire? (7,6)
6 Sadiron which implies success at pressing. (7)
7 With something to swing on? (Some horses are by the sound of it.) (5)
8 In emergency it doesn't necessarily imply radical treachery. (3,5)
9 See 12 across.
16 Swaps what your numbers might have to go through. (9)
17 The way to drag out favorable propaganda, perhaps. (8)
19 Lemuel comes up to shop by foot, obviously. (7)
20 Start to eat—you must have an inclination to do it (4,2)
21 Proving even the pen contains cunning. (7)
22 There's a song about people of the land. (7)
23 Likes to take plenty of trouble with things. (6)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 641

ACROSS: 1 ACCELERATE; 6 BLUR; 10 UPSTART; 11 MAILING; 12 GOETHALS; 13 ECLAT; 15 ESSEN; 17 TOP-DRAWER; 19 and 21 O TEMPORA, O MORES; 23 HOTEL; 24 EXHAUSTS; 27 BECKONS; 28 TESTUDO; 29 APSE. DOWN: 1 ABUT; 2 CUSTOMS; 3 and 30 LEAST FLYCATCHER; 4 RETRACTOR; 5 TIMES; 7 LAID LOW; 8 RIGHT DRESS; 9 SIDE DRUM; 14 XENOPHOBIA; 16 NAPOLEON; 18 PROPHETIC; 20 ENTICES; 22 RETOUCH; 24 EASEL; 25 UPSET; 26 BOOR.

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THE *Nation*

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by Walter Fall

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

The Cold War Dies Hard

Los Angeles

THE COLD WAR is dying hard, even at home. The University of Southern California in Los Angeles, third largest privately endowed university in the country, has given another sad proof of this fact. Andreis Deinum, a former movie producer and an internationally known authority on the cinema, was fired from the university faculty by President Fred D. Fagg, Jr., on June 27, a few hours after he had testified before a House Un-American Activities subcommittee here. Deinum was an instructor in the university's cinema department. Only a few weeks before his abrupt dismissal, his promotion to an assistant professorship had been approved.

Who is Deinum and what was his crime? He is a Dutch-born naturalized American. In the opinion of his colleagues and his students, he has done an outstanding job both as a teacher and in building up the vast collection of film literature in the university's library. Lester F. Beck, former head of the cinema department and now chief of U. S. C.'s research department, wrote to President Fagg when he heard of Deinum's suspension:

> To lose him [Deinum] for any reason at the present time would be a crippling blow to the [cinema] department and in the long run to the university as well. For I believe that if Mr. Deinum can continue with the program of research writing and teaching that he has set for himself, he will within a decade be recognized as one of the world's foremost authorities on films. He is a scholar in the classical tradition who ranges widely in many fields and in several languages.

When Mr. Deinum received his subpoena to appear before the subcommittee, he immediately informed his superiors to avoid embarrassing the university. He was told to continue his classes. At the hearing, he testified freely about the fact that he had been a member of the Communist Party from 1946 to 1950, that his only party activities consisted in attending a study class dealing with films, art, and esthetics, that at no time had he observed any subversive or illegal activities, and that he had left the party when these discussions proved intellectually unsatisfying. He refused, however, to name other persons with whom he had attended the study group since he felt that it would have been unethical to expose persons who, to his knowledge, had broken no law.

His was a difficult position to take. It would have been "safer" for him to have pleaded the Fifth Amendment, but he decided to be as frank as he could without involving innocent persons. The following day he found out that a letter by President Fagg announcing his immediate suspension had been released to the press. He received his own copy later.

Dr. Fagg's letter, dated June 27, and written before the writer could have had access to the transcript of the hearing, stated:

> In view of statements you are reported to have made before the House Un-American Activities Committee and in accordance with our policy I hereby notify you that as of this date you are suspended from your teaching job at the University of Southern California.

Deinum's answering letter said in part:

> I would like it to be understood that while my refusal to name names in front of the committee had, out of necessity, to be couched in legal terms, the basic reason for my refusal was a moral and ethical one. . . . I could not bring upon people who were to my knowledge innocent of any subversive intent the mental suffering that has befallen me. . . . I told the committee under oath, and I will tell you now, that in the four years that I was a member of the Communist Party I never observed anyone engaged in any criminal, subversive, or illegal act.

Protest against the suspension was voiced immediately by faculty and students alike. The staff of the cinema department urged a fair hearing for their colleague before the Acadamic Senate. Within two days fifty-one students of the department signed a petition for Deinum's reinstatement. The campus paper carried a strong editorial. A student delegation visited the dean of education. Five students wrote to Professor Fagg:

> If the implication of the suspension is that Mr. Dienum misconducted himself by not naming persons he knew while he was a member of the Communist Party—persons he believes innocent of any illegal action—then . . . does the suspension imply the university's desire to employ and actually prefer informers? Is the implication perhaps that the university hires and fires according to the dictates of public and private pressures from without? We hope not, for, if so, we are being done a disservice as students who came here in good faith to study in a department reputed to be the best of its kind in the country.

Dr. Fagg's only reply was to acknowledge receipt and remark dryly: "Our concept of what is good for the university seems not to be in agreement."

On September 21 the executive committee of the University Senate met with officials of the administration—but without Mr. Deinum or a spokesman for him—and announced: "The committee reviewed the request of Mr. Deinum and considered all available information (sic!) relevant to the request. The committee is of the opinion that no further action should be taken."

MARTIN HALL

[*Martin Hall is a free-lance writer in California.*]

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THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Nationalism-Colonialism: The New Challenge (II)

. . by Edgar Snow

This is the second of a three-part guest editorial, the concluding portion of which will appear in an early issue. Mr. Snow, a foreign correspondent in Europe and Asia for more than twenty years, is the author of "The Battle for Asia," "Pattern of Soviet Power," and other books.

IS THE HISTORY of empire in Africa going to repeat the same broad pattern of decline and exit to the tune of social revolution, as in Asia? That depends, naturally, on what the European does with his remaining opportunities there. His stake is greater; in South Africa alone some 2,500,000 white settlers call the black land their home. And yet it is just there that the white man's future in Africa looks most uncertain, where his moral right to dominance is most questioned, where the portents of a revolutionary solution to extreme racist terror and oppression seem most serious. One thing bound to be different in Africa is the timetable of economic, political, and social change. It will be far swifter from now on than the white overlords feared before World War II—or than African nationalists dared hope.

This rising tempo of demand for reform is already affecting us and our relations with colonial situations on several continents. In the past we have been called upon to pay the bill for mistakes of stubborn French reaction in Indo-China, for example. Are more billions to be wasted in the future in vain attempts to deny self-government and the development of the peoples of French Africa? A clear, creative role needs to be defined for United States policy in colonial and underdeveloped areas of the world—a policy implemented as consistently in the U. N. as outside.

Three things have happened in the postwar decade to make the need imperative. Three different but related revolutions have profoundly altered the basis of human existence and outlook in general, and greatly increased the pressure for colonial emancipation in particular. The first is the technological transformation foreshadowed by thermonuclear energy. Along with its dreadful potentials for evil it offers an early shortcut, if properly applied, for the rapid modernization of primitive and industrially backward countries.

The second radical innovation in the world system of states is the fact that 1,200,000,000 brown men inhabiting about 7,000,000 square miles of territory have attained full national independence and political equality with the West. Left behind by the "first" industrial revolution, these people are determined to close the gap during "the revolution of rising expectations," the atomic age.

The third revolution is the vast portentous social upheaval dominated by the Communists and stretching from Eastern Asia to Eastern Europe. It now embraces more than one man in every three. The effect of widespread propaganda concerning speedy progress and uplift achieved in Soviet Asia—for colored people—has raised a competitive challenge in all remaining Western colonies. Still more, the impact of Communist-led China's quite visible and undeniably dramatic national recovery of power and prestige has electrified Africans of all classes with hope. Inevitably it has given at least some rebel nationalists the conviction that the Communist road is the only road whereby countries left far behind can catch up. One such, for example, is the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast—which is likely to be Britain's first black dominion. Though no Communist, the remarkable Dr. Nkrumah has openly advocated a Union of West African Soviet Socialist States!

PERHAPS because American policy has not been adjusted to the three great changes mentioned we failed to understand, for example, the serious message of the Bandung Conference in Indonesia last April. In adopting a somewhat sneering attitude the United States unnecessarily—and quite falsely in terms of our own best tradition—ranged itself against legitimate aspirations toward political and social equality that are universal among Asians and Africans. The great majority of the newly independent countries of Asia are non-Communist. Yet being non-Communist obviously does not mean being pro-colonial. When leaders of all Oriental countries—only Korea, Soviet Asia, and Formosa were left out—joined with seven African states at Bandung to demand self-determination and freedom for all colonies they were not only repeating their own oft-proclaimed faith but also echoing the sentiments of great American patriots.

In actual fact the remnants of old-style Western imperialism in East Asia are now mainly vestigial—British Singapore and Hongkong, and a lingering grip on the Malay peninsula and the coast of Borneo; Dutch and Australian occupation of New Guinea, disputed by Indonesia; and odd hangovers of the Portuguese empire thus far overlooked in the rush. The West cannot possibly return to impose its will on the continent through such knotholes, even if they continue to be held. In any major war they would be liabilities, not assets. It is inconceivable that we shall indefinitely antagonize a billion non-Communist Asians rather than encourage the Europeans to find their way out of these few isolated positions with good grace.

ASIDE FROM scattered colonial holdings in Oceania, the West Indies, and Central America, the real remaining colonial problems of the world today center in Africa—and they are indeed problems of magnitude. Africa covers a fifth of the habitable land area of the earth and 90 per cent of its 200,000,000 blacks are almost entirely dominated by 3,000,000 white men. Asians have three good reasons for resenting the arrangement—and for lining up behind African nationalism and independence—as the Bandung-Asian bloc of powers has now done in the U. N., and increasingly will do in the future. First is their own long history of colonial oppression. Second is their determination to retaliate against all forms of color discrimination. Third, half a million Asians resident in Africa are themselves treated by the whites as inferiors and fare economically little better than the blacks.

With the exception of South Africa, Egypt, Libya, Ethiopia, and little Liberia, all Africa consists of colonies, mandates, trusteeships, or protectorates held by British, French, Portuguese, Spanish, and Belgian overlords. French Africa alone is larger than Greater China and Japan combined—and not one in ten of its 5,000,000 inhabitants is literate. British Africa is larger than the United States; Portugal's African colonies are thirty times the size of the minuscule "mother" country. The Belgian Congo—with its riches in minerals, water resources greater than those of the United States, and uranium mines that produce 96 per cent of the current world output—is as large as all Western Europe.

Fabulous profits have been taken out of Africa ever since the lucrative slave trade. Until recently little such wealth stayed in the country for reinvestment. Like the billions made in colonial trade in Asia it was poured back into Europe—and much of it disappeared in the fire of the last two wars. Africa has enriched everybody but the Africans, they say. Over wide areas Negroes have lost all their best grazing lands to the whites; in many restricted regions they cannot buy land at all. Often the best land has been seized by a few white settlers. In the Congo it is owned by half a dozen giant corporations. In Kenya colony, 4,000 Europeans own 16,000 square miles—an average of four square miles per white man—while a million Kikuyus who surround them hold only 2,000 acres of the land once exclusively theirs.

Color discrimination and segregation prevail nearly everywhere—modified by a Portuguese policy which permits one Negro in a thousand to vote, and by half-hearted French attempts in the Arab north at "assimilation." In South Africa the *apartheid* policy has deprived the black man of all political rights (taking away his former right to vote) and many human rights. Compelled to live in ghettos, he cannot even walk the streets of certain areas of the city—or even enter one without a pass. He is in effect a prisoner in his own country—where he is four-fifths of the population.

Ninety per cent of East Africans have hookworm or other intestinal worms; tuberculosis and venereal disease are spreading scarcely checked, and 35 per cent of all blacks born in South Africa die of disease or starvation in their first year. There are only 3,400 doctors in the whole of Africa, and most of these care for whites. The need is for 60,000 doctors at a very minimum—three times as many as are studying in the United States. Needs? There are 700 different languages. Africans obviously need etymologists, language unifiers—somebody to give them a way of writing, as Russians did for Central Asians and Esquimaux. They need teachers, agronomists, veterinarians, skilled workers in metals and wood, engineers, scientists. They need schools, labor unions, colleges, cooperatives, decent housing, pest control, better diets, sanitation, power plants, roads, railways. They need a larger share in the treasure they have produced for the world—not to mention a little *liberte, egalite, fraternite*.

"Our civilization cannot afford to leave immense areas of the world underdeveloped," wrote Vernon Bartlett in "The Struggle for Africa." "Even if the inhabitants of these areas were anxious to go on living as their ancestors had lived for centuries, we should not allow them to do so. And so little are they anxious to go on living in that way that the demands of the backward masses in Europe, Asia, Africa, and South America for all the amenities, good or bad, of Western civilization have plunged us into the most momentous series of revolutions in history."

But it is far too late, today, to think of turning the black man back to the jungle. He knows too much; he is already too far along the road. And the world cannot get along without him—without his labor, the wealth of his continent, the human contribution he was created to fulfill. He can only be led forward—and swiftly—in the battle of competitive coexistence. "But the blunt truth," Bartlett lamely concludes, "is that the great colonial powers no longer have either the capital or technicians to permit the rapid development of Africa demanded both by the Africans themselves and by the rest of the world."

Not only in Africa but in vast underdeveloped areas all over the world the problem is the same—lack of capital, lack of technique, lack of centralized planning and direction, lack of a modern technique of world development which will not arouse the fear, suspicion, and opposition of the very people who need it most. "The dilemma has a vast importance in the political struggle between East and West for the allegiance of the uncommitted part of the world, in the vast underdeveloped parts of the Middle and Far East and Africa, too, in which so great a proportion of the population still live on the borders of starvation," wrote Bickham Sweet-Escott in a recent issue of *The Listener*. He continues thus:

> For it is just to people like that that the appeal of communism is greatest. So far the only answer the West has found is the belief that, if the standard of living of these people is raised they will gradually become deaf to the voice of communism. [But] I am quite certain that our efforts alone would not ensure the rapid increase on the scale needed. For that it is essential that these areas should have access to the vast productive capacity of the United States, just as the 600,000,000 of China can call on the growing industrial strength of Soviet Russia. But as Western civilization is organized at present the United States cannot ultimately play its full part . . . because there is nothing which the United States will accept in exchange for all the plant machinery and manufactured goods. If the West is to raise the standard of living of the underdeveloped areas and so immunize them from communism it is vital that we should find some way in which American production can be made available to Asia and Africa in a really big way.

Such is the opportunity facing the leaders of this country today—and the terms of competitive coexistence permit no adherence to the status quo. This country alone possesses the abundant surpluses of agricultural products, of manufacturing capacity, above all of capital, industrial experience, and know how. What is more, export it must, and on an ever-increasing scale, if the internal economy is not ultimately to face a crisis. Fate thus offers America—or at any rate American business men—the chance to make great history in a deeply responsible role.

There is one aspect of the task, however, which Mr. Sweet-Escott failed to examine. It is one which big-business administration may easily overlook as an essential first purpose. That is, the American responsibility to the people of the colonies—and people everywhere—for insisting that its economic aid be used to hasten self-governing capacity in the colonies, to free them, and to enlarge opportunities and welfare for the poor everywhere—rather than to perpetuate their dependence, enriching only the few. During the past decade, under the pretext of fighting communism, we have already spent billions of dollars in support of reactionary regimes—in ways unprecedented in American history—which have "on the whole lengthened the life of colonialism," as Alan Paton recently admitted to be the case in Africa. And by that very effect we frustrate ourselves, he concludes, because "by lengthening the life of colonialism [America] is strengthening the appeal of communism."

The question for the American people, therefore, is whether we can reconcile these two purposes—world development for greater world freedom—in a new and creative policy based on full acceptance of the three great changes listed at the opening of these paragraphs. Does the American system possess the ingenuity, the flexibility, the imagination, the interest, and above all the faith to mobilize adequate means of bringing aid on the gigantic scale needed to solve the foremost problems of underprivileged man—before he succumbs to the "appeal of communism"? Some possible answers will be considered in a concluding editorial.

The Shape of Things

Too Much Whip

AN OLD ADAGE warns against riding a good horse to death. The United States delegation to the United Nations, intent on winning every race, gives every indication of being reckless of horseflesh. For several years now it has applied spur and crop to friendly delegations when there was a contest to be won against the Communist bloc. So far it has been generally successful, but should the spirit of Geneva, or of Bandung, affect our friends deeply enough, that run of luck could come to an end.

The balloting in the U. N. General Assembly for the third vacant non-permanent seat in the U. N. Security Council is a case in point. The ninth ballot on October 19 found the contest deadlocked, with twenty-nine votes for the Philippines (the United States' candidate) and twenty-eight for Yugoslavia. Then Ambassador Lodge moved to adjourn the Security Council election and to proceed to elections for ECOSOC and the Trusteeship Council. The maneuver was plain: Yugoslavia was a candidate for ECOSOC as well as for the Security Council, and an unwritten rule would almost certainly keep it from being elected to both. The Soviet delegate opposed, but the Assembly proceeded to vote—and Yugoslavia was elected to ECOSOC.

But consider the voting on the American motion to proceed to the ECOSOC elections. Supporting the United States were twenty-five countries—all but three of the Latin Americans, plus Iran, Iraq, Iceland, Liberia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Nationalist China. In opposition were not only the Soviet bloc and Yuogslavia itself, but Britain, Canada, New Zealand, the three Scandinavian countries, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Israel, India, Burma, and Chile—twenty countries in all. Thirteen countries, including Australia, Turkey, and Indonesia, abstained. But a United States delegation spokesman said that the American representatives were "gratified" by the Philippines' standing in the voting.

The following day, the balloting for the Security Council vacancy was postponed until October 27. The United States may win this race, but at a cost that is obviously too high. It looks very much as if a good horse were being ridden to death.

PERFECT CIRCLE:

Back To Bayonets . . *by Walter Fall*

New Castle, Indiana

WHEN THE SHOOTING was over, eight persons lay wounded. Four were inside a small, bullet-pocked foundry operated by the Perfect Circle Corporation. Four more were in a group of a thousand labor demonstrators who milled angrily outside. And all over the nation shocked and curious stares turned toward a small, semi-industrial town in east-central Indiana—New Castle.

To a great many people the whole affair seemed almost old-fashioned. It had been more than a score of years since Walter Reuther and a small band of workers in Detroit's huge automobile factories fought bloodily with an armed brigade of Harry Bennett's guards on a foot bridge at the Ford plant. Since then, organized labor had become big enough to deal with big business on nearly equal terms. Since then, too, management had changed. Faced with labor organizations that knew what they wanted, companies found themselves forced to recognize needs other than those of management. But a lot of that came a long time ago, and this was October 5, 1955. Why, then, all the shooting?

It was only the middle of the eleventh week of a strike of United Auto Workers-C. I. O. against Perfect Circle, one of the country's four biggest makers of automobile piston rings. Indiana has had many strikes, some not too long ago, that lasted much longer than eleven weeks. But Indiana had not, for a long time, experienced a strike involving two such bitterly obdurate parties. Speaking before the Illinois Federation of Labor, Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell looked toward New Castle and branded Perfect Circle "certainly not typical of management in America." On the other hand, Indiana's Governor George N. Craig, peering warily at the fracas in his own back yard, decided the union "hierarchy in Detroit" had quite obviously "usurped . . . the right of local determination."

New Castle itself was divided fairly equally on the issue. With the town and surrounding Henry County in the iron grip of martial law, people blamed both the company and the union and watched dejectedly as fresh-faced youngsters of the Indiana National Guard cruised the streets in jeeps, bayonets fixed.

NEITHER Perfect Circle nor U. A. W.-C. I. O. were newcomers to New Castle. The company, headquartered only twelve miles east in Hagerstown, had started the New Castle foundry when Calvin Coolidge was in the White House. Nine years before the establishment of the foundry the firm had begun specializing in piston rings. Then, as now, the company was run largely by a family named Teetor. Three of its members had helped found the company—which made railway pedal cars at the start—that later became Perfect Circle.

President of the firm is Ralph Teetor, a totally blind, rock-jawed engineer who would rather tend to machines and production and leave personnel matters to someone else. The someone else is William B. Prosser, vice-president and general manager, a quick-thinking, polished businessman with an eighth-grade education who worked his way to the Perfect Circle top echelon through the sales division.

The United Auto Workers made its entrance into Perfect Circle through the gate of the New Castle foundry. Five years before it was to win an election at the Hagerstown mother plant, the U. A. W. gained bargaining rights at New Castle. That was 1937 and the start of a series of in-again-out-again shuffles that gave foundry workers a different bargaining agent almost every year. In 1938 U. A. W. was voted out and an independent union formed. In 1939 U. A. W. got back in. Two years later, in the first foundry vote supervised by the National Labor Relations Board, the auto workers' union lost. But a year after that—a year of a determined organization efforts—U. A. W.-C. I. O. regained and held bargaining rights at New Castle and swept the Hagerstown plant, too.

Top union man on the scene at Perfect Circle now is William F. Caldwell, a mustachioed, well-groomed resident of New Castle who services Indiana and Kentucky plants as an international representative. The impact of his personality on recent negotiations with Perfect Circle is best told in his own words: "In future negotiations I probably will back away from participation. I know very well how the company feels toward me. Ultimate agreement is more important than my joining in the talks personally." In press conferences Caldwell has left no doubt that he feels the entire strength of the international union is behind him. He has hinted broadly that Walter Reuther telephones often, that a $25,000,000 fund backs up the campaign at Perfect Circle.

Over Caldwell is Raymond Berndt, regional director of the union. A personal participant in earlier bargaining with Perfect Circle this year, he blew up when Governor Craig clamped on martial law. "We're finished until the governor again becomes a human being. We're not going to negotiate with Sherman tanks and bayonets at our backs," he declared.

BEFORE the strike started July 25 at Perfect Circle this year negotiations had moved quietly but fruitlessly. On June 23, a month before the expiration date of separate one-year contracts at the four plants covered by U. A. W., union bargainers asked for a package much like that granted by Ford, General Mo-

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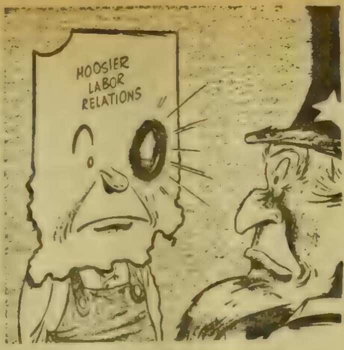
WALTER FALL is the pen name of a free-lance writer.

tors, and Chrysler. The union wanted supplementary unemployment pay, union shop, improvements in retirement and group insurance plans, compulsory arbitration, and a 6-cent general wage increase.

The company replied with an offer of a 10-cent wage boost, better retirement and group insurance plans—but no union shop, no layoff pay, no compulsory arbitration. With neither side giving more than an inch, negotiations bogged down completely. Still at loggerheads with the company when the contracts expired, the union struck all four plants: two at Richmond and one each at Hagerstown and New Castle. The company points out eagerly that a fifth plant, at Tipton, where workers are represented by United Steel Workers-C. I. O., was not struck. The steelworkers signed a new contract July 29 roughly on the terms of the company's original offer. No union shop.

A CONCERTED effort by both auto workers and steelworkers to get a union shop at Perfect Circle had been tried in 1948. An eight-week strike then got the unions only more money for their members. This year, in spite of union insistence that there are important issues besides union shop, publicity by Perfect Circle has laid the blame for the entire *impasse* squarely on that one issue. Vice-President Prosser pooh-poohed the suggestion that anything but the union's demand for the union shop had stalemated negotiations. The company was against compulsory arbitration, he said, but "the significance of the issue pales when you consider the union has not requested arbitration on anything for three years." He also claimed the company was "not against GAW in principle . . . and probably could have worked out something on that."

Early in the strike, with all four plants almost empty, the union altered its wage demand. Instead of 6 cents it asked for 20 cents and called the 10-cent company offer "much less than other big piston-ring companies have given this year." Perfect Circle retorted that its competitors all settled for 6 and 7 cents. The U. A. W. quickly pointed out that all the other companies had a union shop. Prosser told a news conference, "We'll never have a union shop as long as I'm here."



Fort Wayne Sentinel
The Not So Perfect Circle

Workers began filtering back to the struck plants. The Richmond factories started machining and casting operations again, Hagerstown got its machine and plating works rolling, New Castle used white-collar workers and a few non-strikers to resume foundry production. Bitterness in all three towns swelled in proportion to the production reports issued by the company. It started with shouts and threats from both sides as non-strikers drove through picket lines. Soon non-strikers began reporting rocks thrown through the windows of their houses at night and paint smeared on their cars.

Perfect Circle charged the union with intimidation. The union shot back that it looked like the company had hired goons to make the union look bad. Beatings, shotgun blasts at more homes, and rocks through more windows followed at an ever-quickening pace. Then mass violence hit New Castle.

On August 15—the strike was three weeks old—more than a hundred strike sympathizers stormed the foundry gates, stoned a busload of workers rolling into the plant, and overturned four parked cars. Company observers said they did not see one foundry employee among the throng of rioters. Cars with out-of-county and even out-of-state license plates were parked in clusters a block from the plant, they claimed.

State police swooped down on New Castle. Nine demonstrators were arrested but later released when the county prosecuting attorney refused to file charges. He claimed the company had "failed to take adequate action at the plant to prevent violence." He said Perfect Circle had not helped local officials file contempt-of-court charges against pickets. The company earlier had got a court order banning mass picketing.

Governor Craig, worried because the squads of state police needed at New Castle and Hagerstown were jeopardizing his traffic-safety program, called company and union representatives to his office. Pressing both sides for a promise that they would do all in their power to prevent more violence, the governor withdrew state police—but alerted the National Guard.

Threatened with martial law, New Castle quieted down. Sporadic violence at the homes of non-strikers was officially overlooked. Almost a month dragged by. Two state-sponsored truce talks ended in deadlock when the company announced that employees at its Richmond and Hagerstown plants had petitioned the N. L. R. B. to decertify U. A. W. as their bargaining agent. The company said it could not negotiate at plants where union representation was in doubt. The governor said it could. The union said it would bargain for all four plants at once or not bargain at all.

THEN mass picketing completely shut the New Castle plant for a week. No move was made to enforce the court order against mass picketing. The plant manager visited his foundry by helicopter. Union officials charged he took a load of guns into the building. First action by the city of New Castle came when police came on the scene with two trucks, loaded docile pickets, and roared off toward the lockup. Fifty persons were charged with "rout and riot." The foundry opened for business again.

Eight days later—October 5—rumors were rife in New Castle about a labor "demonstration march" downtown. The company had heard the rumors the night before and bought six more shotguns to add to the plant armament. At nine that morning 148 persons were in the plant when a solid phalanx of demonstrators marched down quiet Plum Street toward the foundry gate. City police retreated inside the plant. Demonstrators threw rocks at plant windows and started shaking the heavy steel-wire gate. It gave way and more than a dozen shouting men moved toward the foundry's front door, overturning a parked car in their path while an estimated 1,000 other demonstrators stayed outside the fence, watching.

From a second-floor window in the foundry a shotgun blasted at the men inside the fence. Other blasts came from other windows. The crowd fell back and someone among the demonstrators returned the fire. For two hours company men and union men traded shots. Each took pictures of the other's snipers shooting from cover. Then 200 state police converged on New Castle, threw a flying wedge of troopers through the demonstrators, confiscated forty guns and an assortment of twenty-five clubs which the company admitted it had made "for the women to protect themselves with."

Lieutenant Governor Harold Handley, political foe of Governor Craig, rushed to the scene of the battle. He talked to both company men and union men and arranged a truce meeting for the next day. Satisfied that he, and the state police, had the situation well in hand, Handley returned to Indianapolis. But Governor Craig, fishing off the coast of Florida, refused to believe any situation was well in Handley's hands. He long-distanced an order for the National Guard to move in. It did, 600 strong with tanks and machine guns. Taverns were closed. A curfew was placed on the town. A little later more troops moved into Hagerstown and Richmond.

New Castle's Mayor Paul F. McCormack looked at his once-peaceful town of 20,000 and sadly called it "the blackest day since the 1917 tornado." A Guard colonel ran the town from a command post in the city council's chambers. With tanks in its parking lots, the New Castle foundry reopened for production.

For a lasting truce, the only break in sight is the possibility of an N. L. R. B. election to determine if the U. A. W. really does have a majority in Richmond and Hagerstown. An election could pave the way for new negotiations.

ADVERTISERS ANONYMOUS

That $2.95 Magazine . . *by Kenneth Rexroth*

THIS IS an article about a magazine without visible advertising. A little over a year ago, I got quite a spate of lavish second-class mail announcing a new departure in American periodicals—a magazine of American history which would be scholarly and popular, splendid and learned, folksy and heroic. It would help me, "a citizen of standing in my community," to integrate and luxuriate myself in the traditions of America's glorious past. It promised to be twice as gorgeous as *Fortune*—the sort of thing I would only have to display on my twelve-foot inlaid guendilla-wood executive desk to make everybody believe I was a captain of industry. All this for the measly, picayune, and practically embarrassing pittance of $12 a year, $2.95 per single copy.

Sometime previous there had been a considerable rumpus—noisier, to be sure, in the newsweeklies than in the scholarly journals—about the rehabilitation of the business community in American history. It wasn't hard to put two and two together. I didn't send a subscription.

Now a year has rolled around. A volume of *American Heritage* is complete. Print order for the fifth issue, according to a publicity flier, was 107,000 copies. This is a lot of magazines at $2.95 each.

I have them all stacked before me. I've read every word. I'm afraid it has been a distasteful assignment. One of the most frightening things about the commercial culture of America is that it is slowly declining by its own standards. As the creative sources are stopped up by money, the derivative commercial channels slowly run dry. Grade B movies, fashion drawings in newspaper display advertisements and in women's magazines, radio and television programs, all cannibalistically feed on their own kind—having eaten up the missionaries—and slowly die of what the philosophers call a vicious infinite regress.

American Heritage might have made something out of the popularization of American history in the days when the great Socialist, Populist, and muckraking traditions ruled the academy. Certainly lots of non-controversial, amusing, and interesting stuff was turned up in the process of exploring the rise of American civilization, the great American fortunes, the robber barons.

Rough-hew it how you will, the rehabilitation of the business community just isn't good copy. From any point of view, the first thing wrong with *American Heritage* is that it isn't interesting. The second thing wrong with it is that it's badly written. These rehabilitators can't write like Gustavus Myers or Matthew Josephson. They write as though they were holding down a job—essentially a job of adjusting American scholarship to the values and lingo of "the media"—which, of course, are adjusted to what pays the bills, the advertising.

There is a widespread notion that the deliberate commercialization of culture as near to its source as possible—in literature and scholarship—is something that used to be true in the bad old days of Upton Sinclair and is no more. But "The Brass Check" is just gold-plated, and "The Goose Step" has been embroidered with fancy figures from the peacock strut and the turkey trot. These are still the bad old days.

With few exceptions, the style of *American Heritage* contributors

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KENNETH REXROTH, author of many books of poetry, conducts a radio book-review program over station KPFA, San Francisco.

varies from the pseudo wise-guy argot of a *Collier's* expose to the drab pedestrianism of *True Detective*. A large proportion of the articles are specifically concerned with the robber barons. At times the attempt to portray these Simon de Montforts as St. Benedicts and Aeneas Silviuses gets pretty funny. Here are some titles: To the Farthest Part of the Rich East (on the Salem merchants); Chateau Builder to Fifth Avenue; James Gordon Bennett—Beneficent Rascal; Henry Ford—A Complex Man (this masterpiece of subtle humor, all of it skilfully adjusted to the sly whimsey of the title, is by no less than Allan Nevins himself, often known affectionately as the Nicholas Murray Butler of the 1960's); and, last, again with an introduction by that irrepressible old card, Mr. Nevins, The Man Who Gave Away Rockefeller's Millions: The Memoirs of Frederick T. Gates. Ivy Lee, the "onlie begetter" of all his stuff, will probably disappear as totally from American history as Trotsky has from Russian.

You can't blame the boys for not trying. If the robber barons can be rehabilitated, by God they'll rehabilitate 'em. But somehow, when you have to read it all at one gulp, an awful suspicion comes over you. Somebody is being kidded. Somebody's leg is being pulled. The editors? The heads of college history departments? The boards of regents? Or are they all having a hilarious time kidding one another?

All this is to be expected. A number of articles reveal a rather startling development—the great tradition of "Red Rock," "The Clansman," "Gone With the Wind," and the *Kenyon* and *Sewanee* reviews, has been adopted as an integral part of this rehabilitation. The period of Reconstruction after the Civil War is portrayed as a reign of terror, corruption, and ignorance in the South. And the fathers of Reconstruction, the Radical Republicans, are shown as brutal and vindictive demagogues. All this reduces history below the levels of the old silent movies, "The Birth of a Nation" and "Scaramouche." Even the word "radical" is used as though it meant what it means today, and Tad Stevens, Butler, Stanton, and their associates are portrayed not by photographs but by drawings which resemble nothing so much as one of William Gropper's dimmer views of the elder Morgan or the elder Rockefeller.

The poor bleeding South and its evil violators appear in every issue in one guise or another. What this means is that the American business community fears its own radical founders almost as much as it fears its contemporary and recently past "radical" critics. Of course there is not a word of truth in this thesis. The South was never better governed than under Reconstruction. the myth of the watermelon legislatures presided over by wicked carpetbaggers manipulating ignorant Negroes fresh from the cotton fields has been exposed again and again by reputable historians. I suggest that if the editors of *American Heritage* want some really exciting copy, they get hold of the collection of farewell speeches made by the last Negroes to sit in the nineteenth-century American Congress, and print them serially. Even today, I, for one, cannot read them without sobbing.

Had Reconstruction run its course, and the Negro obtained and held both land and the franchise, we would not have today the shame of the American Balkans to haunt us in international affairs. And we will never get rid of this shame until the South has produced a generation of Negro governors and Congressmen. This is not the American Negro in whom *American Heritage* is interested. The only Negro in the whole collection is an insane mass murderer in upstate New York, who is given a garishly illustrated article to himself, the point of which seems to be "Yo-all jes' doan' unnerstan how ta keep Negras in they place."

But the Negroes are not the only ones so represented. As a matter of fact, the magazine is given over almost entirely to rascals and mass murderers, politicians, generals, and the business community. George Washington Carver is not the only person to be snubbed. There are hardly any important figures from the humane history of America. This is an American heritage with which Whitman, Ryder, Melville, Frances E. Willard, Carl Schurz, or Charles Ives, let alone Robert Dale Owen or even William Penn had nothing to do. This is the "other America" in which you and I, thank God, do not live.

I THINK we can do without this American heritage. In fact, a good many of us are pretty sick having our noses rubbed in it by smart-aleck intellectuals who chatter fashionably about The Values of the Mass Culture. It is bad enough disguised as the "culture" the masses have to take and like or else, let alone when it masquerades as serious history of the country we love. We can get along without this *American Heritage*. In some peaceful and civilized future we will have to chronicle this era of Trimalchio's banquet. Then, like exhuming a dinosaur from a knuckle-bone, it will be possible to reconstruct every issue of this magazine down to the last comma. All we have to do today is save a bottle of foul air scooped from any one of several smoke-filled rooms—the steering committee of an advertising convention, the editorial conferences of a newsweekly, or the sessions of the combined publicity staffs of Checkers, the Wonder Dog.

BIOLOGICAL WARFARE

A New Pentagon Toy? . . *by Edgar Kemler*

Washington

IF atomic warfare is eventually toppled from its Pentagon throne, will biological warfare (or BW, as the brass hats call it) take its place? This is the dream of Major General William M. Creasy, the Army's chief Chemical Officer, who virtually says that while atomic warfare might mean two-way suicide, a well-managed BW campaign could mean one-way genocide. With it, he says, the United States could damage the enemy's "human element," his livestock, and his crops far more effectively than the enemy could ours.

Ten years ago, such a proposal would have been shocking. First, it suggests that we cannot coexist peacefully with the Communists without keeping some military rat poison ready at hand. Secondly, it suggests that our Pentagon leaders are the scientific counterparts of fourteenth-century witch doctors who professed to put poxes on undesirable individuals and plagues on unfriendly nations. Today, however, insofar as these objections are heard at all, General Creasy doesn't seem to mind. "To deny American troops the use of [such effective] weapons," he wrote recently, "would be an act of barbarism against our own people."

In Creasy's defense it must be explained that he is not only the spokesman but also the product of the Army Chemical Corps, which is the Pentagon's most frustrated outfit. Since its brief blaze of glory just after World War I, when it produced Lewisite, a poison gas more lethal than Germany's potent mustard gas, it has been continuously ostracized. One by one, all its horrors, including Lewisite, have been quietly shelved, until today it is concerned mostly with relatively innocuous smoke pots and flamethrowers.

Creasy holds no brief for gas, although the Chemical Corps still stockpiles both the offensive nerve gas and the defensive gas masks. But he can't understand why nuclear weapons which destroy both lives and property should be preferred to the shelved BW, which destroys lives but saves property. From the military point of view, he writes, "biological warfare is very much in the same class as the machine gun, the submarine, and the tank before their actual trial in war. All three were turned down by the United States authorities as being impractical until our enemies—or in the case of the tank, the British—demonstrated differently."

TO UNDERSTAND the real meaning of our BW superiority, one must first know something of BW itself. As General Creasy defines it, it is nothing more nor less than public health in reverse. That is, while public health strives to make common diseases rare, BW strives to make rare diseases common. One of its chief concerns, for example, is anthrax, a common but preventable killer in sheep and cattle but an extremely rare killer of men. Another is botulism, a once lethal kind of food poisoning, which has been virtually eliminated in this country by hygienic meat canning, but which might be revived by sabotage in the canneries. Still another concern is man's oldest and deadliest enemy, the plague, which comes in two forms — rat-carried bubonic plague and the air-borne pneumonic variety. Conceivably, the latter version could be revived here by enemy planes dropping aerosol bombs saturated with the appropriate germs.

The Russians are assumed to know as much about offensive and defensive BW as we do. However, because of our superior public-health facilities, meat canneries, water-purification systems, etc., we have a built-in BW defense which is the real key to our germ superiority. This superiority holds despite our swampy Southland, where the prevalence of *Aedes aegypti*, the yellow-fever carrying mosquito, would give the Russians their most favorable opening. In contrast to the hygienic United States, Red China is a potential pest hole, susceptible not only to a plague that would sicken or kill a fair percentage of its people but also to an air-blasting of its rice crops with fungus spores that would help to starve the rest. Indeed, had the Chinese not been so vulnerable to BW, they would not have gotten such a wide audience for their 1952 propaganda campaign blaming us for the typhus epidemic among their Korean troops.

On the other hand, if we are to exploit our BW advantage in fact rather than in fancy, if we are to convert this country into an infection center for the Communist world, we shall have to make our public-health system so airtight that it will be almost impossible to live with it. If BW becomes a conventional weapon, our diplomats might be required to wear germ-proof rubber suits whenever face to face with Iron Curtain diplomats, and our people generally would be forced to maintain air-raid shelters lined with the Chemical Corp's "diffusion board" which acts as a germ filter. Such extraordinary precautions might be required because BW is actually better adapted to cold war's silent sabotage than to hot war's noisy bombing. Should BW be approved in Washington, almost inevitably the silent battle would begin. Nor can there be much doubt that the highly health-conscious Americans would observe all the complex precautions, and more to boot. With the volatile health issue combined with the volatile security issue, hysteria would reign here as it has never reigned before.

So far as can be determined, none of the thousands of medical men who have helped perfect BW rejoices in Creasy's plan. Among other things, it would make them all violate the professional oath which

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EDGAR KEMLER frequently reports on the Washington scene for The Nation.

specifically enjoins them from wilfully killing their patients. Hitherto, BW has been considered as a weapon of last-ditch defense rather than as a weapon of choice. Since German saboteurs apparently infected United States cattle shipments to England with anthrax during World War I and Japanese savants killed several thousand Manchurians in a successful BW experiment in World War II, perfection of *defensive* BW was obviously required. As to offensive BW, the medics have reconciled themselves to it largely as a force for peace rather than as a possible weapon of war. On this assumption, which could be mistaken, they have made great and unheralded sacrifices. As of 1946, when the last BW report was published, sixty of the 4,000 doctors in the wartime program were sickened, though none fatally, by their own germ cultures.

So far the press has paid little attention to General Creasy's BW campaign, which he has conducted in frequent talks with the friendly chemical and pharmaceutical industries. Nor is this surprising, in view of the morale upturn induced by the Big Four conference. Yet Pentagon insiders predict that sooner or later BW will win recognition. This dire forecast is based on the Democrats' yearning for some absolute weapon against communism, as evidenced by their stubborn support of our declining margin of air superiority. Another possible straw in the wind is last year's unexplained hike of the Chemical Corps's research and development budget from $42,000,000 to $61,000,000. This budget includes not only BW research, but also, apparently, research for another activity that Creasy has alluded to as a remote possibility for the future: annihilation of the enemy by making his people temporarily insane. However these portents may be interpreted, as long as there is more drive for stockpiling the germs at the Edgewood, Maryland, laboratories than for outlawing them, the Pentagon prophets cannot be discounted.

COEXISTENCE AT WORK

Soviet-Finnish Relations . . *by Konni Zilliacus*

Helsinki

THE WORLD press showed a passing interest in the return of the Porkkala Peninsula to Finland by the Soviet government. After all, it is news in the "man-bites-dog" class when a great power returns a naval base to a small state. But the return of Porkkala is only the latest development in a strikingly successful peaceful coexistence relationship between the Soviet Union and Finland, that has grown from singularly unpromising beginnings. At this time, when the conditions of peaceful coexistence are the urgent concern of governments and public opinion, an ounce of Finnish-Soviet practice may be more illuminating than a ton of Western theory.

Finland has an anti-Russian tradition that stretches back to the pre-historic times when Finnish tribes repelled Slav raiders. During the "colonial" and "dominion status" centuries of Swedish rule, the Finns were in the firing line against Russia in innumerable wars. After the Napoleonic wars, Finland became an autonomous Grand Duchy of which the Czar was the Grand Duke. Successive Czars scrupulously respected the constitution of their tiny Grand Duchy. The relations between them and their Finnish subjects were excellent.

Trouble began in 1898, when Nicholas II initiated a policy of Russification. He met with tough and united Finnish national resistance. Russification stopped for some years after the abortive 1905 revolution. But it was in full swing again by 1914. It is not surprising, therefore, that there was a Jaeger battalion of Finnish volunteers in the German army on the Russian front in World War I, and that a large section of the Right in Finland looked forward to their country becoming a constitutional monarchy under a German prince. President Paasikivi, now eighty-five years old, who was a leading supporter of this policy, has since said that he made a mistake but that it was then impossible to foresee that a great power could collapse as completely as Germany did in the 1914-1918 war.

After the war Lenin freely conceded Finland the right to secede from Soviet Russia. But that did not obviate a civil war between the Finnish "Reds" and "Whites," in which the former received help from the Bolsheviks and the latter from the Germans. Today moderate Finnish opinion holds the civil war to have been a tragedy that could and should have been averted.

In the thirties, the Soviet government became alarmed at Hitler's threats and successive aggressions. They began to rearm and to urge their small Western neighbors to band themselves together in a defensive alliance against Hitler's Axis. But Polish proposals to that effect to the Baltic states and to Finland, as well as French Prime Minister's Barthou's similar plan for an "Eastern Locarno," were rejected.

Then the Soviet government asked the Finns to fortify some of their islands commanding the approaches to Leningrad through the Gulf of Finland. They offered, first, to supply the Finnish government free with all the material and, if desired, the technical aid necessary to do the job. Later, they offered to do it themselves for nothing and to turn over the completed fortifications to the Finns. These offers were rejected.

The second World War began. It

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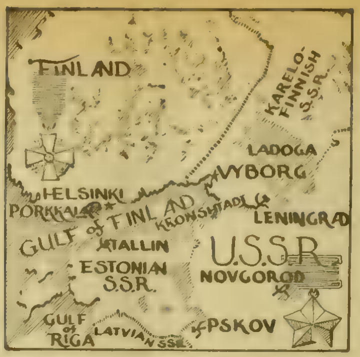
became clear that it was only a question of time before Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. The Russians began to arm feverishly. By this time they had come to the conclusion that the then rulers of Finland would not raise a finger to stop German forces marching through that country to attack Leningrad. The heavily fortified Finnish frontier was less than twenty miles from the U. S. S. R.'s second capital. They believed the Finnish General Staff was blindly pro-German and anti-Soviet, composed as it was of officers who had fought against Russia in World War I.

The Soviet leaders began pressing the Finns to agree to an exchange of territories whereby the Finnish frontier would be pushed away from Leningrad, and the Russians could fortify a couple of strategic islands on the Finnish side of the Gulf of Finland. The Russians offered two square miles on Finland's eastern frontier for every mile the Finns ceded to them. The two sides only just failed to reach agreement. According to the account of events given me by an old friend who was in the Finnish Foreign Office at the time, the majority of the Cabinet actually decided to authorize the Finnish delegation in Moscow to come to terms. But the minister whose duty it was to see that the necessary instructions were dispatched belonged to the intransigeant minority. The telegram was never sent.

TWO wars followed: the winter war in which Finland fought alone, and the summer war in which it fought, reluctantly and in two minds, as the ally of Hitler. The Russians paid heavily in the winter war for the delusion that the Finnish workers would rise and welcome the Soviet force as liberators and class allies. Instead, the Finns fought magnificently, and unitedly.

At the end of the summer war Finland was a defeated and occupied enemy of the Atlantic Alliance, its fate left by the Western powers to the discretion of its Russian conqueror. That was the fearful price Finland had to pay for assuming in the winter war that a small state could pursue a policy of isolation, and for believing in the summer war that as in the first World War Germany would first beat Russia and then be beaten by the Western powers.



The Soviet government imposed a peace treaty that deprived Finland of more than one-tenth of its population, territory, and resources. Finland had to pay reparations in kind that imposed a seemingly impossible burden, and to lease Porkkala Peninsula, eleven miles from Helsinki, the capital, to the Russians for fifty years as a naval base.

"The Russians," a Finnish cabinet minister told me, "began by being tough and suspicious. They insisted on the prompt and meticulously exact fulfillment of all the onerous obligations we had been compelled to assume. But when they found they could rely on us to keep our word, they began to trust us. We, for our part, found that although they were hard bargainers, the Russians honored their side of any bargain they made. The two sides began to respect and understand each other."

Right at the start something happened that cheered and encouraged the Finns: In 1945 the Finnish Communist Party was strong in the trades unions and could command a lot of votes. The majority of its leaders were "moderates" or "national" Communists, and its official policy was to stand on its own feet and not solicit help from the Russians. But some leaders were all-out Stalinists. They told the Russians, "Give us a leg up and we'll be in the saddle."

"At that time," said my Finnish friends, "we were almost starving. If the Russians had told us they would give us food provided we took the Communists into the government and gave them certain key posts we could not have refused. Instead, they let us have the food on reasonable terms, with no political strings attached. That killed the possibility of revolution. And they told the Finnish Communists, 'No. We shall not help you into power. For if you have to carry water to the well, the well won't hold water.' "

The incident seemed to the Finns to prove what their grand old man, Paasikivi, had been saying all along: "The Russian interest in us is purely military and defensive. Once they are satisfied that it is a cardinal principle of our policy never to join in any combination of states hostile to them and to defend our territory and independence against any encroachment, they will not interfere in our internal affairs."

Nor did they. At the outset the Finnish Communist Party was a serious rival to the Social Democrats for trade-union and working-class leadership. The Social Democratic Party split: a small left-wing minority held that since Finland must pursue a policy of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, they ought to work together with the Finnish Communists—and joined them in the Communist-led "People's Front." The Right-and-Center majority took the line that since they would have nothing to do with the Finnish Communists, it was no use attempting to cooperate with the Russians.

THE Social Democratic Party majority bitterly fought the Communists. They gradually ousted them from most of the trade-union leadership and whittled down their votes. In the process the majority found, to their surprise, that the Finnish Communists got no help from the Russians. And the left-wing Socialist minority became disillusioned with their Communist bedfellows and either drifted out of politics altogether or found their way back into their own party. "Today," said a Finnish Social Democrat friend, "we are united because the Right knows we can and should be friends with the Russians, and the Left realizes we can't cooperate with the Finnish Communists. So today we, like all other parties, take the Paasikivi line in foreign affairs. That is now national policy. But at home we are out to beat the Communists all ends up. We are doing it too. They have full political liberty. They still have forty-five deputies out of 200 in the Chamber.

But they are well on the way out."

In economic matters there has been a similar evolution. When the Russians found that the Finnish economy was almost breaking under the strain of reparations payments, they lightened the toll by prolonging the period of payment. When reparations were finally paid off, the Finns found themselves with engineering works and shipbuilding yards expanded far beyond their needs and dependent almost wholly on imported raw materials. The Russians saved what might have become an awkward situation by continuing to place large cash orders for the ships, machinery, etc., that used to be delivered to them as reparations.

Finnish-Soviet trade is now ten times what it was before the war and expanding rapidly. It is today more than three times greater than in 1925. Under the new trade treaty it is expected to expand even more.

But all this does not mean any weakening of Finland's traditional ties with the West. For the country is a Scandinavian-type, modern, welfare-state democracy, with a powerful trade-union movement and Social Democratic Party. The Western powers very quickly ceased to regard Finland as an ex-enemy. They helped Finland, with credits for buying raw materials and machinery, to make her reparations payments. Britain still is Finland's best customer, although the U. S. S. R. runs a close second.

The Soviet-Finnish treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance that was signed in 1948 has now been prolonged for twenty years and indefinitely thereafter unless denounced by either side. The Finns do not regard it as committing them to fight in any war in which the Soviet Union might be engaged, but rather as obliging them to defend their own territory against any power at war with the Soviet Union, and if necessary, to accept Soviet help for the purpose.

The Finns are devoutly thankful that Sweden refused to enter NATO. The Swedes say, "If we had yielded to American blandishments and pressure and entered NATO, we should have had American bases on our territory. Then the Russians would have built bases in Finland, and we two would have been occupied by hostile great powers glowering at each other across the Gulf of Bothnia."

Both Swedes and Finns ardently wish that the United States, which in their view strong-armed Denmark and Norway into NATO, would let them go, so that the four Northern countries could form a "peace and third-way" group in their corner of Europe.

LORDS VS. COMMONS

The Margate Conference . . *by Michael Foot*

Margate, England

AFTER THE defeat of British Labor in the general election of May some expected that Labor's annual conference here this month would be forced to take a series of important decisions. The rumor ran that Mr. Attlee was willing to retire or that a few of the most powerful trade-union leaders might be eager to see him go; they wanted a more energetic opponent of Bevanism firmly in the saddle.

Another major disturbance was expected in the party's organization. Soon after the election Harold Wilson was appointed with three others to conduct an investigation into the way in which Labor's machine had operated. His report, produced a few days before the conference, was a devastating exposure of how hopelessly inadequate that machine had proved to be. Above all, it revealed that Labor had shown itself weakest at the point where it was previously considered most strong. The number of voluntary workers was much smaller than the party had been able to recruit at previous elections. This conclusion obviously affected issues of policy as well as those of organization. How could Labor find a new policy to inspire its own followers and the electors? Would a real start in this task be made at the Margate conference?

No one could suppose from the first day or two of the conference that these big issues were to be tackled. Delegates poured out of the conference hall declaring that it was the dullest meeting in living memory. Every conclusion seemed foregone. The right-wing leadership was in full command—the same leadership which had dictated the strategy of the election campaign. Labor's defeat at the election was due to the fact that a million and a half potential Labor voters were not interested enough to come to the polls. The same listlessness was evident among party delegates.

Then suddenly, in one dramatic moment, the conference was stirred into life. A debate was taking place in private session on the Wilson report. One or two speakers suggested that Labor's defeat was due not to defects in organization or policy but to the divisions in the party provoked, as they alleged, by Aneurin Bevan and his supporters. That morning the result had been announced of the contest for party treasurer between Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. Bevan. The figures showed an overwhelming victory for Mr. Gaitskell. They showed, further, that almost every trade-union executive had lined up in support of Mr. Gaitskell. That morning many persons believed that Mr. Bevan's fortunes had sunk lower than at any time since he became a prominent figure in the Labor movement. This was the atmosphere when Mr. Bevan himself intervened in the debate.

The precise words used by Mr.

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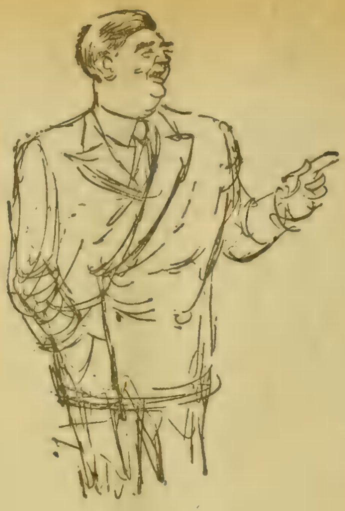
Bevan are not reported, for the debate took place in secret session. His achievement was that in fifteen minutes he put the all-powerful right-wing leadership on the defensive and pinned on them the responsibility both for Labor's electoral defeat and for the general *malaise* within the party. He bitterly recalled the attempt of Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. Morrison a few months before the election to expel him from the party altogether. He assailed the manner in which the few all-powerful trade-union leaders had used their authority without any understanding of the feelings of the rank and file. The boldness of his counterattack produced the biggest ovation of the conference.

The men and women who cheered him were the representatives of the constituency Labor parties throughout the country. It is from this source—the most active Labor Party workers in the country—that Mr. Bevan has derived his strength. Year after year they elected him until last year he decided to challenge Mr. Gaitskell for treasurer, a post wherein the union votes are decisive. Once again at this conference the constituency parties showed their strong left-wing feeling by voting almost exclusively for left-wing candidates for the party's National Executive. The tremendous response to Mr. Bevan's intervention was further proof that there has been no decline in his rank-and-file following.

AFTER the storm produced by his speech the conference took on an entirely new character. Both Mr. Morrison and Mr. Gaitskell protested strongly that their aims were as much Socialist as Mr. Bevan's. Both defended the measures of public ownership taken by the Labor government when it was in power and the inference at least was that Labor's next program would incorporate a considerable extension of the same principle. This has hitherto been one of the points of argument between the right wing and the Bevanites. If the word could be taken for the deed, it might be assumed from the Executive's reaction to Aneurin Bevan's intervention that the whole party had taken a shift to the Left. But these appearances are not consolidated in practical decisions. And meantime the responses of several of the trade-union leaders have revealed a very different temper. Some of them were quickly expressing the view, privately if not publicly, that a mistake had been made in not expelling Aneurin Bevan from the party at the last opportunity and that an occasion should be found for resorting once more to this extreme solution.



Aneurin Bevan

THE MARGATE conference has illustrated once again the constitutional problem facing the British Labor Party. In the early years and indeed right up to the thirties the strength of the Labor movement was solidly based on the trade unions. They provided most of the money and they also commanded all the votes required to elect Labor's National Executive. Then an innovation was made which gave to the constituency parties the right to elect directly seven out of the twenty-seven members of the Executive. Since then the importance of the constituency parties has greatly increased. Not only do they do most of the work at both Parliamentary and municipal elections; recent research has also proved that, contrary to the popular belief, they raise more of the party's money than is provided by the trade unions. Logically, therefore, the party constitution should be altered to give the constituency parties a bigger voice on the Executive. But, naturally enough, the plainer this logic becomes, the more the trade-union executives are resolved to retain their power. It is hard to see how the difficulty can be overcome, because the controllers of the present system gain the profit from it.

The trade-union bureaucracy constitutes a kind of House of Lords in the Labor movement in contrast with the constituency parties, which may be compared with the House of Commons. On the National Executive the two houses meet in joint session, but the vote of the House of Lords outnumbers that of the House of Commons by five to one. It is this feature of the situation which gives rise to the strange contrast between the overwhelming rank-and-file support for Aneurin Bevan and the well-nigh complete rejection of his policies, both foreign and domestic, in the official program of the party.

Fortunately the analogy in one vital respect is not accurate.

An increasing number of disputes have arisen in various unions in recent years over the manner in which union executives have cast their votes at Labor conferences. Union executives, both in making their choice of candidates for the National Executive and in casting their votes on policy issues, can act without consulting their union rank and file. Often this is unavoidable: Full union conferences cannot be summoned frequently to decide on every issue and the union executives must inevitably make their interpretation of union policy. It is also true that the constitutions of some of the unions cannot be described as genuinely democratic; the bias is strongly in favor of the permanent officials.

Yet, when allowance is made for all these facts, it remains true that a strong protest from the union rank and file could change the policy of the executives. The future of Bevanism in the Labor Party depends on whether that protest will be forthcoming in at least some of the unions. If it does not come, the effect on Labor's future may be serious. For, if the constituency parties cannot find allies amongst the trade unions, the frustration in their midst which played a major part in the party's electoral defeat may grow more severe. If Labor is to be able to build a more democratic society it will need to show first that it is not afraid of democracy in settling its own affairs.

BOOKS

Happy Hunting Grounds

BIG WOODS. The Hunting Stories of William Faulkner. Random House. $3.95.

By Carlos Baker

FAULKNER and Hemingway, America's two Nobel-prize winners in the field of fiction, would both rather hunt than eat, provided they can eat after hunting, and write about it a little later on. Their work is never so idyllic, so nostalgic, so full of a sense of the good earth's teeming foison, her unremitting plenitude, as when they speak of the pursuit of game among the mountains, the streams, and the big woods from Africa to Michigan, to the far west, or down in the rich delta of the state of Mississippi.

The idyllic quality arises from their evident belief in the nobility, bravery, and mystery of the wild creatures who serve as quarry, or on another plane, as totems; and from their love of the mode of life which the pursuit of game engenders and fosters—excitement, endurance, humility, humor, rough comradeship or rivalry among men who share the vacation spirit, the sense of pastoral renewal in the primitive conditions of tent camp or hunting lodge. The nostalgia comes from the shared convictions of both writers that the happy hunting-grounds are fast vanishing, swallowed up or cut down by the onslaughts of materialist civilization, so that this last of the frontiers grows steadily farther and farther away. In sundry ways, but chiefly through the machinations of the lumbermen and the land grabbers, the idol of Mammon is inexorably banishing the idyll of the Big Woods. All things are a flowing, all good things are going, runs the rhyme. Among these are the wildernesses where game still abounds, where nature still natures, where men may go for annual rest and for refreshment, including Bourbon.

This double sense of the value of the hunting-grounds and their imminent final destruction is what gives Faulkner's hunting stories, now assembled in a single handsome volume, their considerable emotional impact. But this is only one side, the upper side, of the total effect. Under the surface opposition stretches the vaster ground of Faulkner's moral and metaphysical belief: that the destroyer, whether hunter or waster, ultimately defeats himself, and that his destruction has been implicit in the scheme of things since the Creation. Faulkner's hunter-philosopher Ike McCaslin recognizes the double aspect of the ethical and metaphysical problem. His argument almost seems to combine Plato's myth of the creation with the thought of the Pentateuch on man's freedom of choice and his accursed capacity to choose wrongly. God made the Eden-like wilderness for man's use and enjoyment. Owing to the basic recalcitrance of things, God did not wholly succeed in creating man in the ideal image, but He granted man both power and free will. "I reckon," says Ike McCaslin, that God "even foreknew the end." But God said, "I will give him a chance. I will give him warning and foreknowledge too, along with the desire to follow and the power to slay. The woods and the fields he ravages and the game he devastates will be the consequence and signature of his crime and guilt, and his punishment." So McCaslin on man's choice. And on man's fate: "No wonder the ruined woods I used to know don't cry for retribution. The very people who destroyed them will accomplish their revenge." For the destroyers are already accomplishing, by and upon themselves, the vengeance the woods might seek if it were possible or necessary. Implicit in the very act of destruction are the seeds which, growing up, will destroy the destroyer.

The four tales and five interludes which make up the present volume have all appeared before in one form or another. The tales are The Bear, The Old People, Bear Hunt, and Race at Morning. The last of these is a new story, first published last March in the *Saturday Evening Post*. Three of the interludes are extracts, considerably revised, from the short stories Red Leaves, A Justice, and Delta Autumn. The other two, on the state of Mississippi and its great river, are made over from the *Holiday* magazine article of April, 1954. Out of this apparent diversity, Faulkner and his editor have achieved a real unity, both of theme and development. By dint of rearrangement, rewriting, and the new emphases produced by the modifications and interactions which each of the tales and interludes exerts upon the others, the book emerges as a fresh entity, a piece of the huge acreage of Faulkner's heart never fully visible, because never surveyed and ridden over in quite this way before.

THE BOOK has both range and concentration. The range is in time, the slow swing of the seasons from November round to November, the deliberate spiral down the years from Reconstruction to modern times. When General Compson and Major De Spain vanish from the scene, a new generation is prepared to make, as eagerly as ever, the annual autumnal pilgrimage to the big woods. And over their shoulders other generations still to come, as over De Spain's shoulder the old ghosts of the Chickasaws move through the flickering woods. Boon Hogganbeck and his dog Lion may kill the legendary bear. But other creatures as noble and as elusive will arise, like the huge stag in Race at Morning with a set of antlers like a rocking chair. If they survive this November, all the better. "Which would you rather have?" cries the hunter to the tyro. "His bloody head and hide on the kitchen floor yonder and half his meat in a pickup truck on the way to Yoknapatawpha County, or him with his head and hide and meat still together over yonder in that brake, waiting for next November for us to run him again?" The bear and the buck are the concentrators, unkillable, though killed; the spirits of this solitude, the unvanquishable geniuses of this place. That is why Ike McCaslin, who begins hunting on the under side of twenty, is still going back, as to a class reunion,

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when he has reached the upper side of eighty. For the forest is a timeless place arrested in the flux of time.

It is a grace note in a fine book that Edward Shenton has done the handsome decorations, as he did twenty years ago for Hemingway's "Green Hills of Africa." For those who remain, even in the face of these delights, apathetic to the genre of the hunting-story, the words of Boon Hogganbeck may be pertinent: "Them that's going, get in the goddamn wagon. Them that ain't, get out of the goddamn way."

The Leisured Masses

TIME FOR LIVING. By George Soule. The Viking Press. $3.

By Joseph Dorfman

SINCE the grim depression days, the American people have improved their material position so greatly that the emphasis placed on the magnitude and blessings of technological advance is outdoing the wildest fantasies of the Technocrats of the early 1920's and 1930's. This emphasis recognizes that man's destiny is in his own hands, rather than at the mercy of niggardly nature. But some of the popular accounts, emanating even from business circles, give the impression that the technological advance has solved all the economic problems of mankind, or at least that the American people are about to return to a garden of Eden, improved with all the gadgets of automation.

George Soule in his sprightly, slender "Time for Living" has undertaken the task of interpreter of the modern technological revolution to the American public. This is indeed fortunate, because the author has an exceptional capacity for popularizing trends in economics, ranging from technical economic doctrines to elaborate statistical studies. And having in recent years delved into economic history and the history of economic doctrine, he has the happy knack of placing his discussions in a historical perspective.

Mr. Soule, of course, takes account of the increased productivity per man hour in the United States, and after noting the fact that the industries increasing most rapidly are those producing goods for use in people's "leisure" or unpaid time, makes the significant point that one of the more important results of the advance of technology has been the sharp decrease in working hours. In fact, we can no longer speak of a leisure class but of the leisured masses. Increasingly, he finds, "workers will reward themselves with time rather than with extra goods, as technology piles up the possible profusion of goods by demanding less working time to make a given number of units." Thus the march of automation transmutes "technological unemployment" into "technological leisure." But what about the threat of another serious depression? Mr. Soule considers this an "eventuality that most economists regard as unlikely because of the increased knowledge of preventive measures and the apparent will to use them."

The problems that remain, according to the author, are the possible deleterious cultural effects of the division of labor and mass production that the machine technology is presumed to entail. Ever since the days of Adam Smith, the argument has been put forth that while the division of labor makes for greater production, it stunts and degrades the mental and social character of the workers. The answer, Mr. Soule says, lies in the fact that automation, unlike mechanization, tends to eliminate narrowing dull, routine operations and calls for the exercise of trained imagination and other creative faculties. The danger of increased vulgarization and commercialization of life may be lessened by the very growth of leisure time which undermines the domination of the market over cultural values. "As the United States has approached an adequate material base for a higher stage of civilization, the people, using market mechanisms themselves and without embracing socialism or any other named system, have emphasized a growing preference for non-market values." This they have done by reserving much of their unpaid time for noncommercial pursuits—hobbies, do-it-yourself activities, and especially the practice of the arts, intellectual pursuits, and cooperative or social activities. In fact, according to Mr. Soule, the development of technology with its "democratic leisure class," promises to bridge the gulf between the artist and the public.

IN THE first place, with the shortening of work hours, the creative person can take a paid job and have sufficient time and energy for his proper work. To be sure, the heavy costs of placing cultural products before the public is a barrier, because of the demands of mass production. But here, too, modern technology will make its contributions. For example, new printing devices already can produce neatly printed books in small numbers at negligible cost.

Thus, the machine promises to restrict business enterprise to its proper domain, that of effectively supplying the material foundations of existence at an ever decreasing cost in labor, and thereby permitting the masses to lead a life of gentlemanly leisure. In fact, it promises to revive the era when the "govern-

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Site

Out past the pier's splintered arm,
Beyond the alien sand of the beach
And the wanton gypsy dance of trash,
Past the point where the water curdles,
Then boils into foam among the rocks
Is the silence.
Here the sky is unbruised by clouds,
The drifting gulls seem pencilled in,
And the wind might be God breathing.
This is the cradle, the chapel, the grave.
This is the verge of peace.

EDWARD GRIMM

ing echelons of the new nation were largely recruited from the ranks of gentlemen," an era that came to an end when, according to Mr. Soule, the "vulgarity of American values" set in, during the time of Andrew Jackson.

Here, perhaps, Mr. Soule might have benefited from the perceptiveness of John Stuart Mill, whom he justly admires. Mill thought that the Jacksonian group was superior in statesmanship and political intelligence to its aristocratic contemporaries in England. But such minor controversial points in Mr. Soule's hopeful picture do not detract from the service which he has rendered in analyzing the effects of modern technology with its promise of a life of useful leisure for most if not all men.

Triple Tom

TOM BARBER. By Forrest Reid. Pantheon Books. $5.

By Jessamyn West

TOM BARBER, Tom Sawyer, Tom Brown: in the matter of his name, the hero of Forrest Reid's trilogy of boyhood, "Tom Barber," which is laid in Ireland, is in the great tradition of books about boys. But his name is about all that Irish Tom has in common with English Tom or Missouri Tom. Tom Barber is more closely related to another breed of boy, to the heroes of "The Wanderer," and Henry Williamson's "The Pathway," and above all to young Forrest Reid himself as portrayed in his autobiography, "Apostate." "Tom Barber" may be called the prose rendition of "Apostate," and those who come to the trilogy after or because of "Apostate" may feel that they have exchanged superb Irish whiskey for cambric tea—and an overly generous cup of it, at that.

"Tom Barber" is the account in three volumes of a boy's life between approximately the ages of ten and fifteen: a boy who loves his mother, is uneasy with his father, sings, sleep-walks, talks with animals, calls up angels when he needs them, and recognizes his own kinship with the Blakes. "Like the Blakes . . . and like me," he says of the uncle he seeks. A boy *like* William Blake is one thing; a boy who knows he is like Blake is another. But one of Tom's virtues is his desire for self-knowledge; and one of Reid's virtues as a writer lies in his ability to make us fond of Tom in spite of this rather precocious identification with the great. Huck Finn, for instance, may be in some respects like Thoreau, but we never have to listen to Huck's musing on the fact.

Of Reid's virtues, E. M. Forster, who writes an introduction to the trilogy, has much to say. Two of his statements interested me particularly. The first of these is this: "I remember Virginia Woolf's giving him (Reid) a trial and turning him down." The second observation is a summation of Tom's development. Forster says: "At the end of the trilogy he (Tom) grapples with that most intangible of all things—Time—and makes it talk sense."

I BRING these two statements into juxtaposition, though they interested me separately, because one would think, offhand, that Virginia Woolf, who was herself so accomplished a grappler with time, would have been more drawn to one who was able "to make Time talk sense." I am sure there are other reasons than those having to do with Tom's treatment of time, which caused Virginia Woolf to "turn down" Reid. But the reason *here*, for her refusal, is to be found, I think, in the "sense" Tom made time talk. Virginia Woolf was interested in time itself. Tom Barber didn't give a hoot about time, except as he was able to utilize it. What Tom Barber was interested in was something as intangible as time, however, and that is the ideal faithful companion; and he made "Time talk sense" by revealing to him the boy in his aged Uncle Stephen. It is this search for "a pal," not time, which is the theme of "Tom Barber," and while such a search is certainly characteristic of youth, yet the search may become cloying if we feel, as Virginia Woolf may have, that Tom, like his creator (I quote Forster now) "was not interested in maturity."

Deverell, the swarthy young poacher who confronts Tom in the second volume of the trilogy, the same young animal of bodily grace and instinctual innocence who often appears in the novels of Forster, asks Tom this question: "You ever had a pal, Mr. Tom?" Tom's answer to this is: "I don't know what you mean by a pal." The young poacher puts an end to this stalling by saying: "I mean what you mean." And Tom knows that he does.

Tom's search for a pal leads him through a companionship with dogs, talking rats, Pascoe, the wine merchant's son who, if short on magic for Tom, charms the reader, to the supernatural Gamelyn conjured up by Tom's imagination. Gamelyn first appears looking "rather lovely" with "hair the color of bleached ears of wheat" and "trousers through which his skin showed." Gamelyn tells Tom that he is an angel and Tom mutters, "I imagined a boy." From this dream Tom awakens staring "straight into the long, narrow face of an inquisitive old goat."

The second volume concludes with the final appearance of Gamelyn, now a young man. He puts to rout a tigerlike cat which has been frightening Tom, and sitting beside him Tom feels "a happiness no words can deepen." Fearing, rightly as it proves, that he'll never see Gamelyn again, Tom could cry but refrains because it would be useless, "unless he could be given the comfort, find the comforter he longed for."

In volume three, "Uncle Stephen," Tom, having been unable to find "the comforter" in animals that talk, in Pascoe, the ordinary boy, or Gamelyn, the angel, hunts for and finds him in a human being, his Uncle Stephen, who becomes, when Tom "makes Time talk sense," Philip, the boy Stephen once was. Tom, by this time an orphan (he has shucked off his parents between volumes, with no apparent sorrow), goes to live with this Uncle Stephen, a mysterious recluse, who, beautiful and learned, inhabits a beautiful and stately home. In Uncle Stephen's bedroom Tom finds "something wonderful," "a broken lovely fig-

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ure," which made Tom "ready to drop on his knees."

"Who is he?" Tom asks his uncle.

His Uncle Stephen tells him: "Hermes, 'he who cares for boys' . . . and you can be his young ram."

Thus Tom Barber's search ends.

The book's strength comes from the universality of its theme, its grace from the simplicity and humor of the writing; though it must be admitted that when the theme is being treated directly, Reid is humorless. Virginia Woolf must, in addition to other reservations I have mentioned, have been put off "Tom Barber" by the book's long-windedness, by the monotony of its pace—she who valued relevance and was in her own writing incandescent. A partial cure for the impatience which the reader may feel for what Forster calls the book's "puerilities and longueurs" is to be found by beginning the reading with the second volume, "The Retreat," going from there to the third, "Uncle Stephen," and concluding with the first, "Young Tom." Since Reid wrote the last book first, there is some justification in this recommendation—if justification is needed for a suggestion which may help readers, who otherwise might miss the considerable pleasures of this fresh and honest book, to find them.

Selected New Books

Oriental Miscellany

ONE MAN'S INDIA. By Arthur Stratton. Norton. $4. The author adds an interesting background of cultural lore to a personal travelog to compose a picture of the Indian people and of various towns, palaces, and temples across India. There is considerable preoccupation with sex symbols and relationships, and little attention given to contemporary Indian aspirations and orientations; and, while conceding beauty to the Taj Mahal, Arthur Stratton didn't much like it. Still, he professes to portray no more than "One Man's India."

JINNAH. Creator of Pakistan. By Hector Bolitho. Macmillan. $3.75. A picture of the extraordinary man who led the Muslim League to victory in the fight for an independent Pakistan is here drawn with careful scholarship and much literary skill. Mohammed Ali Jinnah's life history from World War I onwards, and in particular his relations with Gandhi and Nehru, made up an integral part of the contemporary history of India and Pakistan. Jinnah was arrogantly intellectual, outwardly cold, and inwardly lonely—a fascinating personality. As a leader, it was his unbending integrity, indomitable will, and sense of history that made him great. The well-known British writer's sympathetic description of Jinnah in the setting of India's recent convulsive history is distinguished biography.

JAPANESE AND AMERICANS. By Robert S. Schwantes. Published for the Council on Foreign Relations by Harper. $4. Dr. Schwantes made extensive use of both English- and Japanese-language materials for his detailed "case study of Japanese-American cultural relations," which covers a full century. Concerned necessarily with positive factors of cultural exchange, the study suggests a closer relationship than if due account had also been taken of such negative factors as conflict of American and Japanese policies regarding China, 1915-45, and the animosities of World War II—and after. But this is only a qualification which, once recognized, leaves a valuable and definitive work. The author himself does not stumble into wishful-thinking. Noting for the Meiji period that American influence in the vital field of Japanese political institutions and ideology was "at best superficial," at the end he poses the central question of the post-World War II situation: "What is Japan's position to be in a world of power struggle?", and gives the challenging answer: "Americans have not yet fully faced up to this question." Some day soon, they must.

STILL THE RICE GROWS GREEN. By John C. Caldwell. Regnery. $3.75. This polemic on Formosa and the "guerrilla islands" it holds off China's shores, and on Korea, is a lineal descendant of the author's "Korea Story." Caldwell continues his belaboring of the State Department, condemns a host of American writers, journalists, and newspapers, and has harsh words for Marshall, Attlee, Nehru, et al. His theme's compass is set by "the liberation of Asia." But, "Of what earthly value is backward Thailand. . .? Or the Philippines. . .? Or the divided French and the trade-minded, co-existence-dazzled British? Can anyone expect wobbly Japan . . . to play an active role in keeping Asia free?" Not all is lost: "The future history of Asia may now depend upon an alliance of Free Korean[s] and Free Chinese, fighting together against a common enemy." Yet he betrays an inner yearning that in that fight there might come "a bona fide attack by the free world," that in the end the United States would follow the lead of Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek.

O. EDMUND CLUBB

Art

YUGOSLAVIA. Medieval Frescoes. With an Introduction by Svetozar Radocic and a Preface by David Talbot Rice. New York Graphic Society. By arrangement with UNESCO. $15. A sumptuous publication of over thirty large colorplates, in the same format as the recent volumes on wall paintings in India, Egypt, and Australia. An important supplement to the coverage of this provincial but powerful Byzantine school is the recent Skira volume on Byzantine painting by André Grabar.

LEONARDO DA VINCI. By Ludwig Heydenreich. Two volumes. Macmillan. $20. One of the greatest living scholars of the Italian Renaissance here sets down his understanding of the most complex figure in the history of art. The text, written more than ten years ago, was published in German, but the edition was all but destroyed during the war. The present edition has been considerably revised and amplified. While the treatment of Leonardo's art is less profound than that of Kenneth Clark, to which the author pays high tribute, the book aims at a survey of all facets of Leonardo's genius, brought up to date in terms of modern knowledge. As such, it provides a fundamental contribution to learning.

SCULPTURE OF PRIMITIVE MAN. By Warner Muensterberger, in collaboration with Wendy L. Muensterberger. Abrams. $12.50. African Oceanic, northwest United State, and British Columbian art are surveyed in this beautifully illustrated volume, containing 136 large plates. Sculpture from Bali, Java, pre-Columbian Central America, and from Benin and Ife in Africa have been excluded because the cultures concerned cannot be termed primitive, or (in the instances of Benin and Ife) there is evidence of European influence The introductory essay of thirty pages is too brief to lift this book from the category of fine picture albums.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Films

Robert Hatch

TODD-AO is Cinemascope on a concave screen or Cinerama with one projector (no vertical cracks). I believe the film runs sideways and is oversize. Anyhow, the image is so very large that you want to be about a mile and a quarter away for the best effect. At "Oklahoma!" my seat was a good deal closer than that and I found myself examining the face of Shirley Jones feature by feature, the way you would pore over an aerial photograph of the Adirondacks. It seemed a pretty face and I was sorry it looked so often like a pink and white landscape.

"Oklahoma!" is *the* musical comedy of our day (unless you prefer "Guys and Dolls") and I would no more criticize it than I would poke fun at Florence Nightingale. The Hammerstein plot is distilled euphoria and the Rodgers score contains at least eight permanent additions to the whistling vocabulary of the nation. Fred Zimmermann has brought it to the screen with its stage virtues intact and with the addition of real fields of corn, crowds of spirited horses and picturesque cows, stimulating sky effects, and other incidentals possible to the movies.

But the screen is not the stage and two hours and twenty minutes of edible technicolor is too much. I was upset to discover that long stretches of "Oklahoma!" were insipid, that a number of the "great moments" felt forced. The Agnes de Mille dances are ably planned and ably executed but innocent of invention. The songs are capably sung by a handsome cast, notably Gordon MacRae, Gloria Grahame, Gene Nelson, Eddie Albert, Charlotte Greenwood, and Miss Jones as Laurie. But when you can't stop a show by applauding such bully work, the heart is gone out of musical comedy. No doubt the picture is a good record for those who never saw one of the stage productions, but I hope they cut it—both length and price—before it goes out on the road.

The movie offers one disconcerting false note in the person of Rod Steiger, playing the villainous Jud Fry. Mr. Steiger is a strong performer who is particularly effective in roles calling for the taint of paranoia. His Jud seems to have strayed from a Faulkner novel; much too dangerous for this fairy tale.

THERE has been considerable criticism of the filmed version of "The Desperate Hours" on the ground that any reasonable man whose home had been taken over by dangerous criminals would appeal to the police as soon as he was given the opportunity. I don't remember that this objection was raised in connection with the play and I don't think it is just. Dan Hilliard is allowed to go down town, but his wife and children are kept back in the house. In effect, they have been kidnapped and the whole technique of kidnapping, like that of blackmailing, is based on the normal victim's reluctance to go to the authorities.

What seems to me a little implausible in the movie is the behavior of the principal gangster, Glenn Griffin. Paul Newman played the character on the stage as a half-crazy juvenile killer. Anything he did was plausible in the context of his delinquent megalomania. But Humphrey Bogart's characterization is of a much older, more experienced, cruel but smart desperado. He must have seen that he could not possibly stay in the house for more than a few hours without being trapped there. And the suggestion that he was delaying in order to get a shot at the sheriff who once broke his jaw won't hold water unless you assume that Griffin is insane. Bogart acts mean, but not a bit addled.

However, melodramas need not be entirely watertight and I liked the movie better than the play precisely because it claims to be nothing more than a melodrama. The play was embarrassed by arguments about good and evil and the meaning of decency and courage which seemed vulgar in the thriller setting. These overtones centered upon the sufferings of Dan Hilliard, husband, father, and suburbanite. He is played in the picture by Fredric March, a more shallow actor than Karl Malden, who first created the role. For that reason, perhaps, the Joseph Hayes yarn is now a good rouser with very slight ethical pretensions.

DESPITE long affiliation with Mayfair and Leicester Square, Terence Rattigan has the heart of a bridesmaid. He believes in destined meetings, fatal attractions, and the world well lost for a pair of grey eyes. He also believes in such gamy characters as the disbarred brain specialist turned bookmaker's clerk. Or perhaps he believes in none of these things, but prizes their general negotiability.

For such reasons, in any case, the profundity of his new picture, "The Deep Blue Sea" (a Rank production; wide-screen in color) is no more than skin deep and it is possible to get thoroughly annoyed by the solemnity of its housemaid aphorisms—I assume that nowadays housemaids have a smattering of clinical psychiatry. But the picture is blessed by the presence of Vivian Leigh and Kenneth More, who make a brilliant performance of their mismating, even though the author has made a shallow play of it. More is that bright type who has been bluffing his way with marvelous comedy through a series of British farces. Here he plays an old Spitfire boy—a devil of a fellow, happy as the day is long, who likes pink gin and a trim ankle—who suddenly finds himself tragically involved in emotions too deep for him. More is an actor who thus far has shown a narrow range, but he plays that range with complete absorption and never a false note from his toes to his eyebrows. It is hard to take your eyes off him—except, of course, to watch Miss Leigh, who handles her present role with a thought and passion it scarcely deserves. There are scenes between the two that would seem real and terrible if only you could not hear the nonsense they are made to talk.

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Theater

Harold Clurman

THE NEW season has begun well. Craftsmanship has been on an impressive plane and content unconventional. In the case of the French pantomimist, Marcel Marceau, who began a limited engagement at the Phoenix and carried on with it at the Barrymore, the craftsmanship is altogether exceptional and the entertainment value of a rare and exquisite quality.

I cannot, however, arrive at any complete estimate of Marceau's total contribution. Beside the craftsmanship displayed—and it is clear that Marceau's accomplishment in this regard is masterly—an artist must finally be judged by the whole weight of his work. By "weight," I mean the import, the human value, the significance in terms of living experience contained and conveyed in an artist's work.

What Marceau has chosen to show us here in New York seems to be only the lighter side of his repertoire. Lightness is in itself an inestimable attribute. Chaplin, to whom Marceau has been compared, is a great artist—but the lightness of Marceau's present program is often trifling. Many of the pieces are admirable exercises that may be studied with care by actors and dancers, and delightedly appreciated by theatergoers in general, but they have very little content beyond their brilliant execution. Some other pieces are pantomimic illustrations of cute observations, enjoyable for their graceful *bonhommie*, but without any substantial creative meaning. Only twice during the evening—in the abstract "Youth, Maturity, and Death" and in the number called "Bip and the Butterfly"—does Marceau transcend the dilettante diversion of his popular bill and enter the realm of poetic expression.

This leads me to believe that Marceau felt he ought to undertake his first American appearance with a showman's circumspection and wait for another occasion to reveal his more ambitious art. In the meantime, we can enjoy the small pleasures of his charming bric-a-brac as well as the picture postures of his partners Pierre Verry and Alvin Epstein, whose perfect miniatures seem to epitomize French art from the eighteenth century through to Daumier.

SALLY BENSON'S "The Young and Beautiful" (Longacre Theater) is a play based on short stories—more properly, a theme—by F. Scott Fitzgerald. It is a good theme and supplies the play's only serious claim to our attention. The play's central character is the daughter of wealthy, conventional parents in the Chicago of 1915. She is spoiled, well-housed, and basically unloved. She is imbued with a romantic imagination of a kind which might be labeled American movie baroque—a disposition caused by her incapacity to feel or to love. At the age of seventeen she is an emotional fossil.

This, I repeat, is interesting and pertinent material. But the play treats this material in a manner that is chiefly decorative cartoon, at best a study in manners. Even in this respect it is entirely superficial, the manners being reduced to a reproduction of dresses—some of them very pretty—furniture, and period gew-gaws.

The cast which acts the play—Lois Smith, Peter Brandon, Douglas Watson, James Olson—is ingratiating and talented, but the direction of the play—particularly in the case of Lois Smith—is so meticulously stylized that it emphasizes rather than tempers the sense of artificiality which is inherent in the script. Perhaps this is justified in view of the lack of real psychological texture in the writing. The director apparently chose to "sell" the play on the basis of its obviously attractive aspect, but for me this does not seem a rewarding approach: it makes the central personage a figurine rather than a character.

FRANCES GOODRICH and Albert Hackett have made a decent play from "The Diary of Anne Frank" (Cort Theater), and Garson Kanin, his associates, and cast have made it into an honorable production. I do not mean to qualify my praise of this offering by these adjectives, but to describe the qualities of modesty, wholesomeness, and dignity which characterize the play.

What "The Diary of Anne Frank" does is not to recount a harrowing episode in Nazi oppression, but to suggest the homely beauty of life among simple people under the most dismal conditions. The play is not deeply affecting or profound, but it is constantly sound and most sympathetically sobering. One watches it in the kind of gratifying relaxation one has in the company of honest and humane people who, whether they are glad or troubled, foolish or brave always remain entirely worthy and lovable.

GARSON KANIN has directed the play admirably, always keeping its line fluent in a manner which is never dull or undramatic. He has molded the excellent company—headed by a subdued and improved Joseph Schildkraut—into a fine ensemble. In Boris Aronson's consummate set, they keep the tone of the play warm without bathos.

Special mention must be accorded Susan Strasberg, who is not only particularly gifted, but gifted in a way which makes her something other than a child actress. Miss Strasberg is bursting with the potential of her imminent womanliness and acute sophistication. She already has a powerful voice and a manner of delivery which is not of her (teen) age. She possesses a dramatic sense which is not so much Anne Frank's as that of, let us (exaggeratedly) say, a Medea. To put it another way, she is still too young for the parts she is ideally capable of. Never has it been more suitably proclaimed: here is a *promising* actress.

SPACE does not permit me to expatiate on the special charm of Joyce Grenfell's evening at the Bijou Theater. Her manner is as affectionate, good humored, right as an English lawn, peopled with silly and yet somehow dear people whose absurdity one recognizes with a laughter which harbors no rancor. With slight external resources, Miss Grenfell manages a perfect technique in conformity with her gently intelligent and thoroughly engaging art.

Records

B. H. Haggin

COLUMBIA has issued three more records of Albert Schweitzer's performances of Bach's organ music. ML-5040 has the great Toccata and Fugue in D minor and Prelude and Fugue in A minor (of which the fugue without the prelude was on the earlier ML-4600), and the less interesting Preludes and Fugues in C major, C minor, and E minor (the "little" E minor); ML-5041 has the great Prelude and Fugue in B minor and "Dorian" Fugue in D minor, whose toccata I find less impressive, with the fine Prelude and Fugue in F minor and the less interesting Prelude and Fugue in A major; ML-5042 has the great Passacaglia, the engaging Prelude and Fugue in G major, and six chorale-preludes which include the very beautiful *"Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier"* and a beautiful variation from *"Sei gegruesset, Jesu guetig."* In his relation to music Schweitzer is a dedicated, and therefore a moving, personality; but in his performance of it he is almost entirely without the professional performer's art—the legitimate art of pacing, articulating, and shaping that is required for the effective presentation to a listener's mind of even a toccata or fugue of Bach. His tempos are excessively slow, his performances, as a result, often stodgy; and the Fugues in D minor and A minor on 5040 and concluding fugue of the Passacaglia on 5042 provide outstanding examples of this; but as it happens the slow tempos work better in the pieces on 5041 and produce more effective performances. The contrapuntal texture is sometimes blurred a little by reverberation in the Gunsbach church.

Fine examples of the performer's art are to be heard in Anton Heiller's excellently paced and articulated performances of the Toccata and Fugue in D minor and Prelude and Fugue in A minor on Epic LC-3132. In addition Heiller plays the engaging Prelude and Fugue in D major, the impressive Allabreve in D major, and the Prelude and Fugue in E major (also called the Toccata No. 3), which I find less interesting. The sound of the organ of the church in Thalwil, Switzerland, is very good; but again the contrapuntal texture is sometimes unclear from reverberation.

McIntosh 106, "An Adventure in High-Fidelity Organ Sound," is concerned, as its title indicates, with realistic reproduction of the sound of the Aeolian-Skinner organ in Calvary Methodist Church, Washington. This is impressively achieved; but reproduced also is the blurring of passage-work and counterpoint by reverberation, in the Fantasy of Bach's great Fantasy and Fugue in G minor—the fugue coming out clearer. The performance by William Watkins is a good one; and the record offers in addition Handel's Concerto Op. 4 No. 5, arranged for solo organ by Dupre, and pieces from the organ repertory by Campra, Langlais, Dupre, Brahms, and Whitlock.

Telefunken LGM-65030 offers Bach's Passacaglia, his "little" Prelude and Fugue in E minor, and his Fantasia in G major, played by Anton Nowakowski on the organ of the church in Soro, Denmark. The performances seem good; and I put it that way because they come off the record too blurred by reverberation too much of the time to provide satisfying experiences.

Nikita Magaloff's "Chopin Recital" on London LL-1189 comprises his performances of the Sonata Op. 58, the four Impromptus, and the Berceuse. These offer beautiful playing of the piano, and traditional treatment of the music—that is, playing with the rubato that at times is excessive and makes the music affected or sentimental. But even when it treats the music in this way the playing preserves a continuity of impetus and flow. The piano is reproduced very beautifully, but with some break-up of loud chords—e. g., in the march of the Impromptu Op. 36.

Four piano sonatas of Mozart—the fine K.332, K.282 with its astonishing Adagio first movement, and the uninteresting K.309 and K. Anh. 135—are on London LL-1212, played by Paolo Spagnolo with frequent disregard of Mozart's directions about loud and soft, but with

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unfailing good taste and excellent effect.

Concerning the performances of Mozart's Sonatas K.454 and 481 by Szigeti and Szell on Columbia ML-5005 I have the painful obligation to report what is painful to hear—Szigeti's pallid and quavering tone, which lacks not only all attractiveness to the ear but the tensile strength which used to make possible the dynamic and exciting inflection of phrase that is not to be heard in the present performances. And this feebleness is made worse by being exhibited in combination with piano-playing by Szell that is overpowering in its machine-tooled precision and almost oppressive energy.

Letters

Protest from Princeton

Dear Sirs: The undersigned, students and faculty members of Princeton University, want publicly to reject the standards of justice and the attitude toward humanity implicit in the recent Emmett Till incident in Mississippi.

Our outrage concerns not only the murder of a fourteen-year-old Negro boy. It is deeply disturbing to us as citizens of the United States to witness the resurgence of racism in its most virulent form, especially when it fouls the fundamental processes of justice.

The action conflicts with every tenet of the American heritage and will arouse decent people the world around. The unrepresentative fraction of our people who have participated in or will condone such action have presented a challenge to us both as human beings and as Americans. Such action is first of all amoral. Beyond that it endangers the standing of our country in the world community.

We vehemently reject a racial standard of justice and believe that a great number of our fellow Americans will support us.

We are committed to a faith in the capacity of men to rise above barbarity. In this spirit we place into public record our outrage over this act of our countrymen.

(Signed by a Group of Princeton
Faculty and Students)

Princeton, N. J.

Desegregation

Dear Sirs: I do not know if the press outside the South is reporting what is going on with reference to the desegregation of public schools. Some high officials of different Southern states have said that they aim to defeat desegregation by any method short of rebellion. One Texas legislator called upon the governor to convene a special session of the legislature to discuss pulling out of the union.

If one sends a letter of protest to the local papers, it is either not printed or it is garbled. In some cases the letters that are printed are answered by vilification and threats.

In the South the anti-Negro agitators assume that race relations is their private business and that no outsiders have the right to stick their noses in it. Before the Civil War many powerful people of the North of a reactionary state of mind aided the South and slavery, and it seems that there is a similar tendency at the present time.

D. W. KING

Dallas, Tex.

Reviewer's Rebuttal

Dear Sirs: Because I share the admiration with which Professor Leon Edel's other writings are generally regarded, I am sorry to be compelled by his letter in the August 27 issue about my review of his book, "The Psychological Novel, 1900-1950," to make at least one of my objections to it more explicit.

First, however, let me defend myself against some of the charges of misrepresentation brought against me. I cited as Professor Edel's the view that the modern psychological novel was "fundamentally a form of homely naturalism." In objecting to this phrase, he has chosen to stress the adjective and to omit the adverb. But when the qualification "fundamentally" is included, the remark is a fair reflection of Professor Edel's observations that the kind of fiction in question "begins as an attempt to click the mind's shutter," and that "the novelists begin as naturalists and realists—and end as symbolists!" He takes issue with my report that he regards Henry James as "the founder of the new technique," yet there are many expressions of this view in the book, for example: ". . . James was preparing the way for those who would follow and carry this technique [the point of view] to its logical conclusion: to record the action of the mind itself."

More seriously, Professor Edel has accused me of overlooking the chapter in which he distinguishes between the two critical terms, "stream of consciousness" and "internal monologue." But I did not mean, by referring to his "failure to differentiate" between the two, that an attempt had not been made. My impression that he had not succeeded in defining these terms was strengthened when I found him using them interchangeably (a practice he rightly objects to), and ignoring his own distinction by calling his general subject "the stream-of-consciousness novel." He gives four criteria for distinguishing "internal monologue" as follows: "The thought associations in this passage are rendered in a fairly logical progression; what we are given essentially is a chain of memory without intrusion of external stimuli and no representation of peripheral thought." Yet a few pages later he applies the term to a passage from Dujardin which is illogical, records present events, not memories, has many responses to external stimuli, and contains periphreal thoughts. It seemed plain that Professor Edel did not take his rather arbitrary criteria seriously.

I hope these remarks will make it clear that my review, whatever its deficiencies may have been, was concerned with the very book written by Professor Edel, and not with some other existing only in my imagination.

JACOB KORG

Seattle, Wash.

Cinemages

Dear Sirs: Vernon Young's excellent appraisal in the September 17 issue of our publishing efforts, "Cinemages 1-5," did not mention the fact that we are a non-profit educational society, independent of outside sponsorship and relying solely on voluntary contributions and/or membership dues. For those of your readers who may feel inclined to support the work of The Group for Film Study, or participate in what Mr. Young calls "a round table of film criticism" (and they would be most welcome), it may be of interest to know that our address is 3951 Gouverneur Avenue, New York 63.

GIDEON BACHMANN
Executive Secretary

New York, N. Y.

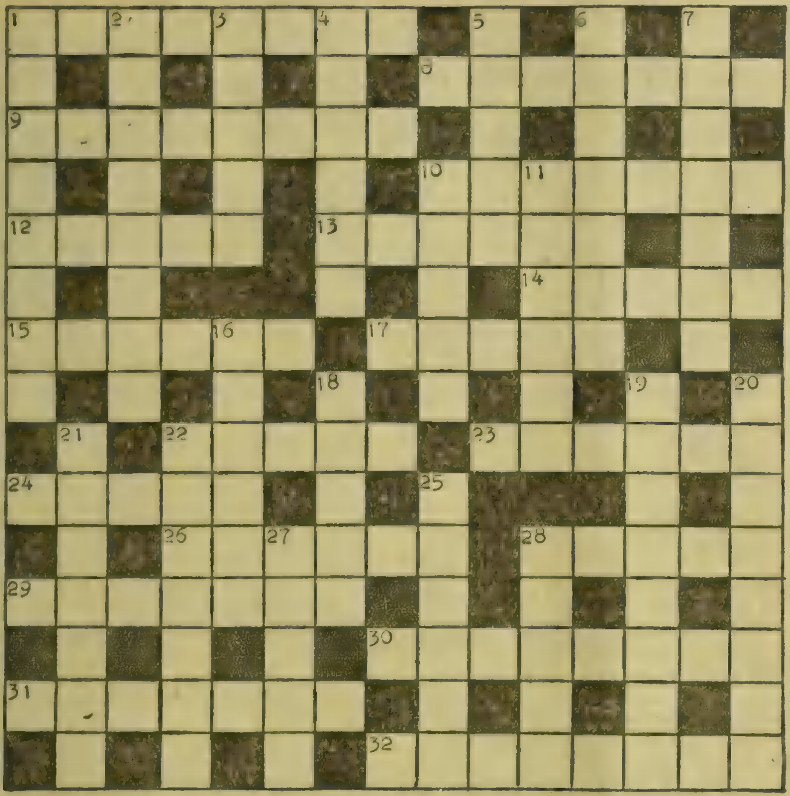
A Helpful Reader

Dear Sirs: I will be happy to send old copies of The Nation to anyone writing for them. Address me at 833 N. Hoyne Avenue, Chicago 22, Illinois.

HARRY J. KAPLAN

Chicago.

Crossword Puzzle No. 643
BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See [illegible] across.
8, 12, and 1 across and 14 Implying at least double boilers cause the throb. (3,4,5,5,3,5)
9 The way to beat a connection might be at arm's length. (4,4)
10 and 20 down Even if right, it isn't always fair. (7,8)
12 See [illegible] across.
13 Does it imply an inclination to take shelter? (4-2)
14 See 8 across.
15 Ah! To get knowledge about the place! (6)
17 See 31 across.
22 The last ray of hope, but it shows a way to get lost. (5)
23 Cuts back, but the end might be firm shortly. (6)
24 The value of a poet, not counting his words. (5)
26 Are her letters capable of showing what to do, if, in case, they don't agree? (6)
28 The sort of 10 that reputedly do not make a 25. (5)
29 If you want to 26 something, ask for them. (7)
30 Can a base be a city as well? (8)
31 and 17 Where strikes create more work for the operators? (7,5)
32 Dine poorly? It doesn't take much money, but it isn't nice. (8)

DOWN

1 You probably won't look well in uniform at this time. (4,4)
2 and 18 Not necessarily equivalent to "going to the dogs". (3,2,3,5)
3 Droops. (5)
4 To manage things usually requires a certain graps. (6)
5 To recognize a symbol. (5)
6 Is a mother conservative in expressing love? (7)
7 In depressions, one gets away from the border thus. (7)
10 They don't make 25 when 28 across, necessarily. (5)
11 Under the most favorable circumstances. (2,4)
16 She is objectively inferior to an animal, preferably. (6)
18 See 2 down.
19 When someone taps you on the shoulder, and calls you "Sir?" (8)
20 See 10 across.
21 Did it give one a general impression of smoke 10 years ago? (7)
22 Rambles. (7)
25 28 across and 10 down don't always make it. (6)
27 He has the heart of a German, quite logically. (5)
28 Proving embarrassment is more than false. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 642

ACROSS: 1 EXHIBITS; 11 INHERITED; 12, 10 and 9 THE LONG ARM OF THE LAW; 13 LEANDER; 14 and 24 WINNER-TAKE-ALL; 15 WASHERS; 18 and 21 RIGHT OF SEARCH; 26 ARMBAND; 27 AUTOMATIC; 28 NIGER; 29 TUSSLE; 30 BY-PASSES. DOWN: 1 ENACTS; 2 HAMMERING; 3 BUFFOON; 4 and 5 TRIGGER FINGER; 6 INROADS; 7 GATED; 8 RED CROSS; 16 EXCHANGES; 17 PROTACT; 19 TRAMMEL; 20 FALL TO; 21 STARCHY; 22 ARMENIA; 23 ADORES.

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PUBLICATIONS

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FALL BOOK ISSUE

AROUND THE U. S. A.

Two Obstructive Votes In The Keystone State

Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

ABOUT a year ago Pennsylvania elected by some 275,000 votes its first Democratic governor in twenty years. George M. Leader, 37-year-old chicken farmer and state senator of York county, assumed office last January after a successful campaign wherein he had stressed his intention to reform the health and welfare operations of state government, to enlist the state in a program to combat unemployment, to establish new industry, and to expand state services to school children, farmers, industrial workers, and those who through no fault of their own required public financial assistance.

No one could reasonably say that Leader was elected primarily because of his program. He was so obviously a sincere and high-minded candidate, opposed by a Republican hack, that personal appeal may have played a large part in his victory. But he had a program, nonetheless. And he was elected with this program at the same time that he had promised to reduce state revenue produced by the Republican sales tax of 1953. The sales tax, Leader assured Pennsylvanians, would die at its terminal date of August 31, 1955, if he were elected. It did.

To provide the revenue for his legislative program, Leader proposed a classified income tax. This tax plan would levy assessments ranging from 6 per cent on capital gains to 5 per cent on dividends to 1 per cent on wages. Clearly, it is based upon the ability of the citizen to pay.

The measure passed the Pennsylvania house of representatives, where the Democrats hold a majority, but the Republicans who control the state senate by two votes sent it to defeat. Further to indicate their insensitivity to the Leader program, the G. O. P. legislators have kept bottled up in committee some 500 bills already approved by the house, the majority of which deal with health, education, welfare, and economic development.

Such balking goes on in the face of statistics which show Pennsylvania ranking forty-fifth among states in mental-health facilities, and twenty-eighth in education. It totally lacks a public program for care of retarded children, or for assistance in juvenile problems, and it possesses more areas of "acute" unemployment than any other state.

The senate Republicans, said Governor Leader to a meeting of steelworkers a few weeks ago, "reactionary in politics and selfish and cynical in their personal outlook, have chosen to ignore the advantages and merits of the income tax and yet have been curiously barren of any concrete proposals of their own which would come near solving the state's financial dilemma."

BUT THE G. O. P. has come up with one plan: a 2-per-cent sales tax that would not return enough revenue to meet the financial obligations incurred by previous state administrations, much less permit any expansion of facilities. The tax, however, would certainly fall chiefly on wage-earners, and this is what commends it to a Republican high command, whose officers virtually form an interlocking directorate with the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association and the Pennsylvania Chamber of Commerce. Master strategist for this combine is G. Mason Owlett, a former state senator who is now Republican national committeeman and chief executive of the P. M. A.

The strategy handed on down from the P. M. A. by way of Owlett to the Republican majority in the senate is coordinated, at least in the field if not in party headquarters, with bristling oratorical forays by Senator Duff, who has announced his candidacy for renomination in 1956 and who has apparently permitted this consideration to override the once strenuous objections he used to make to the P. M. A., Owlett, and that old patriarch of Pennsylvania reaction, P. M. A. founder Joe Grundy. The character of Duff's remarks can be judged by the phrase he applied to Governor Leader: "a political upstart in short pants." Nevertheless, Duff, whose period as governor from 1946 to 1950 was noteworthy for a Republican legislature which passed a number of good bills without devising a tax system to pay for them, has thought it discreet not to engage in public debate with an "upstart." Leader's direct invitation to Duff to discuss Pennsylvania politics on TV was ignored.

The situation in Pennsylvania is so manifestly a matter of delay and deception—two votes in a state senate holding the line *against* improved services to the people and *for* a sales tax, *against* the public welfare and *for* the special interests—that it might be wondered how the Republicans hope to get away with it and still make a comeback at the polls. The answer is that Leader administration efforts to get the facts through to the voters are drowned in the deluge of the state's daily and weekly newspapers. The press of Pennsylvania, not so much through distortion in its news columns as through constant prominence given to inconsequential political matters, creates an impression which does not derive from the facts. Leader's few television appearances and his speeches before labor unions—all of which supported the classified income-tax proposal—have a momentary effect in restricted areas. But not enough to build up a storm against the Republican delaying action in Harrisburg, nor enough to rouse the public as Leader roused them a year ago in his campaign.

The chances are that the Democrats may be backed eventually into acceptance of a tax they do not like

(Continued on page 408)

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THE *Nation*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

The Pursuit of Unity

At its September meeting the Plymouth Monthly Meeting of Friends was unable to achieve unity of feeling on the question of whether to keep or return an award of $5,000 received from the Fund for the Republic in recognition of "courageous and effective defense of democratic principles" in having refused to dismiss Mary Knowles, a librarian employed by the William Jeanes Memorial Library. The library is owned and operated by the society. Mrs. Knowles, who refused to take a Pennsylvania loyalty oath, had previously been dismissed from a librarian's post in Norwood, Massachusetts, for invoking the Fifth Amendment when questioned about her beliefs. The issue was precipitated when approximately sixty of the 110 adult members of the society signed a round-robin asking that the matter of the award be reconsidered. The petition was circulated by a wealthy philatelist, Mrs. Phillip Corson, not a member of the society, on behalf of a local group known as Alerted Americans. Of the sixty signers, thirty had not attended a meeting of the society in some years and only twelve were active on its committees—circumstances which doubtless account for the apparent lack of familiarity with the historic opposition of Quakers to test oaths.

When the issue came up on October 18, the society was again unable to achieve unity of feeling and action was postponed until the November meeting. Such patience in the pursuit of truth and unity must be vastly exasperating to "alerted" zealots hellbent on hounding dissenters from their jobs. It once took the main Philadelphia society over a century to resolve a major issue. It seems likely, therefore, that Mrs. Corson and other Alerted Americans may have to wait quite a time for the scalp of Mary Knowles. Will their patience, one wonders, be equal to their passion for conformity? In the meantime, support for Mrs. Knowles is building up in other meetings of the Friends; eight societies have now gone on record in support of her position.

Eugene Victor Debs

This week marks the centennial anniversary of the birth of Eugene Victor Debs, born November 5, 1855. Despite the fact that the influence of the Socialist Party in its various present-day incarnations was never less significant in American politics, admiration and affection for the memory of Debs is perhaps more widespread than at any time in the last century. In part this is due to the circumstance that American Socialists of Deb's generation have achieved a posthumous triumph; even the Republican Party has come to accept, under the slogan "dynamic conservatism," reforms for which they labored. But it is not Socialists alone who honor Debs. He was the kind of political leader who, as *The Nation* pointed out in an editorial at the time of his death, who added to his love of human beings "a love for humanity."

> ". . . The two are not always combined. The concern for humanity, the vision, the dauntless courage, the uncompromising spirit of the prophet and pioneer may be consistent with a ruthless disregard for the immediate interests of individual human beings. It was not so with Debs. His courage was born of love. His passion for mankind, his hope for the workers grew out of the love of comrades, not only as they might become but as they were with all their faults and weaknesses. In this combination of dauntless, far-seeing idealist, and simple lover of men lay the man's greatness." (The Nation, November 3, 1926.)

The heritage of Debs for present and future generations of American radicals of all varieties consists in just this: that the zeal for reform must always be tempered by a concern for human beings; the reformer, radical, or prophet who does not love people may have his social uses, but he will bear watching.

Hatchet Work

In revoking the tax-exempt status of the Institute of Pacific Relations, the Internal Revenue Service has in effect publicly confessed that the rule of law has been superseded by the death-dealing power of the political tommyhawk or hatchet. The facts are simply stated. In April, 1954, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue sent the international I. P. R. one of the regular questionnaires sent periodically to all tax-exempt organizations. The questionnaire was answered in detail but no reply was received. A year later, on May 26, 1955, the Commissioner notified the international I. P. R. that its tax exemption was revoked and that the ruling would be retroactive to January 1, 1955. The Commissioner's only argument—no formal charges were ever filed against the I. P. R.—was that the organization had "pursued its objectives through other than educational means" and had "to a substantial extent engaged in the dissemination of controversial and partisan propaganda." All informed persons know, of course, that the

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COVER DESIGN by **Carl Weiss**

I. P. R. avoided partisan propaganda; no resolutions were passed, no particular views or courses of action were ever advocated. Then, on July 26, the Commissioner revoked the tax exemption of the *American* I. P. R. because as an affiliate, it was "dependent" on the international I. P. R.—the first case of institutional guilt-by-association with which we are familiar. It is perfectly obvious that the retiring Commissioner of Internal Revenue, T. Coleman Andrews, a close friend of Senator McCarthy's, finally capitulated to more than a year's steady pressure from Senator Eastland when he signed these notices. The notices present an outstanding partisan victory for the China Lobby and a serious blow to objective research and scholarship on Far Eastern affairs. If ever there was a need for a vital, flourishing research foundation concerned with Pacific affairs it is today when the needs for reliable information for policy guidance were never greater. Quite apart from this practical consideration, only one proposition can be asserted with certainty about the political pendulum, namely, that it swings. Suppose a left-of-center administration should come to power in Washington the day after tomorrow. Should the tax-exempt status of all foundations engaged in forms of research of which the "left" did not approve then be regarded as "fair game" to be revoked by administrators responsive to the whims and wishes of vindictive legislators? There will be precedent for such action if this outrageous ruling is permitted to stand.

In Mencken's Home Town

The recent experience of Leon M. Uris, novelist and Hollywood screenwriter, brings into sharp focus John H. Griffin's powerful attack on secret censors on page 382 of this issue. Among Mr. Uris's novels is "Battle Cry," which he also adapted for the screen. Last February the picture had its premiere in Baltimore, Mr. Uris's native city, and the author was accorded a "local-boy-makes-good" welcome with all the trimmings. Mayor D'Alesandro issued a proclamation declaring February to be "Battle Cry Month"; from the stage of the Stanley Theater on opening night he read another proclamation which began, "I, Thomas D'Alesandro, Jr., Mayor of the City of Baltimore, do hereby designate you [Mr. Uris] as an Honored and Outstanding Citizen of Baltimore, worthy of high recognition for your contribution. . . ." etc., etc.

Mr. Uris's high standing with the Mayor of Baltimore lasted about eight months. Today the novel "Battle Cry" is included in a list of some 500 objectionable" books which the Mayor has circulated among all the city's booksellers, and has been withdrawn from sale by many. The initiative for the drawing up of the list was taken by the National Organization for Decent Literature, mentioned in Mr. Griffin's article. The group's ostensible aim is to drive salacious comic books and magazines out of Baltimore's book marts. But its list includes novels by Hemingway, Faulkner, Norman Mailer, and James T. Farrell.

Mr. Uris is not one to take things lying down. He has written *The Nation:*

> This is the most vile form of thought control. There is no legal way to combat groups like the National Organization for Decent Literature, which uses fear as its weapon. Theirs is the same type of operation—the circulation of blacklists—which we have seen used so many times in recent years. The precedent is indeed dangerous when a small group can band together and use the office of an elected official to impose censorship on the entire population.

Mr. Uris has also prepared a memorandum for Mayor D'Alesandro, which reads in part:

> Please tell your committee that Uris is honored to be mentioned alongside Hemingway, Zola, Faulkner, and Farrell among those who would "corrupt the morals of Baltimoreans." That's damned good company, and I hope to prove worthy. . . . In a free society, we must live with these small-minded groups of malcontent blowhards who live in mental vacuums and purist ivory towers. Every so often, they pull out their little peashooters in the belief they have suddenly become divinely inspired. They do this without process of law. And, in so doing, they attack the very cornerstones of freedom upon which this nation was founded. . . .

We wonder what that other distinguished citizen of Baltimore, Mr. H. L. Mencken, thinks of all this.

Nixon's "FEPC"

Washington

IN A SUITE of the White House Annex, barred from reporters by secret-service agents, Vice-President Nixon asked fifty-five government contractors to end job discrimination in their plants. With their cooperation, he suggested the Administration's "civil-rights objectives" could be achieved by 1965, which will be the 100th anniversary of Lincoln's death; without their cooperation, the Administration might not survive past the 1956 elections. Nixon is the chairman of the sixteen-man Committee on Government Contracts, which is the Eisenhower Administration's answer to the Democrats' proposed FEPC legislation. That is to say, it is supposed to enforce the anti-discrimination clause appearing in all government contracts, which is potentially a powerful weapon for breaking down Jim Crow in the South. However, Nixon has never used the weapon for this purpose, nor indeed, has his committee done anything even remotely newsworthy until the October 25 meeting.

The humiliating failure of his little FEPC was only hinted at in the press conference which followed the meeting. Insofar as the story can be pieced together, it shows Nixon as a fumbling reformer far different from the self-confident Red-hunter of the 1954 campaign. In the first place, despite a requirement that a placard be hung in all contractors' plants attesting to the firm's compliance with the clause, the workers are either so little aware of the Nixon committee or so dubious about it that only 147 of possibly 15,000,000 eligible workers have made complaints. Secondly, in the seventy-two cases where individual complaints have been corrected, the general pattern of discrimination from which the complaints arose still exists. For example, in the District of Columbia, which the Nixon committee would like to make into a racial showplace, the race-conscious Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company promoted two Negro accounting clerks from its all-colored branch office to a hitherto all-white main office, but it would make no guarantees about the Negroes left behind in the "ghetto" office. In the one big case in which the pattern itself was involved, the committee has so far been stymied. In this instance, which involves a series of Jim Crow contracts between unions and Texas oil refineries, the committee has been frightened off by the fear that if the contract is rewritten, the unions will stage a walkout.

The conference with the contractors represents a new approach to the problem, which at once simplifies it and glamorizes it. Instead of sending staff men out to quibble with the personnel officers of second-string firms, Nixon is attempting to sell "job equality" to what amounts to the Board of Directors of United States industry. If the idea can be sold at all, there is no doubt that this group can sell it. Comprised of the heads of General Electric, General Motors, Ford, Monsanto Chemical, Standard Oil of New Jersey, it does an annual business of $43,500,000,000—which is 15 per cent of all manufacturing sales; its employees represent 15 per cent of the country's workers. After listening to these moguls discussing ways and means of carrying out the integration program, Secretary of Commerce Weeks declared the conference a milestone in a new era. "It's hard to believe," he declared in a short address, "that it has taken nearly a hundred years for national leadership to call together the [people] who have the major responsibility for solving this problem, to discuss it with them in free 'give and take,' and ask their cooperation."

Nobody can argue very seriously with the general theme of the conference—that integration is not only sound sociology, but also sound business. After integration is achieved, one speaker suggested, thirty billions will be added to the already existing four-hundred-billion gross national product. Nor can it be denied that these big contractors owe some consideration to the Eisenhower Administration in return for its highly favorable profit margins, particularly in defense contracts. Even so, it would be front-page news, indeed, if such a major social revolution as this could be worked with no other driving force than a desire to help reelect the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration. That Nixon and Weeks are so optimistic about it reflects a faith in the uncommon man that has not been equalled since the Grant Administration.

EDGAR KEMLER.

RHEE'S WAR ON JAPAN

An Embarrassing Ally . . *by O. Edmund Clubb*

PRESIDENT SYNGMAN RHEE of the Republic of Korea (ROK) fulminates periodically against China and the Soviet Union. With nearly equal regularity, he wins commitments for increased economic and military aid from the United States, indulgent as it is to his "anti-communism." But there is another, seamier side to the picture: The Seoul government has been warring with equal wrath, and even greater practical effect, against Korea's third great neighbor in Northeast Asia—Japan.

This is an ancient feud. China, Russia, and Japan in the 1890's began a triangular tug-of-war for Korea. China claimed sovereignty, Russia felt the urge of "manifest destiny," and Japan viewed the peninsula as being "like a dagger at Japan's heart." Japan won the struggle for dominance and annexed the "Hermit Kingdom" in 1910. When V-J Day in 1945 struck the hour for honoring the promise of the Cairo Declaration that Korea should regain its independence, an "old revolutionary," Syngman Rhee, was among the candidates for leadership; when the ROK government was formally established on August 15, 1948, he held the palladium of power. At that moment of history, the United States remained technically at war with Japan and its armed forces were in occupation of the country. It was easy, then, to overlook the circumstance that for thirty-five years Syngman Rhee had made a profession, almost a religion, of being anti-Japanese.

The whole American-Japanese relationship underwent a fundamental change under the impact of the Korean aggression of 1950. The two countries signed both a peace treaty and a security pact in September, 1951, and the United States began to regard its ex-enemy as an ally. But those developments in Northeast Asia did not change the thinking of Syngman Rhee in the same way. During the critical period of the Korean War, he curbed his enmity toward Japan. As early as October, 1951, in fact, through the good offices of SCAP (General Douglas MacArthur), ROK and Japanese representatives launched preliminary talks aimed at regularization of relations between South Korea and Japan. Formal negotiations began February 15, 1952, only to break down two months later. They were resumed in April, 1953, then recessed in July. A third round of talks started on October 16, but were interrupted when Japanese delegate Kubota spoke in favor of mutual concessions and observed further that Japanese rule in Korea had not been entirely bad. Korean delegates walked out of the conference in high dudgeon. Despite subsequent conciliatory Japanese moves and prayerful attempts by American generals, ambassadors, and special envoys to mediate, the two sides have not been brought together again.

SEOUL'S hostility toward the Island Empire takes concrete form. By a unilateral declaration of January 18, 1952, in what might be viewed as a typical Rhee gambit for the ROK-Japanese negotiations which were then about to begin, the ROK government drew a "Rhee Line" through the middle of the Japan Sea at an average of sixty and a maximum of 170 nautical miles from Korea's shores. When Japanese fishing vessels cross that line, they are subject to capture and confiscation by Rhee's navy (given him by the United States) and the luckless crews imprisoned. The Tokyo Foreign Office reported last August 18 that a total of 542 Japanese fishermen were being held, under harsh conditions, in Rhee's jails.

The extension of Rhee's sovereignty over the high seas left Takeshima, two islands long recognized as Japanese and formally incorporated into the Japanese Empire in 1905, lying west of the Rhee Line. In July 1954, after a declaration of sovereignty by the ROK Assembly, Rhee's navy occupied these islands. Tokyo proposed on September 25 that the question of ownership of Takeshima be put before the International Court of Justice. Seoul rejected the proposal, and the Rhee Line remains its own authority—for the present.

But the sorest spot in ROK-Japanese relations is trade. During the Korean War, the U. N. command used Japan as a staging ground for troops, and Japan's industry worked in support of the U. N. operations in Korea. Japan derived benefits from the arrangement: United States procurements in Japan averaged about $700,000,000 annually for the three years of the war. But the U. N. action also profited from Japan's contribution. And when the fighting was over and the United States projected a billion-dollar rehabilitation program for South Korea, American officials believed that many of the Korean needs could most economically, and for obvious political reasons ought to be, satisfied by Japanese industry.

Seoul and Tokyo had signed a trade agreement as long ago as June, 1950. ROK-United States accords reached in November, 1954, for American economic aid were contingent upon a ROK agreement in principle that some of the needed materials would be procured in Japan. Syngman Rhee nevertheless stubbornly strangles trade with Japan. South Korea is considered a rice-surplus area, and reputedly has a three-year surplus available for export—but not to its Japanese neighbor. South Korea's agriculture needs imported fertilizer, but Seoul boycotts the Japanese product. And the ROK trade embargo extends to goods purchased for Korean reconstruction with United States funds. As a result of Rhee's tactics, both Japan and the United States suffer heavy economic losses.

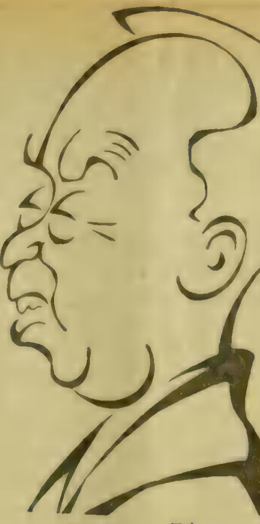
O. EDMUND CLUBB is a former American Foreign Service officer who spent twenty years in the Far East.

Syngman Rhee's motives are of course complex, but one important element is undoubtedly a fear that Japan, with its superior technology, industrial capacity, and national discipline, might succeed in dominating Korea a second time. He was relieved of any pressing necessity of accepting political and economic reconciliation with Japan when the United States, paying his price for agreement to the truce of July, 1953, underwrote the ROK military establishment, its foreign affairs, and its economy. He feels no worry over economic dislocations resulting from his policy; he simply relies upon the United States to make up deficits.

THE political loss to the United States is one cost no Congressional appropriation can offset. Before the North Korean aggression, American strategists had visualized this country's "first line of defense" as running from the Aleutians through Japan to the Philippines; after June, 1950, their planning embraced South Korea and Formosa as well. Even before President Eisenhower in his 1953 inaugural address spoke in favor of "regional groupings of free peoples," the concept of a linked front in the West Pacific had taken firm root. The plan as first developed by the Republican Administration was broad enough in scope to include Indo-China, the Philippines, and Thailand, as well as Formosa, South Korea, and Japan. When it proved impossible to get Formosa and other states north of the Philippine Islands to participate in the founding of SEATO, Secretary of State Dulles in August, 1953, disclosed that there had been consideration of joining Formosa, South Korea, Japan, and the United States together in another security grouping. But all such schemes foundered on the rock of Rhee's adamant opposition to joining hands with his ancient enemies.

The ROK philosophy was set forth in an official statement issued in Seoul on March 6, 1954 (on the eve of signature of American-Japanese mutual-defense agreements):

> The Korean theory is that if the United States insists upon rearming the treacherous Japanese, she [the United States] should insure herself and other free peoples from another program of conquest by the Japanese when they think the time is ripe.


Syngman Rhee

> A matching Korean force would serve as a restraining influence on the Japanese while at the same time providing a dependable bastion against communism. It is not at all out of the range of possibility that the Japanese would swing about and join the Communists if the opportunity came—or if the price was tempting.

The situation, far from improving, has recently deteriorated. In a Memorial Day rally in Seoul on May 30 of this year, there was a "popular" demonstration against Japanese diplomatic and trade overtures to Communist nations—allegedly including North Korea. A speaker of the ROK National Assembly told the rally: "We . . . should unite in smashing Japan's pro-Communist tendency." Seoul charged on August 17 that Tokyo had helped Korean Communists in Japan to smuggle funds and materials into South Korea for the overthrow of the ROK government, and announced that it would thenceforth refrain from any negotiations with Tokyo for regularization of diplomatic relations. All travel by Koreans between the two countries was banned.

In a noteworthy interview in September with Gordon Walker of the *Christian Science Monitor,* President Rhee candidly laid down the prerequisites for resumption of negotiations between South Korea and Japan:

> Japan must agree to settle our minimum demands. . . . Japan must withdraw, unconditionally, claims to Korean property . . . together with renunciation of the insulting Kubota statement. Japan must recognize our fishery line [Rhee Line], which was drawn for the purpose of maintaining peace between Korea and Japan. Japan must release Koreans held illegally. . . . Japan must not tolerate existence of two or three pro-Communist or anti-ROK organizations of Korean traitors in Japan which . . . seek to undermine or overthrow the government of Korea. Japan must abandon its growing desire to trade and engage in other friendly relations with Communist North Korea, China, and the Soviet Union. Japan must renounce the protectorate and annexation treaties imposed upon Korea in 1905 and 1910. . . .

Rhee cannot thus imperiously impose his will on Japan. The ROK army today is four times the size of Japan's, but the ROK military strength has been borrowed from the United States and is no true measure of South Korean capabilities. Japan knows for one thing that Rhee is not immortal, and anticipates in any event that time will work changes in Northeast Asia. The United States, except as its authority has been projected on alien territory in Okinawa, Japan proper, Formosa, and the Philippines, is thousands of miles distant. To defend either the U. N. position in South Korea or the "island defense chain," the support of Japan is indispensable and American strategy in the West Pacific consequently hinges on Japan. In that situation, Japan must inevitably command a higher rating than South Korea.

It was actually decided in 1954 to evacuate all United States forces from South Korea, but Rhee promptly announced that the front lines were "collapsing" and the decision was amended to keep two United States divisions in positions behind the ROK front. The fact remains that, as Secretary of the Army Brucker acknowledged last month, some American military leaders believe that all United States forces in Korea should be returned home "at an early date."

If the Communists were to succeed in their strategic aim of prying Japan loose from its Western connections, South Korea would be affected directly. "Divide and rule" is a Communist as well as an old Roman axiom. Syngman Rhee's efforts to subordinate the American-Japanese relationship to his ingrained animosity must consequently be viewed as dangerous mischief.

READERS STILL READ

Old Habits Survive TV . . *by Hazel Cooley*

THE number of TV sets in American homes has doubled in the last three years. Today it stands at 36,000,000, or approximately one for every four persons in the country. What has this tremendous mass-communication medium done to the reading habits of the nation? Helen Evelyn Peerless, a librarian at the Elmhurst branch of the Queens Borough (New York City) Public Library, has made a refreshingly objective study of this subject, using the readers of her own library as the chief object of her survey but extending it to other libraries and to "certain allied fields." Her findings seem to upset the commonly held notion that books and periodicals are doomed to become relics of a bygone age, the victims of the ubiquitous twenty-one inch screen.

Miss Peerless explored first the experience of book publishers. Surprisingly, the author was informed by both the American Book Publishers Council and the American Booksellers Association that their organizations had collected no data on the effect television has had on America's reading habits. The author then wrote individually to representative book-publishing firms. The replies all expressed regret that their answers could not be more than informed guesses.

Most agreed that when families first acquired a TV set, everyone was eager to see and hear, and this took time away from reading. However, when this interest levelled off and where reading had been an ingrained family or individual habit, it came back. The publishers also cited changes in their business caused by tense world conditions and soaring book prices. But nowhere was there concern that television would seriously harm the publishing industry.

The author then investigated the experience of magazine publishers. This business is more involved than book publishing because two things are at stake: advertising space as well as magazine content. Research departments of magazine publishers are therefore constantly alert to the moods of their readers, and surveys by magazine publishers are not uncommon. She quotes from two magazine publishers' surveys on television.

THE McGraw-Hill firm, publishers of a chain of business magazines, polled close to a thousand subscribers to learn how TV had effected their reading of a particular periodical. Slightly less than 25 per cent replied and of this number 57 per cent owned sets. The finding here was that business magazines, generally read during office hours, were not exposed to the competition of entertainment through television. Reading did not suffer at all; set owners and non-owners read essentially the same number of business publications.

Puck, the Comic Weekly, retained Harvey W. Zorbaugh of New York University and C. Wright Mills of Columbia University to learn how mass-communication forces are affected by TV. They elicited these facts:

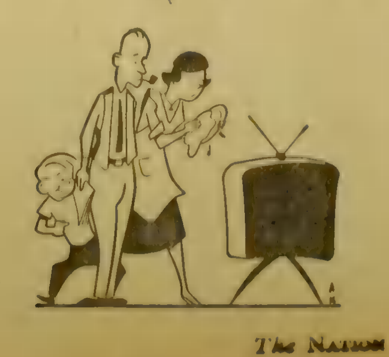
1. Newspapers are read by 90 per cent of TV owners, as against 86 per cent of non-TV owners.
2. Magazines are read by 54 per cent of TV owners, as against 52 per cent of non-TV owners.
3. Books are read by 29 per cent of TV owners, as against 35 per cent of non-TV owners.
4. Among those who continue to read at all, there is a 17 per cent decline in book reading with the arrival of TV. The reading of books remains most firmly entrenched among college graduates, but even on this level, only 53 per cent reported having read one or more books during the preceding month. There is, however, little correlation between education and the reading of newspapers and magazines.
5. Book reading eventually shows a substantial recovery to a level approximating the pre-TV norm.
6. Of those interviewed 49 per cent reported a complete discontinuance of reading after the arrival of the TV set.

Puck concluded that TV would not harm them as an effective advertising medium.

As a librarian, however, Miss Peerless was concerned with the 49 per cent who stopped reading when TV moved in. She comments: "On the credit side, there is evidence that where reading was a habit to begin with it did not take long to reestablish itself. Moreover, there are the statistics showing that although only 29 per cent of TV owners read books, not more than 35 per cent of those without sets do, either. Accepting the fact that book readers in any community are in the minority, the difference of 6 per cent is not particularly alarming."

THE advertising firm of Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn in 1950 concluded a sampling study of 5,657 people in cities across the country. They observed that "other activities are far from dead, and the study shows the amazing capacity of the American public to take a new medium in its stride without any other activity taking the full brunt."

Other commercial polls by distributors of magazines found that magazines and newspapers reported a slight increase, if anything, in volume of business. The Magazine Advertising Bureau quoted an average increase of 2.7 per cent in the circulation of thirty-seven magazines, while the advertising firm of



HAZEL COOLEY, author of "Vision in Television," writes frequently for The Nation *on new developments in the industry.*

Geyer, Newell & Ganger found that among 168 papers in sixty-two cities, 75 per cent of morning papers and 81 per cent of evening papers had reported gains in circulation.

Miss Peerless next surveys the findings of libraries. She quotes the American Institute of Public Opinion which, in a recent study that included England, Norway, Canada, Australia, and Sweden, stated that the United States had the lowest percentage of book readers of any of the countries polled. Nevertheless, the conclusion of many libraries, particularly those that had conducted polls, was generally the same: that any adverse effect TV might have on reading diminishes with time.

"Once the novelty wears off there is a return to books—better books than had been read previously. Much credit for the broadened horizons is given to educational TV programs which ignite the spark of curiosity and generate a desire for more thorough information." The type of reading stimulated by television is apt to be non-fiction and a major part of the lost circulation is in the area of light or "pastime" reading. Many librarians felt this was a good trend, for then the library would be able to strengthen its reference and informational facilities. There are still some librarians who look upon TV as a powerful competitor but many others now regard it as a wonderful help in spreading ideas. They are the ones who want to use the medium as an ally, as fully as possible.

TOWARD this end, some libraries have installed television sets in their buildings. In Louisville, Kentucky, where the city provided sets for its branch libraries, the nightly attendance was between 1,000 and 1,800. This resulted in a 40 per cent increase in circulation. The Cleveland Public Library and the Ferguson Library of Stamford, Connecticut, are two others which have used television on the same principle. There are libraries which have produced television programs on their own and consider them rewarding and worthy of the trouble. The American Library Association has a television subcommittee and the library profession on the whole is receptive to television and anxious to utilize it to the best possible advantage.

Scanning the big cities, the chief librarian at the Los Angeles Public Library—the largest circulating library in the world—stated that he had watched circulation statistics rise steadily between 1942 and 1949, hit a "TV-drop" year in 1950-51, and then, beginning in 1952, go into a skyrocketing spiral. Other comments in Los Angeles indicate that TV is apparently leading people to their nearest library and that their taste in books is far less "escapist" than in the past. They no longer want the latest Western or light love story. They ask for books on religion, philosophy, and world affairs.

The New York City library has not undertaken a formal investigation regarding the effect of TV on reading. However, the circulation at its libraries is rising and attendance at library-sponsored programs is growing, so no bad effects are registered. The supervisor pointed out that as each new medium—motion pictures, radio, and now TV—appeared, prophets of doom pronounced this the end of reading. What actually happened was that the medium was gradually absorbed into the social pattern and what was learned from it created a greater demand for books.

Brooklyn also reports a boom and an 85 per cent increase in circulation since 1945. No formal surveys have been made in Brooklyn either, but a spokesman pointed to soaring statistics. Their chief librarian believes television has stimulated reading and has made people more aware of realities than they were before the set appeared in the home. The result is a demand for hard-headed, factual books of non-fiction in many fields.

The overall testimony of libraries indicates positively that their present healthy state reflects no adverse effects from television; in fact, TV has been a definite factor in the national upswing in reading.

Miss Peerless concludes with this observation: "The traditional concept of the library as a repository for *belles lettres* is obviously due for reappraisal; the watchword dictated by the times appears to be 'Information!' rather than 'Amusement!'... The paradox of the Queens Borough Public Library's rising circulation and the borough-wide TV penetration of 88 per cent (in 1953) indicates that reading and televiewing are highly compatible activities. . . . The Elmhurst survey as well as previous studies establishes the tendency of TV to have a diminishing effect on leisure-time activities once the initial enthusiasm has abated. The TV set is now an accepted part of the American home. . . ."

Mr. Harold Tucker, chief librarian at the Elmhurst Library, in an interview with this writer stated that at the time the slump in reading was noticeable, there were other factors besides television that had to be considered. There was the Korean emergency, employment was high, people were working overtime, and there was little time left for reading. That one medium complements another is demonstrated by the library's experience with books Walt Disney has made unforgettable. The popularity of his movie productions, "The Vanishing Prairie," "Living Desert," and "Twenty Thousand Leagues" has resulted in a continuous demand for these books in the library. Eric Knight's "Lassie Comes Home," "Peter Pan" (more popular with the oldsters than even the youngsters) are other examples. The documentary shown on Helen Keller brought innumerable calls for her biography and other related material.

FROM the foregoing analysis and analyses of numerous other surveys, this writer sees every indication that the preferences of people all over the country, although they may not be aware of it, is for "informational" and "factual" TV programs. These can best be satisfied through the complete use of the educational TV channels. These channels exist principally to inform, and that is the business of educators. When this fact is absorbed by the people of the country, and they demand that the educational channel set aside in their community be activated, they will get the kind of programs they say they want.

THE CULTURAL SNOB

There Is No "Highbrow" Art . . *by John Berger*

London

IN THIS century the out-and-out social snob has become rare, or anyway is more inhibited in his behavior. The cultural snob, on the other hand, has multiplied and is more and more bare-faced in the expression of his snobbery. There are of course many other current forms of snobbery, besides the cultural variety: car snobbery, sports snobbery, sex snobbery, and so on. But what makes culture snobbery a stranger phenomenon than the others is the fact that one might reasonably assume that an interest in art or literature or history would purge the person concerned of such pettiness. It is easier to understand someone claiming distinction because he patronizes a particular hairdresser than to understand somebody doing so because he appreciates the greatness of Baudelaire. Snobbery is compatible with the hairdresser's world; it is incompatible with Baudelaire's—or Fra Angelico's—or Picasso's. The explanation of course is that the snobs don't appreciate Baudelaire; they appreciate what they think is their appreciation.

On the whole, however, the culture snob is not concerned with the art of the past. (That is the field of the travel snob: "I just felt *quite* uneducated until I'd been to Rome.") The playground of the culture snob is preeminently "Modern Art." The phrase "Modern Art" implies something new, separate, and above all smartly, uniquely up-to-date. It suggests that anybody who has any doubts about it is as *demode* and dowdy as the elderly couples who still believe in chaperones.

The absurdity of this attitude is emphasized even more strongly if one remembers the obvious fact that all art has been "modern" in its own day, and the equally true but less obvious fact that any contemporary art, if it is integrated into its society, if it really communicates experiences worth communicating, will naturally, without any song or dance about it, mean more to the citizens of that society than the art of the past.

ALONGSIDE the worshipping of contemporary art just because it is contemporary, has grown up the belief that all great art is immortal. This is only a half truth. The greatest works do remain moving, interesting, great. But at the same time their meaning changes and in that change they lose some of their original urgency. A Chinese pottery horse, a Greek statue of an athlete, a Renaissance painting of St. Francis can never be appreciated by us *in the same urgent way* as they were appreciated by their original public. It would be truer to say that great works undergo a resurrection, rather than that they are immortal. The belief that they are immortal, however, is the second line of defense of the Modern Art snobs and self-deceivers. First they claim that it requires special sensibility, imagination, and breadth of mind, to appreciate Modern Art; and secondly, in order to justify their own possession of these gifts even further, they claim that in the future the art which they champion now will be seen to be great by the world at large; thus they allot to themselves the noble role of midwife to immortal children.

Now I can see the reader raising two possible objections at this point. First he may quote examples of genius that *have* been appreciated only by small minorities in their own lifetime—Rembrandt, Van Gogh, Keats. Secondly, he may say: "Why make so much fuss about it? Surely there have always been people who have pretended to appreciate works of art more than they really did. Isn't the lunatic fringe a constant of human nature?"

The answer to the first objection is that the examples of neglected genius, all of which have occurred only during the last 300 years, are the *exceptions* in the history of human culture. As soon as one admits the idea of the neglected genius, one also admits that the tradition of art has broken down—either within itself, or in its relationship to society. Also, the few who did appreciate Rembrandt, Van Gogh, or Keats, did not claim any particular superiority for doing so. The answer to the second objection is that the humbug and self-deception which surrounds so much Modern Art is not in the least important, but unfortunately it has affected art itself and has led to several completely false ideas which are held by many outside the snob-circle. The most dangerous of all these ideas is that of the iron division between the "highbrow" and the "lowbrow."

I have not sufficient space to prove in detail how a great deal of highbrow and lowbrow culture derive from exactly the same attitude of life and differ only in their degree of self-consciousness. Yet as soon as one allows the possibility of this being true and as soon as one has accepted the fact that it is really as easy to be sentimental about a cactus as it is about a kitten with a pink ribbon around its neck, one finds oneself on fertile ground for new thought and observation. Obviously some of the serious art of our time does genuinely require specialized appreciation. I don't expect the average engine driver to enjoy Juan Gris—though so much the worse for Gris. Obviously, also, there are certain popular works with a mass appeal (in this country, for example, a Danny Kaye film) which are neither stereotyped nor banal. But on the whole the flagrantly highbrow and the commercially lowbrow share the same fundamental values, while the greatest figures—Chaplin, Einstein, Picasso—can be fitted into neither category and disturb those with vested interests in both.

The main characteristic of low-

JOHN BERGER is the art critic of the New Statesman and Nation.

brow art in comics, magazine stories, television programs, films, and so on, is that it flatters its public by offering them a context for fantasies or day-dreams in which they can be tougher, luckier, richer, more adventurous, or more highly sexed than they actually are. The organization of commercial culture has been called justly The Dream Factory. The viciousness of it lies in the fact that the desires and aspirations which it sows and nurtures have little or nothing to do with world tasks which so desperately need to be undertaken. Far from encouraging psychological adjustment, the prevention of war, racial tolerance, the use of science for peace, the establishment of the true equality of man, commercial culture either directly discredits such aims or distracts attention away from them by encouraging every form of petty shortsightedness.

Yet highbrow art—or a great deal of it—does exactly the same thing. It also flatters its public—and its practitioners—by offering them a context for fantasies. Only the ingredients of the fantasies are different: the fruits of false introspection rather than of false action; cosmic megalomania rather than crude aggression; the pointless satisfaction of pure "self-expression" rather than that of adolescent sex; the comfort of having rare "sensibility" instead of that of gang prestige.

MY OWN subject is the visual arts, but examples of what I am describing abound in literature and philosophy as well, disguised only by the most extravagant bluff. Recently there was an exhibition in London at our leading "avante-garde" gallery of the works of a highly fashionable French artist called Jean Dubuffet. I quote from the catalogue:

> He first made use of tar, pitch and white lead which he stuck in thick layers on the props of fiber plaster. His pictures began to weigh about twenty kilos—one of their more secondary characteristics. On these surfaces he drew rudimentary faces. . . . Some of these asphalt pictures, in which a handful of gravel was thrown on to the tar, looked, as his detractors claimed, like a footpath, but the Milky Way itself also looks like a footpath. Material, as cosmic as it was urban, casts its spell. Jean Dubuffet began to evoke the mystery, strangeness, wit, metamorphoses, effervescence and retraction of the subtances of which the world is composed. [Later] he went on . . . to more barren ground where only those with the liveliest imagination could follow. . . . As one looked at them [his new works], one could let one's thoughts wander freely through their involutions and almost have the feeling one was on the point of discovering in them the secret of the movements of the universe. [In his sculpture, mostly made out of sponges, he included] objects [letters, inkpots, watches, etc.,] which might be used for invoking the experience of a new kind of witchcraft. . .

Samuel Adler, in 1953 (and perhaps still) an instructor in fine arts in the Division of General Education, Washington Square College, has written: "My picture *Invocation* is but one moment out of my pattern—or perhaps the 'all' of it, carried to its own moment of realization. I cannot say what it means, nor in the final analysis should I wish to. I can only hope that it is . . . all things that have been the world, the world from the beginning to the end of time."

Another American teacher and sculptor, Johnfriend Bergschneider, writes: "For some time I have been fascinated by the nest of the hornet, not because it is a nest as such, but truly because of its form, which is found elsewhere in nature, as in the case of the womb or the pear."

In the official twenty-fifth anniversary book of the Museum of Modern Art, a painting by the well-known Pollock is reproduced in color, with the following comment:

> His painting confronts us with a visual concept organically evolved from a belief in the unity that underlies the phenomena among which we live. . . . An ocean's tides and a personal nightmare, the bursting of a bubble and the communal clamor for a victim are as inextricably meshed in the corruscation and darkness of his work as they are in actuality. . . . The picture surface, with no depth of recognizable space or sequence of known time, gives us the never-ending present. We are presented with the visualization of that remorseless consolation—in the end is the beginning.

There are hundreds of similar passages which could be quoted. I am not suggesting that all the paintings in the Museum of Modern Art are worthless. I am prepared to agree that serious artists often have to suffer nonsense being written about their work—and that sometimes they write it themselves. It is even beside the point that in the examples I have just given the works discussed *are* as footling as the quotations suggest. The mere fact that thousands of such sentences are written, handsomely published, and taken absolutely seriously by men of responsible reputation, that their pretentiousness, irrationalism, obscurantism, and sheer hoodwinking are never even questioned within the highbrow elite—this by itself is enough to show the values on which rest this elite's claim to be cultural leaders. I do not believe that such a far-reaching *traison des clercs* has ever occurred in the history of culture before.

YET the arbitrary division between highbrow and lowbrow is false, not only because their present taste and values ultimately derive from exactly the same type of irresponsibility, from the same inability to look the world in the face, but also because it is based on a misreading of history.

It is true that even when a tradition of art has been integrated with its society there have been—and there probably always will be—different standards of appreciation. A minority, made up of artists themselves and those who have an unusually developed visual sensibility, will tend to look at works from the point of view of the artist. That is to say, a large element of their appreciation will come from their

imaginative identification with the artist, from their awareness of how he has solved esthetic and technical problems which he has faced. The majority, on the other hand, will identify themselves not with the artist, but with the content of the work. They will applaud not the process of creation but the result. This difference, however, is not the same as that between highbrow and lowbrow. Both these attitudes of appreciation are necessary to one another. If the first "specialist" appreciation exists without the second, art becomes increasingly concerned with its own technical and subjective problems and so eventually sterile. If the second "popular" form of appreciation exists without the first, art becomes only concerned with what is said—at the expense of how it is said—and so ends up by being banal.

This is precisely what has happened today, and will continue to happen so long as highbrow and lowbrow taste are directed toward *different* works, so long as a mass and an elite, both demanding the same negative escape, can only pride themselves on their apparent differences. Nor will all the art-appreciation lectures or university courses in the world break the vicious circle. It will only be broken by a society which is consciously united by a positive, realistic, satisfying sense of purpose.

PRUDE AND THE LEWD

Wherein The Bigger Peril? . . *by John H. Griffin*

OBSCENE, lewd, lascivious, filthy, indecent, and disgusting—these are the six adjectives connected with censorship. No two persons agree on their precise definition, as Ernst and Seagle point out in their book "To the Pure." The League of Nations was unable to arrive at a legal definition of obscenity, the most frequently used adjective of all.

In the new wave of censorship that is sweeping all English-speaking countries, we are seeing familiar patterns repeated. Beginning with the laudable purpose of suppressing pornography, censorship historically ends up by engulfing more and more works of legitimate value and by spreading beyond the realm of creative literature to technical and philosophical works as well.

In this process, since no one has ever defined obscenity in a satisfactory manner, the general test is based on Chief Justice Cockburn's ruling in the case of *Regina v. Hicklin* in 1868:

> The test for obscenity is this: whether the tendency of the matter charged as obscenity is to deprave and corrupt those whose minds are open to such immoral influences, and into whose hands a publication of this sort may fall.

JOHN HOWARD GRIFFIN, a blinded war veteran and a Catholic, is the author of "The Devil Rides Outside," the paperback edition of which was recently confiscated by censors in Detroit.

This sounds reasonable enough, but it only takes a moment's study to see that it actually means nothing insofar as legal precision is concerned, since it is predicated upon unascertainable, indefinite standards. For who can say whether the tendency of such and such a work is to deprave and corrupt one person, not another? And how does one determine who exactly are those "whose minds are open to such immoral influences"? And, of course, who is to know "into whose hands a publication of this sort may fall"?

This evaluation is supported by the decision of Judge Curtis Bok in *Commonweath v. Gordon*, Philadelphia, 1949:

> Strictly applied, this [Cockburn's] rule renders any book unsafe, since a moron could pervert to some sexual fantasy to which his mind is open the listings of a seed catalogue. Not even the Bible would be exempt. . . . Who can define the clear and present danger to the community that arises from reading a book? If we say that it is that the reader is young and inexperienced and incapable of resisting the sexual temptations that the book may present to him, we put the entire reading public at the mercy of the adolescent mind and of those adolescents who do not have the expected advantages of home influence, school training, or religious teaching. If the argument be applied to the general public, the situation becomes absurd, for then no publication is safe.

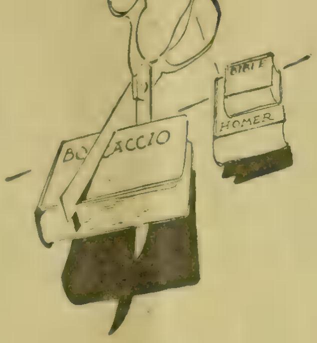
The Cockburn test is still used as the basis for censorship legislation and for the judging of a work as obscene. A number of states have statutes which define as obscene "any publication *containing* obscene, immoral, lewd, or lascivious material tending to incite *minors* to violent or depraved or immoral acts, manifestly tending to the corruption of the morals of youth" (Emphasis added).

This again sounds admirable, except that under this ruling virtually every major author, including Nobel and Pulitzer prize-winners, have been banned from public sale as obscene. It is even more faulty than the original Cockburn statement and appears to be a clear violation of the rights guaranteed under the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States in that it: (1) prohibits the distribution of any book[*] to any member of the public because of the hypothetical effect the book might tend to have merely on minors; (2) permits books to be banned merely on the basis of *containing* questionable passages; (3) offers no express definition of what constitutes obscenity, and therefore many passages of legitimate realistic description can be proscribed merely on the basis of differing tastes.

Few people realize the far-reaching aspects of the statement: ". . . any publication containing obscene, immoral, lewd, or lascivious material." Art, in order to have any influence on man's understanding, must exist whole. Unless a work be considered as an entity, there is obviously no way of judging its validity. Isolated words and phrases torn out of context from the Bible, for example, sound exactly like those same words and phrases lifted from some pornographic book, and on the basis of merely *containing* such words and phrases the one is as subject to banning as the other. This is essentially what happens. So-called objectionable words and phrases are copied out of context, [illegible] list of them is handed to the censor, and he is obliged to decide the obscenity of the work on the basis of whether or not [illegible] fourteen-year-old child should be allowed books *containing* such words and phrases. The answer is as obvious as the process is puerile. It is like taking a photograph of the navel of Michaelangelo's David and asking someone unfamiliar with the entire figure if he would like to have his fourteen-year-old daughter see a statue containing such realistic details.

IN HIS testimony before the Gathings committee, Inspector Herbert Case, in charge of the Detroit police department's censor bureau, stated: "We in our municipality feel that the law and the statutes and everything are intended to protect the adolescent, the weak, and susceptible." This, again, is admirable, but it becomes vicious when the adult public is denied the right to any book on the basis of its possible harm to the "adolescent, the weak, and susceptible," and in passing it might be added that the Detroit blacklist reads like [illegible] Who's Who of our most respected novelists. Yet you can still walk into hotels and drugstores and buy the same old "Violent Honeymoon" and "Midnight Passion" trash because publishers have simply deleted the objectionable words and phrases. Actions such as Detroit's succeed effectively in banning everything except the innocuous and the mediocre.

Judge Learned Hand in *United States v. Kennerly* observed that this type of obscenity test would "reduce our treatment of sex to the standard of a child's library in the supposed interest of a salacious few" and "forbid all which might corrupt the most corruptible." Accordingly, authors of the caliber of Faulkner, Hemingway, Mauriac, Huxley, Greene, Dos Passos, Zola, and even Boccaccio, plus many others, are being branded as pornographers and their works dismissed as "obscene."



Although, as we shall see, all censorship can be lumped together, since all of it commits the same errors and is based on the same fallacy of juvenile behavior, it is necessary to point out that there are three general types of censorship currently practiced in the English-speaking world.

First, there is the police [illegible] who derives his authority to ban books from such statutes as the one I have discussed. An assigned policeman goes through new books, or reprints of old ones, and rejects from public sale those which he thinks might conceivably harm the young, the weak, and susceptible. He is often "aided" in making up his blacklist by lists furnished him by religious and sectarian organizations. Then there is the censorship board, such as that in effect in Georgia, where a three-man group of private citizens does the filth-hunting. And finally there is the so-called hidden censorship, consisting of religious and civic groups, leagues for and against this and that, which use a technique of pressures on bookshop owners in somewhat this manner: A representative of the group visits the local bookstores, presents them with lists of works which the group finds objectionable, promises them a plaque of cooperation if the blacklisted books are removed from sale, and indicates that lists of co-operating and non-cooperating stores will be published. Thus, through furnishing lists to tired police censors and to bookstores, these groups apply very effective censorship, replacing the "due processes of law" by extra-legal pressures to attain their ends. This practice is followed by many religious organizations of laymen, such as, for example, the National Organization for Decent Literature.

No one would deny the right of any sectarian group to discourage its members from reading books which are offensive to it, but such a prerogative becomes vicious when it is used to deprive others, who are not members of that particular group, from access to work to which they have a perfect right, according to the legal standards of the United States. Speaking of this, Victor Weybright, in his testimony before the Gathings committee, said:

> The fact that these groups act from the best of motives does not alter the fact that their attempt to pose such extra-legal standards is a clear infringement of the right of the reading public to select for itself what it will read. When the action of local or sectarian groups takes the form of pressure applied to distributors and dealers, whether [illegible] not with the assistance of local law-enforcement agencies, it becomes [illegible] secondary boycott which may be actionable [illegible] [illegible] illegal restraint of trade.

Censorship, by depriving the community of the right of [illegible] [illegible] serious works because it cannot distinguish pornography from realism, thereby commits mankind to a cultural and ethical harikari. The list of abuses is far too long to be presented here, but it must be apparent that wherever these censorship drives have started they have invariably spread to works that could not conceivably be considered obscene. In one English community recently, "The Decameron" was banned along with trash such as "Foolish Virgin Says No." In another English community, a novel highly respected in America and Europe was banned because, according to the censor, "there is an insidious, sneaking Roman Catholic propaganda in it which I detest." The censor added that he would keep it "even from septuagenarians," which somewhat removes us from the criterion, false though it may be, of "the young, the weak, and susceptible."

The difference between pornography and the legitimate and necessary treatment of evil in literature is one which appears to escape these censoring agents. Every great artist, whether he is conscious of it or not, in some way illuminates the mystery of evil. But the pornographer wallows in evil, illuminating nothing. Unable to distinguish art from pornography, the average censoring body simply denies that the distinction exists. Reverend Dr. James Wesberry, chairman of Georgia's three-man censorship board, has said: "I don't discriminate between nude women, whether or not they are art. It's all lustful to me."

THERE is, then, particularly among the clergy and religious groups of all sorts, a growing clamor based on good intentions and a total disrespect for accepted artistic standards, which denounces anything not totally innocuous as "contemporary" or "new," with the implication that it depraves our children—or they presume it does, for it is odd that none of these youths has ever been presented in evidence as having been corrupted by banned works of literary stature. No, what is "new," of course, is the idea that we can no longer exercise parental control over our children. We do not ban essentially adult products in the pharmaceutical lines, we do not ban alcohol and cigarettes on the basis of our not desiring our fourteen-year-olds to use them. It is therefore intriguing that in what concerns literature and art, parental control mysteriously vanishes and we must deprive everyone of these works, which range from the Latin classics through Shakespeare and Shaw and the real contemporaries, some of which are admittedly adult fare, sometimes even the fare of scholars, theologians, and scientists—as the recently banned "Phallic Worship," a noted work in its field—on the formula of their possible harm to our children.

And what about this juvenile corruption of which we hear so much? Where does the problem really lie? It lies squarely in the home, the school, and the church. By the time the corruptible youth reaches an age to understand what he is reading and to be sensitive enough to it to be corrupted, his background training and moral development will have already been fairly well established; and if this has been properly done, art, no matter how realistic, will serve for him the same function it has for all men in the past: the dissemination of truth and the creation of perspective and compassion. Blaming truthful art for juvenile corruption is like blaming one's mother for original sin—the harm will have been done before either enters the picture. Does not this banning, making literature the scapegoat, indicate only one thing: defeat within the home? Another very new thing, of course, is that you build resistance to temptation by hiding it under a barrel. The legitimacy of these new ideas is richly indicated by the juvenile crime rates, which are high in banning countries and low in those where great art, and frank art, is a part of daily life under the guidance and control of parents. This is indisputable. Too many bishops and saints were reared on works now subject to banning. Cardinal Newman said:

> We cannot have a sinless literature about sinful men, and nothing is barred per se.

Huntington Cairns, one of the most astute critics of censorship in this country, observes:

> In general such men [police censors] have had little or no contact with science and art, have had no knowledge of the liberty of expression tacitly granted to men of letters since the beginnings of Englist literature, and have been, from the point of view of expert opinion, altogether incompetent to handle the subject.

How much less qualified as experts are those chosen at random from church and community groups on the basis of some fervor to "clean things up." This cleaning is producing an error of national proportions of which the average layman is more or less unaware.

Leon Bloy ascribes the error to two causes: ". . . the astounding unintelligence of modern Christians and their deep aversion to the beautiful." More detailed causes might be these:

That a problem of the most profound significance is attacked in its most superficial aspects;

That the censors appear innocent of any awareness of the supreme importance of art in the maintenance of a culture, particularly when that art offends some cherished prejudice, and are therefore willing and glad to sacrifice highly regarded works "to the good cause."

It has always been so, and there is little hope that the cycle will not again complete itself without going to an extreme that will make the demands for freedom of press and pen the subject of bitterly fought battles; for the public is always late in realizing that between the two evils, the prude does it ultimately greater harm than the lewd person. The prude and the bigot are what they are precisely because they lack qualities of prudence and understanding. Moral virtue, behind which they hide, is impossible without these intellectual virtues of prudence and understanding which direct man to the *proper means* of achieving his goals. Power, then, in the hands of people who are currently embracing censorship with neither prudence nor understanding, must inevitably result in abuse. Seemingly admirable motives obscure the true damage caused by such people until it reaches commanding dimensions—dimensions which it is now reaching in our English-speaking countries.

TO THE author, viewing this situation, it is indeed a source of some confusion that tempts him to throw up his hands and say: "What's the use? What's the use when such innocents are waiting to pounce on the lowest elements within a work without viewing those elements in the light of their function or treatment?" Pascal long ago described this tendency:

> No, no, if they are great it is because their heads are higher—a thing which we cannot see if we look only at their feet which are on the same ground as ours.

But to some, this situation in itself is a challenge, a challenge to discover how in this most advanced of all technological ages, when the degree of literacy is higher than ever before, how in this enlightened age a whole mass of people can have reached such a pitch of fervor over such a patently self-destructive ideal. Here, for the author who would illuminate the mystery of evil, is an evil of magnitude.

FALL BOOK SECTION

The Neglected Henry Miller

By Kenneth Rexroth

HENRY MILLER is a really popular writer, a writer of, for, and by real people. In other countries he is read, not just by highbrows, or by the wider public that reads novels, but by the people who, in the United States, read comic books. In the United States he has been kept away from a popular public and his great novels have been banned. Only highbrows who could import them from France have read him.

I once crossed the Atlantic with a cabin mate, a French-African Negro, only partially literate, who was able to talk for hours on the comparative merits of "Black Spring" and the "Tropic of Cancer" and the "Tropic of Capricorn." When he found out I came from California and knew Miller, he started treating me as if I were an archangel newly descended, and never tired of questions about Le Beeg Sur and Les Camarades du M'sieu Millaire. Miners in the Pyrenees, gondoliers in Venice, and certainly every *poule* in Paris, when they hear you're from California, ask, first thing, "Do you know M'sieu Millaire?" This doesn't mean he isn't read by the intellectuals. In fact I should say he has become part of the standard repertory of reading matter everywhere but in England and in the United States. If you have read Balzac, or Baudelaire, or Goethe, you are also expected to have read Miller. He is certainly one of the most widely read American writers, along with Upton Sinclair, Jack London, Fenimore Cooper and Caldwell.

This is the way it should be. Nothing was sadder than the "proletarian novelist" of a few years back. Nobody read him but other Greenwich Village esthetes like himself. The people Henry Miller writes about read him. They read him because he gives them something they cannot find elsewhere in print. It may not be precisely the real world, but it is nearer to it than most other writing, and it is certainly nearer than most so-called realistic writing.

ONCE the written word was a privilege of priests and priestly scribes. Although thousands of years have passed, vestiges of that special privilege and caste artificiality still cling to it. Can you remember when you first started to read? Doubtless you thought that someday you would find in books the truth, the answer to the very puzzling life you were discovering around you. But you never did. The written word is a sieve. Only so much of reality gets through as fits the size and shape of the screen, and in some ways that is never enough. Partly this is due to the structure of language. With us this takes the form of Indo-European grammar crystallized in what we call Aristotelian logic. Most of the real difficulty of communication comes from social convention, from a vast conspiracy to agree to accept the world as something it isn't at all. Even the realist novels of a writer like Zola are not much closer to the real thing than the documents written in Egyptian hieroglyphics.

Literature is a social defense mechanism. Remember again when you were a child. You thought that some day you would grow up and find a world of real adults, the people who really made things run, and understood how and why things ran. Then, as the years went on, you learned, through more or less bitter experience, that there aren't and never have been any such people, anywhere. Life is just a mess, and nobody knows what makes it go. Or anyway nobody tells.

Henry Miller tells. Anderson told *about* the little boy and the Emperor's new clothes. Miller *is* the little boy. He tells about the Emperor, about the pimples on his behind, and the warts on his private parts, and the dirt between his toes. Great writers in the past have done this, and they are the real classics. But they have done it within the conventions of literature. They have used the forms of the Great Lie to expose the truth. Some of this literature is called comic, but in the last analysis it is all tragic, even Rabelais, because finally life itself is tragic. With very few exceptions, however, it is conventional. It disguises itself in the garments of harmless artistic literature. It sneaks in and betrays the complacent and deluded. A great work of art is a kind of Trojan Horse. There are those who believe that this is all there is to the art of poetry—sugar-coating the pills of prussic acid with which the poet doses the enemy.

It is hard to tell sometimes when Miller is being ironic and when he is being naive. He is the master of a deadpan style, just as he has a public personality that alternates between quiet gentleness, "like a dentist," he describes it, and a sort of deadpan buffoonery. This has led some critics to consider him a "modern primitive" like Rousseau.

Miller is a very unliterary writer. He writes as if he had just invented the alphabet. When he writes about a book, he writes as if he were the first and only man who had ever read it—and furthermore as if it wasn't a book but a piece of living meat whacked off Balzac or Rimbaud or whoever.

Miller has preserved an innocence of the practice of Literature almost unique. Likewise he has preserved an innocence of heart. But he is not unsophisticated. In the first place, he writes a muscular, active prose which is always under control. True, he often rambles and gets windy, but only because he likes to ramble and hear his head roar. When he wants to tell you something straight from the shoulder, he makes you reel.

Now the writer most like Miller in some ways, is the eighteenth-century *naif*, Restif de la Bretonne. If you want the common man of the eighteenth century, with his heart laid bare, you will find him in Restif. But you will also find thousands of pages of sheer boredom, and hundreds of pages of quite looney and obviously invented por-

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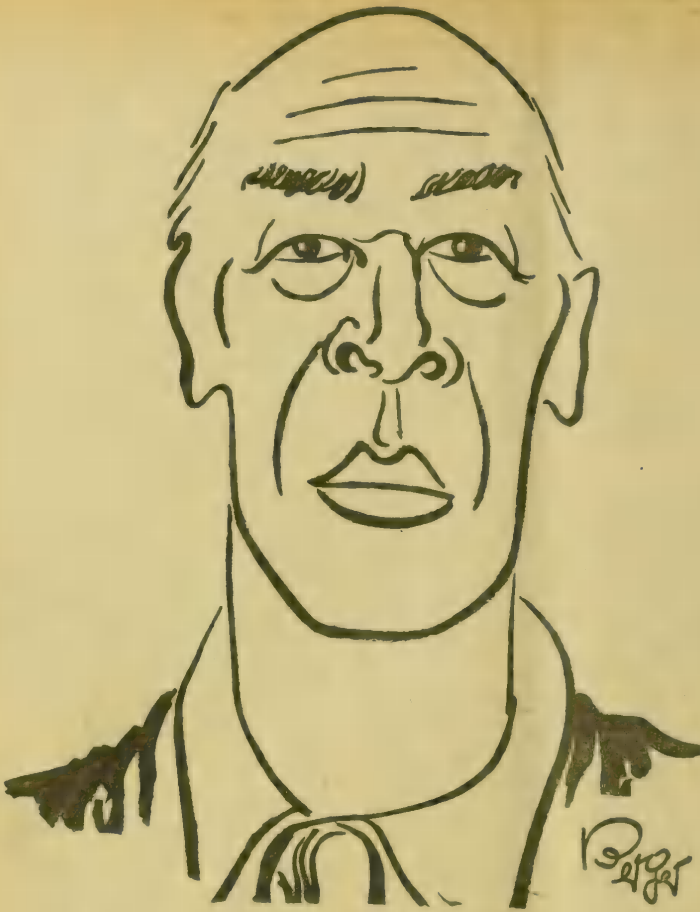
KENNETH REXROTH, poet and critic, conducts a book-review program over radio station KPFA, San Francisco. This article will appear as an introduction to "Nights of Love and Laughter," a collection of Henry Miller's short stories to be published next month as a Signet paper book by the New American Library.



Henry Miller

nography. Miller too is liable at times to go off the deep end about the lost continent of Mu or astrology or the "occult," but it is for a different reason. If the whole shebang is a lie anyway, certainly the amusing lies, the lies of the charlatans who have never been able to get the guillotine in their hands, are better than the official lie, the deadly one.

In all literature there aren't many people like Miller. The only ones I can think of are Petronius, Casanova, and Restif. Their books give an overwhelming feeling of being true, completely uncooked. They are all intensely masculine writers. They all are great comic writers. They all convey, powerfully, a sense of the utter tragedy of life. I can think of no more chilling passages in literature than the tolling of the bell from the very beginning of Casanova's "Memoirs," the comments and asides of the aged man, writing of his splendid youth, an old, sick, friendless pauper, in a draughty castle in the backwoods of Bohemia. And last, and most important, they were all what the English call spivs. Courtier of Nero or Parisian typesetter, they were absolutely uninvolved. They just didn't give a damn whether school kept or not.

Miller has often been compared with Celine, but I don't think the comparison is apposite. Celine is a man with a thesis. Furthermore, he is a literateur. In "Journey to the End of the Night" he set out to write the epic of a Robinson Crusoe of the modern soul, the utterly alienated man. He did it, very successfully. Celine and his friends stumble through the fog, over the muddy ruts with the body of Robinson in a denouement as monumental as the "Nibelungenlied." But it is all a work of art. I have been in the neighborhoods Celine described. They simply aren't that awful. I am sure on internal evidence of the story itself, that his family wasn't that bad. Celine makes a sociological judgment on Robinson. Miller *is* Robinson, and on the whole, he finds it a bearable role, even enjoyable in its way.

Henry Miller is often spoken of as a religious writer. To some this just seems silly, because Miller is not especially profound. People expect religion to come to them served in miracle, mystery, and authority, as Dostoevsky said. Blake dressed his message up in sonorous and mysterious language, but the message itself is simple enough. D. H. Lawrence likewise. You could write it all on a postage stamp. "*Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin.* Your official reality is a lie. We must love one another or die." I suppose any writer who transcends conventional literature is religious in so far as he does transcend it. That is why you can never actually base an educational system on the Hundred Best Books. A hundred of the truest insights into life as it is would destroy any educational system, and society along with it.

Certainly Miller is almost completely untouched by what is called religion in England and America and Northern Europe. He is completely pagan. This is why his book on Greece, "The Colossus of Maroussi," is a book of self-discovery as well as a very true interpretation of Greece. It is thoroughly classic. Although he never mentions Homer and dismisses the Parthenon, he did discover the life of Greece, the common, real life of the peasants and fishermen, going on, just as it has gone on, ever since the Doric invasions.

His absolute freedom from the Christian or Jewish anguish of conscience, the sense of guilt, implication, and compromise, makes Miller humane, but it effectively keeps him from being humanitarian. He might cry over a pet dog who had been run over, or even punch the guilty driver in the nose. He might have assassinated Hitler if he had the chance. He would never join the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals or the Friends' Service Committee. He is not involved in the guilt, and so in no way is he involved in the penitence. This comes out in everything he writes, and it offends lots of people. Others may go to bull fights and write novels preaching the brotherhood of man. Miller doesn't go to the bull fights in the first place. So, although he often raves, he never preaches. People have been taught to expect preaching, and of course they are offended if they don't find it.

FIFTY per cent of the people in this country don't vote. They simply don't want to be implicated in organized society. With, in most cases, a kind of animal instinct, they know that they cannot do anything about it, that the participation offered them is really a hoax. It is for these people, the submerged 50 per cent, that Miller speaks. As the newspapers never tire of pointing out, this is a very American attitude. Miller says, "I am a patriot—of the Fourteenth Ward of Brooklyn, where I was raised." Life has never lost that simplicity and immediacy. Politics is the deal in the saloon back room. Law is the cop on the beat, shaking down whores and helping himself to apples. Religion is Father Maguire and Rabbi Goldstein, and their actual congregations. Civilization is the telegraph company.

So there isn't any social message in Miller, except an absolute one. When you get through reading James Farrell or Nelson Algren, you have a nasty suspicion that the message of the author is, "More playgrounds and properly guided social activities will reduce crime and vice." There is nothing especially frightful about Miller's Brooklyn; like Farrell's South Side, it is just life in the lower middle-class and upper working-class section of a big American city. It certainly isn't what queasy reviewers call "the slums." It's just the life the reviewers themselves led before they became reviewers. What outrages them is that Miller accepts it, just like the people who still live there. Accepting it—how he can write about it! He can bring back the whole prewar America, the bunny hug, tunes from "The Pink Lady," Battling Nelson, Dempsey the Nonpareil, Pop Anson and Pearl White, a little boy rushing the growler with a bucket of suds and a sack of six-inch pretzels in the smoky twilight of a Brooklyn Sunday evening.

I think that is what Miller found in Paris. Not the City of Art, Letters, and Fashion—but prewar-Brooklyn. It is certainly what I like best about Paris and it is what I get out of Miller's writing about Paris. He doesn't write about the Latin Quarter, but about the dim-lit streets and dusty squares which lie between the Latin Quarter and the Jardin des Plantes, where men sit drinking beer in their shirt sleeves in front of dirty little bars in the smoky Sunday twilight. But he writes very convincingly about that most Brooklyn-like of all the quarters of Paris, the district near the Military Academy, across the river from the Eiffel Tower, where the subway becomes an elevated, tall tenements mingle with small bankrupt factories, and people sit on the doorsteps fanning themselves in the Brooklyn-like summer heat, and sleep and couple on the summer roofs.

In the same way his intellectuals in Paris are assimilated to Brooklyn. They may talk about Nietzche and Dostoevsky, but they talk like hall-room boys, rooming together, working at odd jobs, picking up girls in dance halls and parks. "Batching" is the word. Over the most impassioned arguments and the bawdiest conversations lingers an odor of unwashed socks. The light is the light of Welsbach mantels on detachable cuffs and unmade beds. Of course that is the way they really talked and still do, for that matter.

There is a rank old-fashioned masculinity about this world which shocks the tender-minded and deluded. It is far removed from the Momism of the contemporary young American male. This is why Miller is accused of writing about all women as though they were whores, never treating them as real persons, as equals. This is why he is said to lack any sense of familial love. On the whole, I think this is true. Most of the sexual encounters in the Tropics and the Rosy Crucifixion are comic accidents, as impersonal as a pratfall. The woman never emerges at all. He characteristically writes of his wives as bad boys talk of their school teachers. When he takes his sexual relations seriously, the woman becomes an erotic giantess, a perambulating orgy.

ALTHOUGH Miller writes a lot about his kinship with D. H. Lawrence, he has very little of Lawrence's abiding sense of the erotic couple, of man and woman as the two equal parts of a polarity which takes up all of life. This again is Brooklyn, pre-suffragette Brooklyn. And I must admit that it is true, at least for almost everybody. A real wedding of equals, a truly sacramental marriage in which every bit of both personalities, and all the world with them, is transmuted and glorified, may exist. In fact, some people may have a sort of talent for it, but it certainly isn't very common. I don't see why Miller should be blamed if he has never found it. Hardly anybody ever does, and those who do usually lose it in some sordid fashion. This, of course, is the point, the message if you want a message, of all his encounters in parks and telephone booths and brothels. Better this than the lie. Better the Flesh than the World and the Devil. And this is why these passages are not pornography, but comic like "King Lear" and tragic like "Don Quixote."

At least once, Miller makes up for this lack. The tale of the Cosmodemonic Telegraph Company is a perfect portrait of our insane and evil society. It says the same thing others have said, writing on primitive accumulation or on the condition of the working class, and it says it far more convincingly. This is human self-alienation at its uttermost, and not just theoretically, or even realistically. It is an orgy of human self-alienation, a cesspool of it, and Miller rubs your nose in it. Unless you are a prig and a rascal, when you get through, you know once and for all what is the matter.

Once Miller used to have pinned on his bedroom door a scrap of paper, written on it *"S'agapo"*—"I love you" in Greek. In "The Alcoholic Veteran" he says: "The human heart cannot be broken."

The New Nonconformism

By Lawrence Lipton

THE EXPATRIATION, with which the name of Henry James is associated in its earlier phases and Ernest Hemingway and the Lost Generation writers in its post-World War I phases, was followed by the secession, of which such names as H. L. Mencken, Malcolm Cowley, Sinclair Lewis, John Dos Passos, and F. Scott Fitzgerald are characteristic. After "The Crack-Up"—the big one, of which Fitzgerald's was only a personal example—we witnessed an alienation of the Marxist variety. Blue-nose literary censorship and American parochialism triggered the expatriation. The business boom, Babbittry, and Coolidge-Harding "normalcy" triggered the secession. The great depression and the rise of Nazism triggered the alienation. World War II brought most writers, and most intellectuals for that matter, more into line with national policy and contemporary values than they had been in half a century, but once it was over a new alienation became evident. This new alienation carries the signature of Norman Mailer, just as the first postwar alienation carried the signature of Ernest Hemingway.

That was only yesterday, and already a new generation of writers is rising to challenge it. Novels like J. D. Salinger's "Catcher in the Rye" and George Mandel's "Flee the Angry Strangers," for example, are as different from "The Naked and the Dead" and "The Young Lions" as Norman Mailer's and Irwin Shaw's novels are from Hemingway's "Farewell to Arms" and "The Sun Also Rises." Indeed, a new word is needed to characterize this new brand of nonconformity. I suggest the word disaffiliation, from *affiliatus,* adopted as a son; in law: to fix the paternity of, as a bastard child—"The mother affiliated her child on John Doe." When John Doe, Jr., rejects the parenthood, the ancestral legacy of social and cultural values, he may be said to disaffiliate himself. That maverick of the labor movement, John L. Lewis, made notable use of the word when he broke with the A. F. of L., in a famous two-word telegram: "I disaffiliate."

MANDEL and Salinger need no such literary devices as Mailer's chorus and time machine to relate their characters to a rejected or an outlived past, any more than Nelson Algren needed Dos Passos's biographies and "Camera Eye." Where the alienated writers turned angry faces toward the *status quo,* in protest, disaffiliated writers like Mandel, Salinger, Chester Himes, Ralph Ellison, George Lamming, Horace McCoy, and William Manchester turn their backs on the *status quo,* in utter rejection. Their heroes, like those of Norman Mailer, are members of a lost patrol in a senseless "action" in a world (and a war) they never made, but unlike all alienated heroes of the past they do not look back to a better past nor forward to a better future. Hung between two worlds, like the "reluctant P. O. W.'s" in the no-man's land at Panmunjom, Buridan's Ass between two equally undesirable bundles of hay. "If he'd had to shoot anybody, he wouldn't have known which direction to shoot in," says young Caulfield in "Catcher in the Rye." "He said the army was practically as full of bastards as the Nazis were." To Hemingway's heroes war was a big show which they experienced with the detachment of fascinated spectators—till it got too close to them. Mailer's "Red" Valsen finally protests the insane ascent of Mount Anaka, but when the power-maddened Sergeant Croft threatens to shoot him for insubordination he backs down into his habitual funk of believing in nothing and expecting the worst. Salinger's Caulfield is the complete disaffiliate: "I swear if there's another war, they better stick me in front of a firing squad. I wouldn't object." B. Traven, a veteran of disaffiliation, struck this note as long ago as 1934 when, in "The Death Ship," he declared, "The state is a Beast . . . the state takes sons from their mothers and flings them to idols."

To see the disaffiliation novels in their proper setting it is necessary to take into account the background against which they are making their appearance: a world that is virtually in a state of martial law, in which deviation from the party line, on both sides of the iron curtain, is treason; a party line, moreover, which lays down the law not only in politics but in the arts as well, so that one may be purged (by a firing squad or by "investigation") for a movie script, a radio show, a novel, a piece of music, a sermon, a poem, or even a private conversation reported by an unnamed informer. A world, in short, in which the *status quo,* or in some cases the *status quo ante,* is king, and it is a crime to imagine the king's death, or even his distempers. In such a world the nonconformist is faced with a choice between armed underground resistance or retreat into a closed circle of like-minded people to whom the rest of the collectivity are angry strangers or outsiders. "Those culture perverts from uptown. *Any*one from uptown. And downtown. Everywhere I go. I tell you our society is at the bottom of its spiral." (Mandel) "The people who applauded the show-offy, tricky stuff of the night-club entertainers were the same morons that laugh like hyenas in the movies at stuff that isn't funny." (Salinger)

"The whole commercial scene is animal against animal . . . everybody's mouth going with words like priests and kings and congressmen with words and no understanding. . . . You can keep reality. Work is for slaves; I'm free." (Mandel)

"The so-called spiritual leaders who are all spirit and no brains, all sky and no earth . . . the jerks with the electric word of officialdom who do nothing but separate people." (Mandel) "If you want to know the truth, I can't even stand ministers . . . they all have Holy Joe voices. . . I don't see why they don't talk in their natural voices. They sound phony when they talk." (Salinger)

"A whole nation of people suspending consciousness in whatever way they could: in churches and movie houses, before television sets, in barrooms and in books. . . . The whole world [seeking] hard for its narcosis. . . . Dope fiends and phi-

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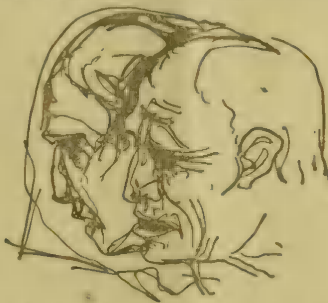
LAWRENCE LIPTON is the author of "Brother, The Laugh Is Bitter" and "In Secret Battle." He has just published a book of verse, "Rainbow at Midnight."

losophers, prostitutes and poets, artists and hoods, darlings, dreamers, derelicts, and every American variety of displaced persons. . . . Whether praying step by step up tottering towers toward some illusion of heaven, or playing notch by notch down any available avenue of escape, from a stupid movie to a charge of heroin—the whole world is hooked." (Mandel).

The hero of these novels often starts out like Voltaire's Candide, "a youth endowed by nature with the most gentle character . . . his judgment quite honest . . . extremely simple-minded." Sometimes he begins by stoutly defending the mother culture, as in the first chapters of Ellison's "Invisible Man," then he is put through a process of diseducation and reeducation till he finally achieves disaffiliation. Usually, too, we are given a worm's-eye view of the social structure, from the bottom looking up. It is not that poverty is accepted without protest, but that poverty is preferred to a prosperity that can be bought only at the price of dog-eat-dog success and a blood-money economy geared to production for war, which today means mass extermination on a world scale. It is a literature that documents the growing suicide rate, increasing drug addiction, juvenile gangs, hot-rod speed mania, and anything for kicks. It also reflects the intellectual, social, and spiritual *contretemps*. Evidently it is getting harder every day to sell the young on the notion that a fragmentized society in imminent danger of becoming literally atomized is worth either their love or their loyalty. The novel of disaffiliation pictures a world in which a growing number of the youth seem to prefer almost any alternative: an embattled little underground community like that of jive and jazz with its private language, the closed circle of the heroin addicts, even the precariously free community of crime.

THE note of violence is particularly marked in the Negro novelists. In "Native Son," Bigger was punished not so much for murder as for the crime of daring to play a role which society had encouraged him to aspire to. To the very end Bigger wanted to belong. Today we find Chester Himes's hero expressing the same dilemma but with a different emphasis: "That was the hell of it: the white folks had drummed more into me than they'd been able to scare out. Anyone who wanted to could be nigger-rich, nigger-important, have their Jim Crow religion, and go to nigger heaven." ("If He Hollers Let Him Go") George Lamming carries withdrawal to the point of pitting black race-pride against white race-pride: "He was a Negro and he was proud . . . to be a different creature." ("In the Castle of My Skin") Ralph Ellison's hero in "Invisible Man" first accepts and then rejects both Uncle Tom-ism and the Brotherhood, and in the last analysis finds his refuge in the very invisibility that the white man has imposed on him.



Yet the yearning to belong, not as a different but as the *same* kind of creature continues to obsess the hero of Negro fiction:

"I didn't want to be the biggest Negro who ever lived, neither Toussaint L'Ouverture nor Walter White. Because deep inside me where the white folks couldn't see, it didn't mean a thing. Not a thing. If you couldn't swing down Hollywood Boulevard and know you belonged; if you couldn't make a polite pass at Lana Turner at Ciro's without having the gendarmes beat the black out of you for getting out of your place; if you couldn't eat a thirty-dollar dinner at a hotel without choking on the insults, being a great big 'Mister' nigger didn't mean a thing." (Chester Himes).

Disaffiliation comes harder to the Negro than to the white man, if only because he has less choice about it; but diseducation and reeducation come easier to him. The white meat packer can document the social inequalities of the dinner table as accurately as the Negro garbage collector, but the garbage collector has fewer vested interests to distort his appraisal of the evidence. The lure of the thirty-dollar dinner and the allure of Lana Turner are just as strong in Horace McCoy's heroes, for example, as they are in Chester Himes's; McCoy's criminal in "Kiss Tomorrow Goodbye" and his doctor in "Scalpel" are on the make for conventional success, but they harbor no illusions about the price of conformity, and no one has laid bare the lesions of contemporary American society with more surgical detachment. Salinger's young rebel has no desire to belong, there is no price tag on his loyalty. The young narcotic addicts in "Flee the Angry Strangers" are fleeing in particular from those who want to cure, coddle or rehabilitate them. It is the strangers who are "beastly . . . mad . . . hooked." Frankie Machine's failure, and later his crime, in "The Man with the Golden Arm," is that "he had failed the billboards all down the line." Nelson Algren has since declared that "scarcely any way now remains of reporting the American century except from behind the tote-board, from behind the TV commercials and the Hearst headlines, the car-ads and the subtitles, the editorials and the conventions. For it is only there that the people of Dickens and Dostoevsky may be found once more."

The expatriation was concerned with the artist against society, the secession with the intellectual against Babbitt and "the booboisie," the Marxist alienation with worker against boss. When the rich began to buy expatriate art and enshrine expatriate books in the college curricula, the expatriation came to an end. When Babbitt capitulated to Mrs. Babbitt and her book clubs, and "the old lady from Dubuque" started reading the *New Yorker*, the Menckenian revolt was over. The literary Marxist alienation of the thirties was first absorbed and domesticated by the New Deal and then liquidated by Kremlin foreign policy and doctrinal defections. It is difficult to see how English Lit. and the quality magazines are going to make *Kitsch* out of the new disaffiliation.

Whether disaffiliated writers will be able to retain the long lean view, remains to be seen. B. Traven whose book royalties were never very large has nevertheless been able to support an independent poverty in rural Mexico where he makes his home. Born in Chicago—his real name is Berick Traven Torsvan—he has for some years been running a restaurant near Acapulco. Even the $10,000 in royalties which he got for the motion-picture rights to the "Treasure of the Sierra Madre," (a very low figure for such a profitable, prize-winning film) did not tempt him out of his simple life or his anonymity. Most of the younger disaffiliates have not felt the need, as yet, for expatriation or anonymity. Some of them have already seen five-figure royalty checks, mostly from the sale of paperback editions. If they can profit by the example of B. Traven and learn the truth of the maxim, known to hunters and mountain climbers, that he goes far who travels light, they may yet discover the positive virtues of disaffiliation and the *poverty on principle* that goes with it and helps to keep it uncorrupted.

Not the picturesque poverty of the bohemian twenties. Not the "Tell the Truth and Run" poverty that George Seldes implies in the title of his recent autobiography. Nor the conspiratorial underground poverty of those European radicals who are telling one another: "Stay poor, keep out of their way, lay low—and wait." But rather the dedicated poverty of those whose way of living and way of looking at life bears no relationship to the size of their royalty checks. The dedicated poverty of the disaffiliated in search of new loyalties that *Kitsch* cannot subvert and no amount of money can buy, because it is not for sale. Only from such a point of view will the disaffiliated writer continue to see his world from behind the billboards and know that his duty is, as Nelson Algren has expressed it, "forever with the accused. Guilty or not guilty, with the accused."

The Noble Anachronism

THE CALL TO HONOUR. The War Memoirs of General De Gaulle. Translated by Jonathan Griffin. Volume 1. The Viking Press. $5.

By Alexander Werth

I MUST apologize for plagiarizing myself: "De Gaulle, the noble anachronism" is the chapter-heading in a history of France since 1940, now in the press. Heaven only knows how historians of 2000 A. D. will look upon our present period; yet it will not be surprising if some of them treat De Gaulle as the most astonishing public figure of mid-twentieth-century France. Certainly the most single-minded and most monolithic figure of his time, of whom at Yalta Stalin perhaps said a truer word than he realized: "De Gaulle—he is not complicated."

De Gaulle, as he tells us in the first page of the first volume of his "Memoirs," was brought up in the cult of France—*Notre Dame la France,* he calls her on another occasion. To him French grandeur was an all-absorbing passion and the sole criterion which guided his actions as a soldier, as a military expert, as the self-appointed leader of the Free French, as the man who put himself at the head of the French Resistance (despite a good deal of reluctance on the part of many Resistance leaders in France), as the man who in 1944-45 was determined not to allow France to become either a Russian or an American satellite, and who, bitter over Britain's ousting of the French from Syria in 1945, was determined, in the name of French greatness, to restore Indo-China to France.

It was De Gaulle's obsession, both during and after the war, that France should become again a great power. As Emmanuel d'Astier de la Vigerie was to write later, in his admirable *"Sept fois sept jours,"* concerning his first meeting with De Gaulle in London:

> The symbol came into the room. He was even taller than I had thought. His gestures were slow and heavy like his nose. His small head, his waxy face were carried by a body of an uncertain architecture. His most usual gesture was to raise his forearms, while keeping his elbows close to his body; attached to a pair of frail wrists, his inert, very white, somewhat feminine hands, with the palms turned upwards, seemed to be raising all the time whole worlds of abstract burdens. . . . He does not like men; he only loves their history, especially the history of France, of which he was now "doing" a chapter himself, writing it in his mind as he went along, like a frenzied Michelet. . . . He despises too many men and too many things. . .

This was d'Astier's first impression of De Gaulle when he met him in London in 1942, but subsequently it did not greatly change.

De Gaulle is a figure (a "symbol," as d'Astier unkindly called him), whom the French needed in a moment of great danger; he was needed to symbolize resistance during the German Occupation; and again in 1947, at the height of the cold war, when the French bourgeoisie dreaded a Russian invasion and nearly 40 per cent of the people voted for him in the municipal elections that year. But once the danger was over, De Gaulle was cast aside. He represented the heroic tradition, and in normal times there is a deep distaste for heroics. Moreover, De Gaulle lived far too much in the past; his incapacity to face all the social and economic complexities of a modern society was too great. He contributed to the rejection of EDC—which, with its supranational machinery, implied for him the relegation of France to the second rank of powers; but since then he has retired from politics in disgust, and is devoting his time to writing books, no doubt in the bitterly proud belief, as he himself said at a press conference in 1953, that "it is perhaps my fate to have written the last page in the history of France's greatness."

The first volume of De Gaulle's "Memoirs" is admirable as a piece of writing—but slightly disappointing as to its contents. It is the book of a proud but frustrated man, and lacks something of the prophetic sweep, the passionate pleadings, the intense personalism of his prewar *"Le fil de l'epee"* or his *"Vers l'armee de metier."* In the 1930's he still believed in the possibility of a grand French *redressement;* but in telling the story of how he tried to restore French greatness after the disaster of 1940, he admits that he was fully conscious of "steering only a small vessel on the boundless ocean of the World War."

His famous call to France to resist, over the London radio on June

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ALEXANDER WERTH, The Nation's *Paris correspondent, has just completed a history of France since 1940.*

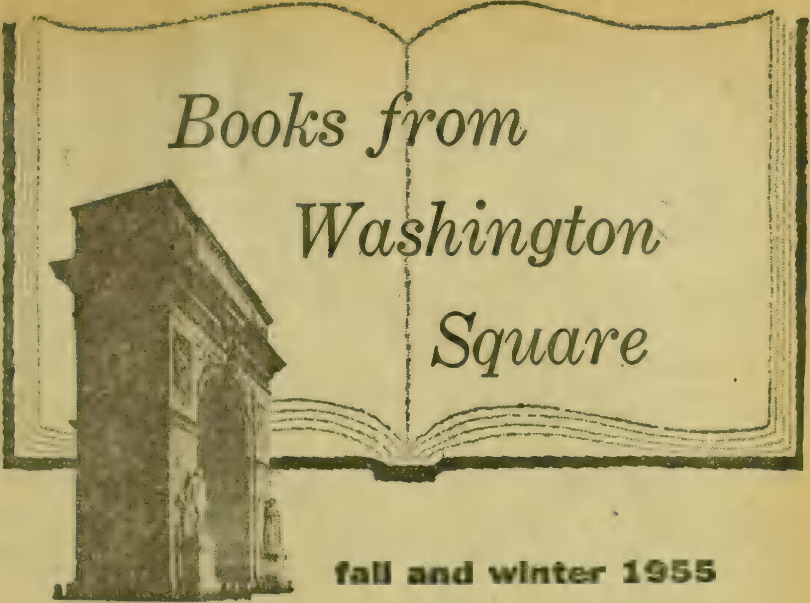
18, 1940, was not, as has often been said, "a lucky B. B. C. fluke." It was, in fact, precisely the kind of gesture that De Gaulle had psychologically premeditated years before; it was foreshadowed in *"Le fil de l'epee"* which he wrote in 1932. In a sense it is a pity that in his "Memoirs," De Gaulle should have chosen to tell a perfectly straightforward story, with very few digressions, instead of providing some of that psychological self-analysis which one finds in his earlier books.

Though his literary style is generally excellent, it is at times too laconic, with not nearly enough detail in characterization of the people he discusses. As a result, he has concentrated into a mere 250 pages the whole De Gaulle story up to 1942, the rest of the book being composed of "Documents," many of them of only minor interest.

Even in these 250 pages, a large part of the narrative is devoted to De Gaulle's prewar career and hopeless struggle for reform of the French army, which envisaged the creation of an *armee de metier,* with panzer divisions to give France a weapon fitted to her foreign policy.

With profound bitterness De Gaulle relates his (and Paul Reynaud's) attempts to create an army which could have acted as a deterrent to Hitler, notably in 1936 when he reoccupied the Rhineland. With a few armored divisions France could have stopped the rot; and in that case neither Austria nor Czechoslovakia would have been lost. De Gaulle took the matter up with Blum, only to find that Blum had convinced himself that the French army was "perfectly adequate" for defense, and would not allow De Gaulle to convince him that it was inadequate even for that, let alone for going to the rescue of France's allies. De Gaulle admits, however, that the politicians were not alone to blame; Gamelin, Petain, and Weygand were also quite satisfied with the "Maginot Myth." And when disaster came, a general feeling of defeatism swept over the whole of Western Europe: Leopold looked for the first opportunity to surrender; Gort to evacuate the British army; Weygand to sue for an armistice. These reflexes, in De Gaulle's view, were practically simultaneous.

De Gaulle relates in some detail,



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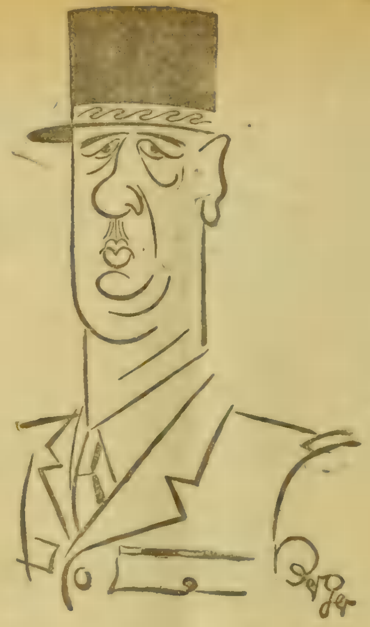
and with a touch of melancholy pride, how his troops recaptured nearly the whole of the German bridgehead at Abbeville, south of the Somme and took 500 German prisoners; and he asks where else in France, during those terrible days, did Germans become prisoners, and French troops advance. But it was to no avail. German superiority in armor and in the air was immense, and both the leaders and the people of France had lost their heads.

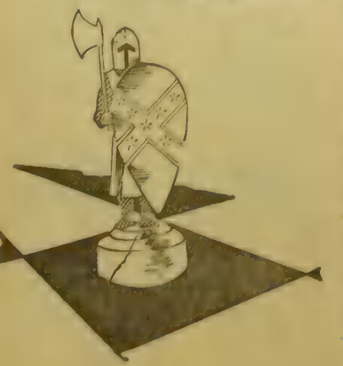
"If" and "if only" are idle words in any history; and one may well wonder whether the course of events would have been very different had De Gaulle's advice been followed. It seems likely that, in 1936, a French *armee de metier* would have been able to stop Hitler's reoccupation of the Rhineland; but supposing a great armored French force had been built up just before 1939, what would have happened? Would not Germany (which nearly crushed Russia a year later) have won the war in France in any case—if not in five weeks, then in five months?

But be that as it may, in De Gaulle's view France's foreign policy and military policy were suicidal. So much so that he scarcely blames Stalin for having signed the German-Soviet pact of 1939: Stalin, he says, had every reason to believe that France would do nothing, and was right to think that Russia had better share in the devouring of Poland than be itself next on Hitler's menu.

The story of how De Gaulle went to London and refused to obey Weygand's summons to return to France; of how he started the tiny Free French movement with Churchill's somewhat skeptical approval; of how, for a long time, it remained little more than a one-man show, is quite familiar. There are, in the course of the narrative, some admirable little pen portraits of Eden, Churchill, and others, but the "inside stories" are chiefly only those than can be read between the lines.



General De Gaulle



Of Eden he speaks highly; Eden, in his view, was a better friend of France than Churchill, but was occasionally hampered by the distrust of the Foreign Office, the ambitions of the military, the greed of the British colonials with their eye on the French Empire, and the machinations of the Intelligence Service which, for one thing, acted disloyally, and much too independently of De Gaulle, in its activities in France. The British, in general, had a tendency to look upon the French in London as mere auxiliaries in Britain's own fight against Germany. They did not recognize sufficiently the political importance of the Gaullist movement.

There were many angry clashes between De Gaulle and Churchill over the manner in which the British landed in Madagascar in May, 1942, without consulting the Free French, and over the shabby way in which the Gaullists were treated in Syria. Not only did the British refuse to hand the Syrian Mandate over to De Gaulle after the Vichy troops had been repatriated, but Generals Maitland Wilson and Spears constantly sabotaged the De Gaulle-Lyttelton agreement. They also made it impossible for the Gaullists to "convert" to their side more than 6,000 out of the 30,000 men of General Dentz's Vichyite army—the rest were sent back to France before the Gaullists had had time to make contact with them. More than once De Gaulle threatened to "break off relations" with Britain and to concentrate "Free France's" independent activities on the protection and extension of the Free French possessions in Central Africa. The trouble with Churchill, according to De Gaulle, was that he was completely under Roosevelt's thumb, and in both Roosevelt's and Cordell Hull's view, Vichy must continue to be courted and humored. Hence their hatred of "the so-called Free French," as Hull called them in his angry comment on the St. Pierre and Miquelon episode.

YET, in spite of everything, De Gaulle continued to be arrogant and overbearing. When Churchill once remarked to De Gaulle that he (Churchill) was more subtle than De Gaulle, and made concessions and was not unbending, the French leader characteristically remarked: "You have power behind you; but I have to be stiff and uncompromising; I am too weak ever to submit or to kow-tow." And almost miraculously, he got away with it, and by the end of this first part of his story, he had good reason to be satisfied. By the middle of 1942, he had an armed force of 70,000 Free French, a substantial part of France's merchant fleet, and a small navy. He also had to his credit the glory of the battle of Bir Hakeim, where the 5,500 Free French under General Koenig fought infinitely better (De Gaulle notes with glee) than the 30,000 British who surrendered at Tobruk "with incomprehensible haste." In this part of his "Memoirs" his clash with the United States is only foreshadowed. For De Gaulle's grand quarrel with the United States over the North Africa landing we must wait until the next volume. I hope it comes out soon, and that in it De Gaulle will be a little less austere and laconic, and not shun to quite the same extent the personal gossip about men like Churchill and Roosevelt—as for instance the episode of Anfa where they engineered the tragic-comic De Gaulle-Giraud handshake for the benefit of the world press.

Secret Places of the Groin

THE DEER PARK. By Norman Mailer. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $4.

By Dudley Nichols

TO MAKE clear the source and meaning of his title the author quotes from D'Angerville's "Private Life of Louis XV": ". . . the Deer Park, that gorge of innocence and virtue in which were engulfed so many victims who, when they returned to society, brought with them depravity, debauchery, and all the vices they naturally acquired from the infamous officials of such a place." There is precious little innocence and virtue to be depraved in Mr. Mailer's new novel, but a glut of debauchery and vice. His Deer Park is Hollywood, though he takes care not to name it, either for artistic reasons or from some inner misgivings—or quite possibly it is the publisher's misgivings. The author chooses to identify his park as "the capital of cinema" and the imagined events occur in a desert resort a few hours' drive away. In this golden oasis, which he calls Desert D'Or, perhaps on the grounds that Palm Springs would be too explicit, his characters seek pleasure and excitement in love (which everyone knows is a four-letter word), in sex, in alcohol, drugs, vice; in short, in each other. This "desert door" opens on a strange playground of the Deer Park indeed.

One would waste no time with this novel if it did not come from Norman Mailer, who proved his power and serious purpose in "The Naked and the Dead." His intent cannot have been merely to write a shocker. Clearly he is obsessed by a relentless will to expose the facts of life, as he sees them, in a certain place and time: the truth about love, sex, marriage, vice, and the secret places of the heart, soul, and groin.

Or perhaps the soul must be ruled out by so grim a realist. His method is to call a spade a spiv, to concentrate on the genital aspects of his people rather than struggle with the complexities of character and personality, to deal almost exclusively with things normally unspoken except on the analyst's couch. What floodgates, what "desert doors" have been opened to imaginative authors by the analysts, the modern St. Georges bent on destroying the dragons of inhibition and even more bent on publishing the gory details of their victories!

Mr. Mailer's motive, aside from the artist's imperative to render the truth of the human situation as he sees it, may spring from revolt against the society he lives in, what he discerns as the hypocrisy of respectability, of moral restraints, of outward decency, masking the whited sepulcher, indeed the hypocrisy of everything that is called "good taste."

Very well. The serious writer must ever belong to the opposition. This novel is narrated by a young man, a former air force officer who bears some resemblance to an even younger Mr. Mailer in that he longs to become a writer. Certainly he goes about it the wrong way. With a pocket full of money—$14,000 won in a poker game in Tokyo despite the fact that "he was never a gambler and did not even like the game"—the hero heads for the Deer Park, or rather for its desert door, very likely in the hope of consummating many a similar young man's secret fantasy: the seduction of, or by, some glamorous movie star. He soon succeeds, though the moral may be that he pays for it, if the author were one to point a moral, which he is not. Not that he may not be a moralist—in the newer fashion. You never know. Surely an author who sets out to expose the deer parks must be spurred by moral purposes; otherwise there is so much else in the world that is more interesting, if less titillating, to create from. The young narrator may be an inverted moralist. He has the strength, the curiosity, to have got beyond good and evil. At least, beyond the realm of the good.

Still in uniform and medal-bedecked, he is soon webbed firmly in the drama of the principal charac-

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DUDLEY NICHOLS has written, directed, and produced films in the West Coast deer park for some time. Among his films have been "The Informer," "Stagecoach," "The Long Voyage Home," "Sister Kenny," and "Mourning Becomes Electra."

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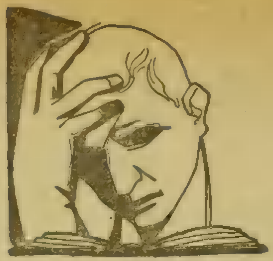
ters. These include a film-director named Eitel, who is a genius in the vertical (though all the evidence is to the contrary); Eitel's new girl, who is a genius in the horizontal (evidence adduced in full details); a wealthy young pimp, for the model of whom Mr. Mailer has had to reach off to another deer park in Manhattan; a homosexual male Hollywood star, and sundry clever-corrupt film executives, gossip columnists, alcoholic press agents, call girls, drug addicts, degenerates, and rich retired business men in search of their lost youth—or of their sex fantasies which they have not lost.

It is a very rich mixture. It throws off a strong odor, and make no doubt that the author intensely believes it to be the strong, shocking smell of life itself, at least in the deer parks, and a smell which has been too long ignored by less bold writers.

In spite of Mr. Mailer's serious purpose and very genuine skill and power as a novelist, these characters in their casual, everyday hell-raking are insufferably dull—at least for this dogged reader. To be sure there are many dull people in the world, but a gifted writer usually portrays their dullness in a bright and even amusing way. One thinks of "Point Counterpoint." But of course Mr. Huxley was writing satire, and "The Deer Park" is not satire—not intentionally.

THE PROPER critical question is, are the characters *true?* Do they exist? Do they have their counterparts among us? It is an important question for this reader, who has worked a good number of years in Mr. Mailer's deer park. The answer is that very likely they have, or have had, their living counterparts. I should say, knowing how various humanity is, that almost certainly they could be found, and perhaps nearer at hand than you imagine, in Hollywood, or in New York, London, Paris, Rome, Cannes, or in any other of the deer parks of the world. You can always find what you look for. Humanity is unlimited in its virtues and its guilts. It was always so, in modern Hollywood or New York as in ancient Rome, Babylon, Nineveh, and Tyre.



One admires Mr. Mailer's industry. He has worked hard to find what he wanted, and excluded all else. For I know from experience that one can work for years in Hollywood and not fall amongst such a nest of queer characters as Mr. Mailer presents. Yet certainly they exist or could exist. There is more to them, certainly, than the author presents. There is that mad search for sensual excitement which is, obviously, a sad search for death.

I can think of one person for instance, who by hearsay could serve as model for Eitel. Not entirely, for the living man had not much talent, and Eitel is a genius. Mr. Mailer, feeling as the reader does that some evidence of his genius is needed, gives us the story-outline of one of Eitel's projected masterpieces. It is adolescent nonsense. Eitel is far too busy with bottle and bed to spare time for the hard work of making anything more than the most mediocre of assembly-line films. In fairness, this is what the author lets him do finally, but only because he has compromised his once-pure original talent—which is a pure and not very original fiction.

All this is no very culpable error on the part of the author. But it leads to something less venial. Through the jaded Eitel, Mr. Mailer drags in an important issue of our day, an issue which looms high above the sins and sex divagations of imagined characters. He makes Eitel an innocent victim of what he calls "the Subversive Committee." Eitel, obviously a man who has never had any real convictions in his life—social, moral or political—is shown as an idealist who "joined causes" and even fought for the Spanish Loyalists. Now blacklisted, he chafes because his social life in the gilded oasis is restricted to a small group whom he calls the *emigres*—"writers, directors, actors, even a producer or two" who are also blacklisted because "they re-

Travel Piece

Being a tourist, what I did was right:
To set the native Indian in his lair,
There where three crosses corruscate the sky
And mark the holy ground. Mary's day,
And from surrounding hills they came
With banners, drink, and wooden pipe,
Into the church, all richly dressed.

Because we traffic with the centuries
And take our meaning where we can, western man,
Upon the mud-packed floor I knelt me down.
Pine needles green as carpet to the holy feet
That danced before the images; brown
Saints dazzled by the candle shine.

And where the altar stood, beneath
The green cross wooden as the sky
The crowded iconography that drifted there:
A bearded king, the genius of the place,
A faceless woman, grieving for her son,
The familiar son upon his cross of bones.

But where he rode, I saw his smothered form
Wrapped and tied, until the features gone,
The bloodless son looked down on all his world
From the very womb that mothered him.
Here was a conception to be gathered in.

But touristing, I do their meaning wrong.
There was no womb, no mother, and no son;
But Diety, violent in his imagery,
Annihilating history to break the form.
I saw him in that first night, from which,
With cataclysm, they shall bring him forth.

HARVEY SHAPIRO

fused to cooperate with the committee." Eitel detests these fellows. He "hates the thought of being classed with the *emigres.*"

In the end, of course, he cynically hits the sawdust trail, as cynically as he flouted it before, and goes before the committee and names names, even of people he didn't know or cannot remember, and returns to his studio and his large income. He is pleased with himself, he tells the narrator, because "believe me, it was *dirty* work. In the end that's the only kind of self-respect you have—to be able to say to yourself that you're disgusting." He even has the gall to tell his young friend he's convinced the committee that there is no need to bother *him;* in spite of which the young narrator is subsequently investigated and bullied, though for what reason other than sexual prowess is beyond imagination. Or is it? Of course not. There is guilt by association *with Eitel!*—just as the important issue, out of which Mr. Mailer makes Eitel a martyr, becomes soiled and guilty by association with such a character. Had the author set out to discredit everyone who believes in due process he could have worked it no better. For no one who is not naive can deny that guilt by association is an ancient instinct in men, as old and rooted as the proverb "birds of a feather," and the world, or at least the unthinking portion of the world, instinctively gauges both men and ideas by it. If you wish to soil or destroy a high principle, associate it with decadent, ignoble men.

BUT of course Mr. Mailer is not taken in by the bogus notion of nobility. Forget Moses, remember Adam! And wasn't that fascinating Lilith around even before Eve bent an ear to Satan? Well, Mr. Mailer has in any case rivaled Moses: he has climbed his Mount Sinai and returned with a Message. To end his novel on a high note, he delivers a dialogue with God. His young narrator pits his wits against the Almighty and the subject of course is *sex.* To the young man's query and aphorism about what sex *really* is, the Divine Voice responds, in the style of a garbled Gerald Heard: "Rather think of Sex as Time—and Time as the connection of new circuits." The young man is proud and pleased. For naturally new circuits mean new sexual relations; and the young man's concluding thought, straight from Sinai and the analyst's couch, is that his brilliant conversation with the Lord is "a part of the poor odd dialogues which give hope to us noble humans for more than one night."

They give, alas, no hope to this reader, not even for one night. And one sighs at the mocking tone of that "us *noble* humans." Mr. Mailer cannot be tricked by the lie of any possible nobility in man or woman.

There is no subject matter forbidden to the artist. Like the scientist, as Chekhov said, nothing is filthy to him; it is only something to be understood. Yet the artist must, like the scientist, have clean hands and clean tools for his work. The most guilty and damned among us need the most compassionate touch and the deepest vision, as Dostoevsky well knew. As for tools, our great language is a hard-won store for the creative writer. Freedom to use it to the full, to its most terrible shocking power, has been fought for step-by-step by great writers who have gone before. The young writers of today have inherited a freedom they did nothing to win, and whether they know it or not they are responsible for its preservation. Once you reach the extremity of violent, even *properly* obscene, speech, you have nowhere else to go, no reserve power; and if you go on, recklessly and inartistically, the law of diminishing returns sets in, you lose your effects; and, what is far worse, you may lose for your artist-heirs the priceless freedom of expression which you did nothing to secure. There may be big money in it, for both author and publisher, but nothing can be bought at a higher price than big money.

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Casting out the Tory

GEORGE ORWELL. By John Atkins. Frederick Ungar Publishing Company. $4.50.

GEORGE ORWELL. By Laurence Brander. Longmans, Green and Company. $2.75.

By Allan Seager

ANY AMERICAN: I'm as good as the next guy.

GEORGE ORWELL: The next guy's as good as me.

The chiasmus above is not so unfair as it looks. The first statement is an American folk belief. The second represents a hope that Orwell struggled all his life to realize. From it can be deduced his spellbound anxiety for the underdog, the bases of his personal socialism, his brilliant but lonely polemics against both the Left and Right, and even his concern for style. For Orwell was the Tory who stepped down and Tories are not uneasy about being merely as good as the next guy.

He said he was "lower-upper-middle-class" but this is true only financially. His background, as Mr. Brander says, was much the same as Thackeray's: born in India where his father was in the Indian Civil Service; sent to an expensive prep school at reduced rates because he was trying for a scholarship. He was bullyragged in front of the richer boys because of his poverty by "Bingo," the headmaster's wife, who, Mr. Atkins suggests, may have been the most important woman in his life, the one he had to defy, either by getting rich and powerful or by taking a plunge to disappoint her. Then Eton on the scholarship. Orwell said he did no work there, learned very little, and did not feel that Eton was much of a formative influence in his life. However, Mr. Brander says, "To anyone who knew him it was obvious where he had been to school," and here it is Mr. Brander who is right. Eton is as strong a Tory bulwark as the Guards, stronger because it catches them younger. The point is that Orwell with the easy negligent deprecation of the real Etonian took the place for granted. What was his next move? He "went out" to the colonies as impecunious public-school men have done for a century. (Everywhere is "out" to the English. Only England is "in." Nations reveal themselves in their use of prepositions.)

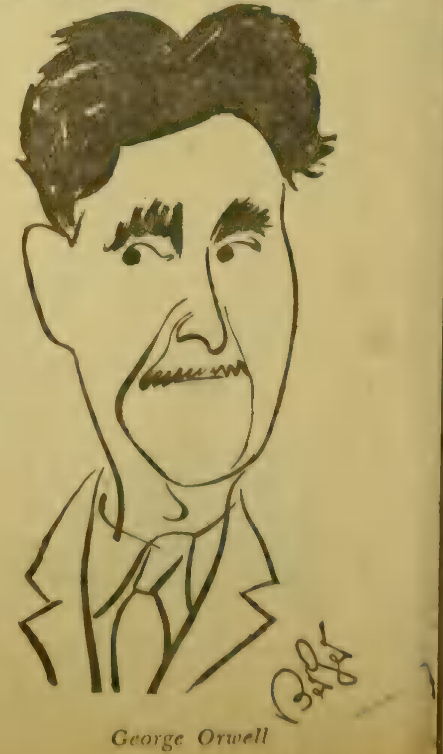
He was a policeman in Burma and it woke him up. He discovered "the Empire was a racket." The words—decency, justice, liberty—that were to be his touchstones for the rest of his career began to matter to him and he lifted them out of their Tory sockets to examine them. In Burma he began his long scrutiny of the society he lived in and, to keep a clear eye, he tried to cast out the Tory in him. He never wholly succeeded and the effort makes some of his later steps seem deliberate.

HE assumed poverty in Paris and became a tramp in England. Partly because he was poor, partly because, newly awake, he wanted to see and know the poor, and partly because to touch bottom, to be absolutely penniless and irresponsible had a queer kind of coziness for him, he worked as a *plongeur,* a dishwasher, the lowest job in one of the big Paris hotels, far underground in steam and filth. He nearly starved and he returned to England where he roamed the Southern Counties in 1932, sleeping and eating handouts in the "spikes" (the poorhouses), passionately sympathetic and attentive to what he saw.

In the next few years he married, wrote two of his London novels, did journalism, and kept a village shop. In 1936 when the Left Book Club selected him to do a documentary survey of unemployment, he embarrassed them with "The Road to Wigan Pier." It is half a description of the mining community, "which is anything but typical of the working classes," Mr. Brander says, and the rest is autobiography and a rallying cry for Orwell's peculiar socialism. He was maturing politically. In 1937 he felt compelled to go to Spain to fight "against fascism" and "for common decency," he said. He was utterly ignorant of Spanish politics and he joined the Trotskyite P. O. U. M. militia, fought, was shot through the neck, and got out of Spain just ahead of the Stalinist police. The experience exhilarated and instructed him. As he said in "Homage to Catalonia," he had lived for once in his life among a society of equals. The fact that he had actually fought gave him immediate prestige among British intellectuals who had not. He was ready to attack the two major tyrannies but the expected war intervened. Rejected for military service he joined the Home Guard and worked for the B. B. C.

In 1945 "Animal Farm," his great anti-Communist fable, had a success. It made him well-off and he was able to retire to the island of Jura off the Scottish coast to work on his greater tract, "1984." There he was downed by tuberculosis which, apparently, had been chronic since his preschool days. He continued to work, got the book in fair shape, and died of a lung hemorrhage in 1950, forty-seven years old. Of "1984" he said, "It wouldn't have been so gloomy if I hadn't been so ill."

Why was he read so eagerly? His socialism had hardly any program, therefore hardly any supporters. History meant nothing to him. He was weak on any but the most personal economics. He once said he had averaged £3 a week income up



George Orwell

ALLAN SEAGER, novelist, teaches at the University of Michigan. His latest book is "Amos Berry."

to 1939. His body of principles comes to only two words more than what he said of Dickens's message: "If men would behave decently the world would be decent." For any Englishman or American who publicly puts his trust in decency, liberty, and justice, there is only one sanction that will give that trust public validity and that is Christianity. Neither of his biographers say this directly. They skirt around it, calling him a saint or a Lollard. It would have made Orwell come out fighting, for he had the enthusiasm of a French anti-clerical against the church; yet it is "preacher" that identifies him.

Ours, both England's and our own, is a Puritan culture whether we like it or not and echoes can be raised that can force us to listen, reluctantly or helplessly. Orwell raised them. He repudiated all florid pulpit vacuities and he uses his sharp, clear, pungent style to define what is, at bottom, sin. If we are sucked in by "all the smelly little orthodoxies which are now contending for our souls," it will be, despite all propaganda, because we did not listen, we did not look sharp, we chose them. And this, too, is a Christian stance. It was Orwell's last great unresolved dilemma. If he had reread his own work closely he would have seen it and if he had lived long enough he would have done something about it.

Mr. Brander says he was a model but he does not make it too clear what he was a model of. It seems to me he was the very pattern of a modern intellectual. He was a "free intelligence," brave, responsible, with an independence of mind that made him rely on his own observation and experience and not on what he read in the papers, and he could write beautifully. What more can you ask?

The two books about him are both excellent. Both authors had the advantage of knowing Orwell personally. Mr. Brander covers Orwell's life calendrically, discussing the works as they come up. Mr. Atkins describes and analyzes Orwell's chief ideas and refers to the books piecemeal. Of the two I would pick Mr. Atkins's but only because it is fuller.

Out of the Top Drawer

EMILY DICKINSON. An Interpretive Biography. By Thomas H. Johnson. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. $4.50.

THE POEMS OF EMILY DICKINSON. Edited by Thomas H. Johnson. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Three Volumes. $25.

By John Ciardi

EMILY DICKINSON died in 1886 at the age of fifty-six, leaving six published poems (one of them a piece of juvenilia), her "papers," and many letters scattered among her various correspondents. Emily's papers were mainly in the form of "packets," impromptu booklets made by folding sheets of writing paper and stitching them together at the fold. Emily's sister Lavinia was astonished at the number of such packets. Lavinia knew, of course, that Emily "wrote poetry"—but drawers full of it! Even living in the same house with her, Lavinia never guessed the dedication and the gradual self-awareness and self-certainty with which Emily shaped herself for immortality.

Lavinia begged her neighbor, Mabel Todd Loomis, to edit these packets, and Mrs. Loomis began by transcribing from the packets Lavinia brought her the astonishing total of 879 poems. There it seemed to rest, the two ladies busy at their bonanza. But Lavinia and Mrs. Todd would have had to double their astonishment could they have foreseen that time would reveal in letters and stray sheets as many poems again and more, for a total of 1775. They would have been even more astonished to learn that more than half these poems, 1002 of them, had been written in the eight years beginning with 1858, 366 of them in 1862 alone! Without her own household so much as guessing it, Emily Dickinson had passed through a creative burst unparalleled in the history of lyric poetry.

JOHN CIARDI teaches at Rutgers University. His most recent book, "As If. Poems New and Selected," was published in September.

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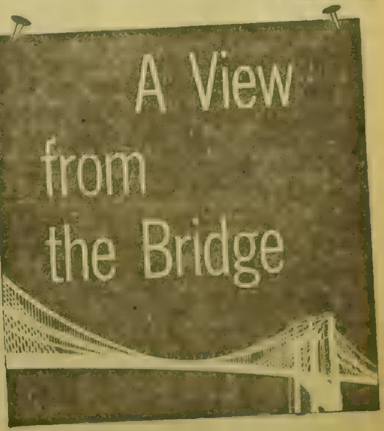

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That Emily could so conceal herself from those closest to her, that she suffered from so compelling a necessity to retire into the life of the imagination, there to make up in intensity and passion for the withdrawal from the contact with others she could not physically endure, has long provided scholars with a base for every possible misconstruction of her life. She seemed to make a mystery of herself; small wonder that mystery attached to her.

SOME OF these misinterpretations have resulted from bad scholarship, some from incomplete evidence. It is all the more an event, therefore, that a scholar so admirably qualified as Thomas H. Johnson should have been the first to have made available to him every Emily Dickinson manuscript known to exist. There have been fatter biographies of Emily Dickinson but none has been more to the point. It is very much to that point that, once the confusions and diversions have been put aside, it becomes possible for a truly qualified scholar to reveal Emily Dickinson whole in 259 pages, at least two-thirds of which are concerned with the most rounded and penetrating analysis to date of the poems themselves.

For what Johnson centrally attests is what every well-engaged reader knows—that the biography of a poet is his poems, once we have learned to read them. The errors—and in some cases, the absurdities—of earlier biographers have often suggested false readings of the poems, and these false readings have been made to appear plausible by the elusiveness, the subtlety, and the prayerful play of Emily Dickinson's imagination. Was there a secret lover, a scandal, a renunciation? How are we to take Emily's assertions of physical passion? "Wild nights, wild nights" begins one poem—but were there any such wild nights (there were not) or is this a key to Emily's imaginative assault?

Because every poet of consequence writes his life into the Grand Poem which is the total of his individual poems, and because we want to contact that mind in all its unity and disjunction, we want to know how to take such assertions. We want the life.

Sensitively, faithfully, economically, and minus all the bulky distortions, Johnson brings that life into view: the whimsical child; the enormous awe of her father; the cumulative and stunning impact of the death, first of her father, then one by one of so many of those who had been closest to her; her refuge in art through the years when her lexicon, as she put it, was her "only companion"; the sustaining contacts via correspondence with men of her father's generation; that enormous burst of creativity as her powers gathered, as she learned surely that she had mastered her art, learning at the same time that she was too far ahead of her age to be recognized in her own lifetime and firmly accepting that fact. And finally her gradual turning from poetry to letter writing in her later years, a kind of letter writing as formal as poetry itself, and certainly motivated by an awareness that she was writing to the future as much as to her correspondent—that life is made whole and lucid, not free of mysterious compulsion (what whole life is?), but alive in itself, feelable, and most justified by the fact that poems unmistakably respond in the reading to that life as Johnson reveals it.

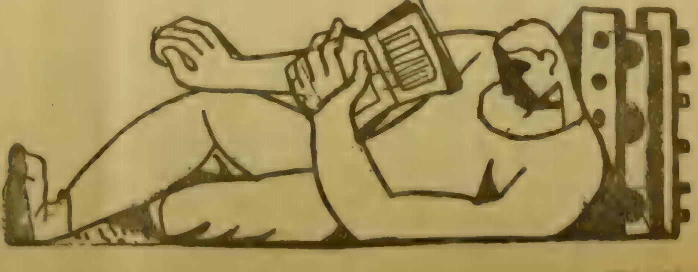
The simultaneous publication of Johnson's three-volume edition of the poems testifies to the massive scholarship which has made possible the economy and penetration of the biography, and certainly establishes the text and the chronology of the poems as nearly as it can ever be arrived at. Each poem is given in the most acceptable version, with all of Emily Dickinson's variants, all publication and manuscript data, all textual variants introduced by various editors as "improvements" or misreadings, and each poem is painstakingly dated.

The dating is accomplished partly by internal and external evidence in the writing itself, by a study of the paper (inconclusive though exhaustive), even by a careful study of the pin holes made in the folded packet sheets in preparation for threading them. Primarily, however, the dating is established by the most meticulous study of Emily's changing handwriting.

Emily Dickinson's handwriting underwent a constant slow change. Not only from year to year, but even within a given year, characteristic changes occur. It is possible therefore—possible to a scholar of Johnson's meticulous devotion—by comparing manuscripts of unknown date, with other writings (mostly letters) of known date and by cross-checking the results against other lesser data, to arrive at the date of the writing within rather close limits. The method is not infallible, as Johnson points out. It seems certain, however, that no one will ever be able to come any closer to the exact chronology.

Johnson gives full details of his methods in his ample introductions to the poems, and the literary detectives can trace the finer points there. What matters to the reader is that the air has been cleared of all stray ghosts. There will be more biographies, certainly, and a number of minor points will be clarified. Jay Leyda's log of Emily's life, now in preparation, promises to be a basic addition. Urgently needed, too, is an edition of all the letters free of editorial meddling, an edition equal in its scholarship to the present edition of the poems. I hope Thomas H. Johnson has such an edition firmly among his future plans.

Meanwhile, the gift of Johnson's tremendous scholarship and brilliant criticism is the poems. It is now possible for the first time to read Emily Dickinson's poems as she wrote them, as she lived with them and into them, and as she meant them to be read. Whatever may be added at the periphery, Johnson has fixed the center forever.



The Age of Wouk

By Maxwell Geismar

TIME MAGAZINE featured "novelist Herman Wouk" on its September 5 cover. The book column carried a large and laudatory article on the author of "The Caine Mutiny" and the current best-seller, "Marjorie Morningstar."A week later *Life* magazine featured both Herman Wouk and Sloan Wilson, author of another best-seller, "The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit." The September 12 *Life* editorial was devoted to the subject of the American novel. Such cultural enthusiasm is unusual in the Luce publications, it is even somewhat alarming, as when a banker endows a college; so let us try to see what it means.

The *Time* article was an incredible affair even for a magazine whose policy has always been to denigrate serious books and to elevate the mediocre. Mr. Wouk's new novel was a mutiny against "three decades of U. S. fiction dominated by skeptical criticism, sexual emancipation, social protest, and psychoanalytic sermonizing." I am not sure what the last item means, but if *Time* was referring to the tradition of social protest in American fiction, it dates back at least to 1880, or about seven decades. It includes Walt Whitman, who was for sex, and William Dean Howells, who was against sex, and practically every major American novelist since then. If Mr. Wouk is really leading a mutiny against this tradition, he is going to have his hands full.

Yet there is a curious and vital connection between sexual inhibition and social conformity that the editors of *Time* have smelled out, and Mr. Wouk is a perfect example of their thesis. He becomes indeed in their glowing eulogy the House Author of the American Way at the middle of the twentieth century. First of all, he is rich; no more starving artists with ragged clothes and irresponsible thoughts. No more Emerson or Melville or Hawthorne, even, who was fired from his customs-house post, and had subversive ideas about the Puritans. The modern American novelist can look the American industrialist straight in the eye; in fact, if he is like Wouk, he is an industry by himself. Even lesser authors like Hemingway and Faulkner have not done so badly in a financial way lately, though *Time* does not list the current value of their enterprises as it does for Mr. Wouk.

AND HE also, as we discover, has spiritual or hidden assets. He comes from Russian immigrant stock and is a devout Orthodox Jew "who has achieved worldly success in worldly-wise Manhattan while adhering to dietary prohibitions and traditional rituals which many of his fellow Jews find embarrassing." *Time* is more at home in this murky element, which carries the latent threat under the guise of paternal blessing. As a descendant of the same tradition myself, and with great respect for its true achievements, I find this passage not only embarrassing but vulgar. After all, Moses did not offer his people the choice between eating the Golden Calf or worshipping it. And now the *Time* article comes to the point. Although Mr. Wouk is a highly sensitive member of a religious minority, "he is one of the few living U. S. writers who carries no chip on his shoulder and who gives the U. S. straight A's in his fictional report cards."

Thus the Luce organization has redefined the meaning of the Jewish tradition in the New World (to make money) and the meaning of American literature itself (to write good report cards). "The Caine Mutiny" did just this, we are told, by affirming Mr. Wouk's belief "in 1) decency—in language as well as deeds, 2) honor, 3) discipline, 4) authority, 5) hallowed institutions like the U. S. navy." Remember that I am quoting, and there is even more: "In 'Marjorie Morningstar,' Wouk will set more teeth on edge by advocating chastity before marriage, suggesting that real happiness

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MAXWELL GEISMAR, a staff contributor to The Nation, *is the author of "Rebels and Ancestors," "The Last of the Provincials," "Writers in Crisis," and other studies of the American novel. He has recently published a Pocket Book, "The Whitman Reader."*

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for a woman is found in a home and children, cheering loud and long for the American middle classes, and blasting Bohemia and Bohemians. Wouk is a Sinclair Lewis in reverse." And indeed, then, he is, for even Lewis never quite reached this unhappy ebb in his later novels.

YET MR. WOUK too must have shuddered and recoiled a little when he read this blunt summary of his aims; and I am treating him here as a symbolic figure. As a human being, as fellow-artist, he is being victimized as much by *Time's* praise as other writers have been by *Time's* malice. For even the Luce editorialist must have had his tongue in cheek when penning this *gemutlich* version of God, fatherland, family, and our leaders right or wrong. What about other hallowed institutions like the United States army—or the marines? What a howl must have gone up in the publicity offices of the Pentagon! More seriously, I submit that most serious writers do have an inherent belief in decency and honor. But it is just this belief that so often has made them rebel against empty discipline and blind, dangerous, or evil authority. Even Thomas Mann's Felix Krull thought it was a great triumph when he cheated the Prussian army out of his rogue's body.

Incidentally, while "Marjorie Morningstar" does advocate an odd kind of semi-chastity, it also describes the most prolonged necking-bout in recent literary history. By the time of marriage there is probably no need for sexual activity. As for the American middle class which, for example, William Dean Howells believed to have been corrupted by the plutocratic spirit in the 1900's, and which *Time* is now inculcating with such alien ideas, I still think it has that last atavistic democratic trait—a sense of humor. At least the *Life* editorial on the American novel was on a higher plane, and took a more generalized line. It did quote the man behind "The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit." "The world's treated me awfully well," said Sloan Wilson, "and I guess it's crept into my work." Yes, that, and a brilliant advertising campaign that also pushed the book, and created what we may call a "well-packaged novel."

Shades of Henry James, and of Theodore Dreiser—both of whom the world treated rather badly. But *Life* is still not quite satisfied with either Wilson or Wouk or even Lionel Shapiro's "Sixth of June" which, though it revolves about a triangle, "is not resolved by adultry." This is only a beginning, apparently; what is the real trouble? "Ours is the most powerful nation in the world. It has had a decade of unparalleled prosperity. It has gone further than any other society toward creating a classless society." Yet after all this, says *Life,* our literature still sounds "as if it were written by an unemployed homosexual living in a packing-box shanty on the city dump." Our writers can't forget the depression, or they are "obscenity-obsessed," as in the recent parade of war novels, or they lack spiritual purpose—"the unquenchable reaching of man's soul for a truth higher than reality."

LOGICALLY, I don't know what can be made of this hodge-podge of half-truths. There is also the little matter of the atomic bomb; but when, asks *Life,* was life ever secure? "Atomic fear or not, the incredible accomplishments of our day are surely the raw stuff of saga." Yes, they are, and one would welcome a new generation of novelists who would look into such things as McCarthyism, or the white-collar equivalent of Nixonism, or the loyalty oaths and security dismissals, or the large-size looting of our natural resources, or the marriages of the corporations, and the rise of the stock market while small business and farming declines; or the hostility of Asia and the alienation of Europe while our public mind is both intimidated and dazzled by a series of shifting advertising slogans. "Who speaks for America today?" *Life* asks, and I am afraid that the United States of America speaks for itself.

Our writers do indeed lack a spiritual purpose, which in former generations was accompanied by a broad social base; and the present stress of our most gifted talents on private studies of pathology is also symptomatic of the larger, the national disease.

What is clear, however, is that both *Time* and *Life* are laying down a program for a new slap-happy optimism mingled with a proper respect for whatever exists and a species of domestic drama that will avoid all bad language and all serious human issues. We are back again to that "smiling side of life" which the Victorians believed to be the true American side, though we have been through a sewer of corruption since then, and are now sitting on top of a volcano. This new literature will be based on the principle of "Woukism." The object will be to persuade millions of people that they are completely different from all the other people whom they are exactly like. "Peace, Prosperity, and Propaganda" will be the grand theme of the new literature, and all deviants from the norm, whether biological or esthetic or ethnic, will be tolerated so long as they do what they are told.

IN THE Age of Wouk, the new writing will certainly have the impulse of revolt, but not the act; just as Marjorie Morgenstern—the "American Everygirl," as we are told—must first rebel against her environment in order properly to conform to it. There will be a little, or quite a lot of sex, so long as it is never fulfilled and has no meaning. There will be the usual periods of doubt, heart-searching, and despair in the lives of these new folk-figures of the American Way—in order to have a happy ending. Marjorie will always marry the man in the gray flannel suit in the typical configuration of the classless—and mindless—society. Well, what does it all really mean? I suspect that the final impact of the atomic age has had the effect of a lobotomy upon the national spirit. Don't look now, but we're all dead.

Blurred Image of a Lost Lady

THE LADY AND THE LOOKING-GLASS. By Frances Mallory Wykes. The Macmillan Company. $2.75.

By William Goyen

THE VALLEY of the Looking-Glass River lies somewhere "up-state," and the village of Byron is in that valley. Inhabitants of the valley live in the tradition of their ancestors who founded hamlets and built fine houses. The Lady of Looking-Glass Valley is Ellen Winter, and "The Lady and the Looking-Glass" is a penetrating study of this woman of curious power whose withdrawal from life began with the death of her young son. Since his death she has lived with his memory as if he were alive.

Ellen Winter is rich, has a face like a "tired emperor," is fat, cultured, and sophisticated, of vicious wit, and has uncanny perceptions into personalities. It is said she is a witch, that she possesses sinister powers, that she willed the death of a young man of the village, caused the mental derangement of a neighbor, a former opera singer, and killed the life in everything around her. The interior life of Ellen Winter is irresponsible—except to the shadow-life of her dead son—and indulgent, mandarin (country style). She spends her time handling beautiful old objects of silver, musing upon letters and diaries of her aristocratic forebears; she paints, dresses in various sumptuous mandarin coats, eats partridges and woodcock or good red beef, holding the hand of her son's ghost or talking to him. Her husband is a lively, resigned gentleman whose freedom in the village is unfettered but whose adoration of his wife approaches idolatry.

When a young niece comes to visit the Winter household, a series of incidents begins which draws Ellen into relationships with the outside world. To preserve her connection with the dead, she deftly and listlessly destroys the living patterns threatening her own deathly privacy. She arouses enigmatic tensions in those around her, yet she has no seeming interest in her power over them except where it confuses her dead son's possession of her. Others are drawn to her, out of life, as though they were seeking the deathliness in her, and she lays that shadow over them gratuitously: Had they not come under her shadow of their own choice?

All this sounds as though "The Lady and the Looking-Glass" were a tale of Gothic meanness. It is not; it is delicate, ironic, low-keyed, and low-strung. The only intrusion of the Gothic macabre is, indeed, a weakness of an otherwise curiously lucent story. When the obsessed ex-diva who has lost her voice pursues a redbird until, dressed in a

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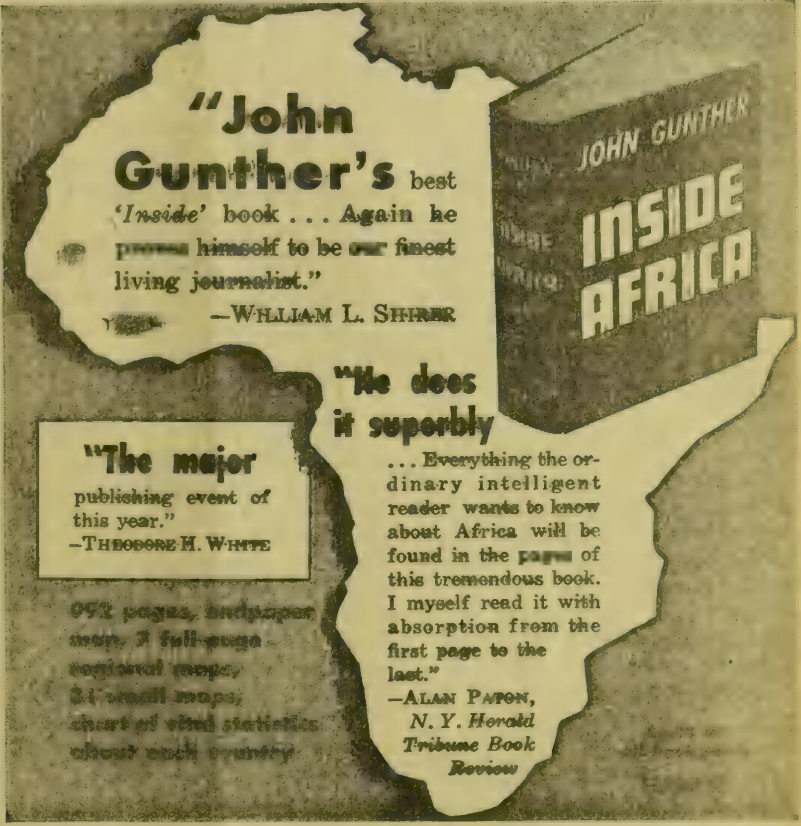
WILLIAM GOYEN is the author of "In a Farther Country," "Ghost and Flesh," and "The House of Breath."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long white robe, she captures it, she tears it apart in an effort to discover the secret of song. There is bird's blood on her white robe. This shift of tone, one feels, confuses the conception of Ellen and makes us reconsider her in the light of cruelty and violence; it surfaces and blurs her image where one had come to accept and understand it at another depth. For is she not meant to be a Lost Lady whose crimes are not planned in life but occur in nature out of the collision of private reverie and social circumstance?

IF MRS. Wykes had kept her lost lady in the narrow but deep and shifting current of this channel and framework, her tale, impressive as it is, would have been an extraordinary piece of work. As it is, there hangs over it an aura of sterility, of soured exquisiteness—not in the sense of luxuriant embellishment in style but in that of overflooding her river of looking-glass and so rendering shallower and blurred what might have been truer reflection and clearer image if restricted to natural depths and boundaries.

Still, this is a fine first novel and of distinguished style and fulness of scene, of genuine quality of place and authenticity of way of life. It remains a curious, slender tale, savoring of a fatty flavor and sickly succulence that leave a rancid taste in the mouth, where everything seems cooked with wine and the grapes unmentioned; a picture of life which appears to be lived so "beautifully" in thick old seasoned houses where the fire is on the hearth, the good whiskey before it, the horses happy in the barn, the music, the luscious leisure, the hunts, the servants, the rare Japanese shrubs and antiques, and the good food—and the deathly paralysis, the loss of tenderness and the vanishing of the human affections. The irony is all Mrs. Wykes's and the flavor Ellen Winter's.

A Guide to Perspective

THE CYCLE OF AMERICAN LITERATURE. An Essay in Historical Criticism. By Robert E. Spiller. The Macmillan Company. $4.75.

By Robert H. Elias

THE PROBLEM of understanding the history of our literature is of general concern because without such understanding the meaning of our culture—the definition of what we as individuals and as a purposeful nation in short *are*—must remain woefully partial. Although the story of the literary development of the United States has been told many times, and by writers whose critical acumen and scholarship are ordinarily beyond challenge, the melancholy truth is that, for all that has been contributed, it is only the individual work or the individual writer, and occasionally a particular region or period, that we truly know. From Moses Coit Tyler to F. O. Matthiessen and Perry Miller we can find brilliant studies but nothing that adequately presents the 1955 reader with the shape of the whole. We have libraries of facts and few volumes of truth. The familiar, ambitiously innocuous reference works, the great thesis-riddled sins like Parrington's, the multi-volumned eclecticism of the old "Cambridge History" and the organized impersonality of the recent "Literary History of the United States," all want a properly informing point of view. And in addition, the future's promise is cloudy: the incipient writers of tomorrow's histories, now in the graduate schools, may know enough to report that American writers were not simply always doing what British writers did better, but they too often become victims of those who would dignify American literature by subordinating it to social, economic, and political history—by treating it, that is, as social data, with the result that minor scribblers are hailed because they were Americans and the attempt to define the peculiarities of American writing takes precedence over the attempt to define what writing in America has achieved the level of art.

It is therefore gratifying to find in Professor Spiller's modest book a corrective essay in perspective. He is one who does not forget that it is literature as literature that he should be writing about. The chronicles, sermons, journals, and verses of the early settlers, for example, are mentioned not to argue that we produced belle lettres from the first but to help spell out the cultural circumstances in the crescent nation favorable to ultimate artistic expression. Not only such unquestionably minor literary figures as Wil-

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ROBERT H. ELIAS is associate professor of English and chairman of the American Studies program at Cornell University. He is preparing an edition of Theodore Dreiser's correspondence.

It is time for plain speaking

It is time for plain speaking.
No more "imagination of disaster" spun
by prestidigitators on the figureskates
of metaphor cutting inconceivable 8's
with the blade of a polished tongue.

Speak plainly: of Achievement
big as boxtops, emblems of content,
of cornflake blizzards which when eaten bring
surprise: a prize. *The Sunday Supplement*
is art we understand, and Puck is king,

And conspirators mutter and their hands bark
and death decodes the subtile lies
that mesh guilt like nooses round the breasts
of the cigaretgirl while the private eyes
crinkle knowledgeably at the dark behests

of the archbishops of crime,
and radarwristed priestesses commit
discriminate indiscretions since the time
between the raveling of the moral plot
and the next installment may be all we've got.

DANIEL G. HOFFMAN

liam Bradford and Cotton Mather, but also such celebrated citizens as Edwards, Franklin, and Jefferson take their proper subordinate place as creators of conditions out of which an organic literature could arise. Even Irving, Bryant, and Cooper, who have sometimes been regarded as major figures, are included mainly to enable us to understand the literature of the early nineteenth century whose limited accomplishments clarify for us the later impressive achievements of Emerson and Thoreau, Poe and Hawthorne, Melville and Whitman. The activity of the Knickerbocker group is, in sum, a "condition," like the contents of the circulating libraries or the absence of regular publishers; it is an influence, a portent, a datum like the economic or political situation, not an artistic triumph.

IN THE same way we later observe not only Norris and Garland but also Glasgow and Cather assuming positions as writers whose defects point up what is fine in Dreiser and O'Neill, Hemingway and Faulkner, Frost and Eliot. "Moby-Dick," "Leaves of Grass," "Huckleberry Finn," "The Wings of the Dove," Emily Dickinson's letters to the world, "Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres," "An American Tragedy," "Four Quartets," and "The Sound and the Fury" emerge as masterworks worth the critical analysis we have learned to lavish on the Great Books, while the authors of lesser works become established among the individuals who have helped civilize a continent but who have never given that civilization its ultimate justification.

It is therefore not the least of Spiller's merits that he rids the study of American literature of lots of those pretenders to attention who have too long cluttered up our college anthologies with the provincialisms that have made the study of our national letters the sociological stepchild of English departments. He sees with refreshing clarity that to show what is American about a quantity of printed words is not equivalent to showing what is artistic about some of the writing that happens to have come out of America.

According to Spiller, our literature has been through two cycles: a birth in the Atlantic colonies, a period of maturity in New York and New England, a fruition in the production of "Moby-Dick" and "Leaves of Grass," and a decline among the Boston Brahmins; then a rebirth out of the opened West, a period of growth in which Henry Adams fulfills the function of defining issues as Emerson had fulfilled the function earlier, and finally, after the fruition represented by Hemingway and Faulkner at their best, an apparent end, with the generation returning from the Second World War to offer nothing revolutionary or even new. The pattern that Spiller finds is what has enabled him to draw upon historical, economic, and sociological studies to provide a setting for literature as belle lettres and an account of historical processes singularly useful to esthetic judgments.

If, however, the scheme of Spiller's work is admirable, there remain some regrettable defects. Too many of the writers he discusses are introduced with paragraph-long biographical sketches that contain material irrelevant to the thesis; too many novels or poems are called deep or intense or profound or tragic without our ever knowing of what specifically the depth, intensity, profundity, or tragedy consists; and generalizations linking, say, an author's excellence to his ability to criticize American life sometimes lack the support that goes with a demonstration of what in particular was criticized. Revealingly, all attempt at analytic judgment is on one occasion explicitly abandoned—"Time alone can discover the unity of purpose in . . . [Dos Passos's] best writing." But even a frequent substituting of label for critical analysis need not blind us to some important critical insights either; what Spiller says of Cooper as the first organic artist in America, of Poe as spokesman for America, of the similarities of Melville and Whitman, of the artistry of Henry Adams more than compensates for the critical void elsewhere. In fact, if we understand that the reader of this book is expected to come to it having made an initial esthetic judgment of the greater writers, what Spiller says of their historical importance will add freshly and significantly to our understanding of the total worth of their artistic achievements.

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By Ray Ginger

THE Library of American Biography, edited by Oscar Handlin, is a new series of short books which aims to popularize history by personalizing it. The general idea is not to write biographies, but rather to focus on those aspects of an individual's career which reveal a significant development in American life.

This method, at its best, results in books like Current's study of Daniel Webster. With the careful research and keen insights that mark all of Current's work, this little volume shows how Webster reversed himself on one issue after another as the interests of New England business changed with time. It shows Webster's continuous efforts to reconcile the views of his rich constituents (and creditors) with his ambition for the Presidency. It analyses the political philosophies and shifting party lines of the ante-bellum period. And it demonstrates how Webster, for all his flipflops on specific policies, held consistently to a conservative position. He differed from both Calhoun and Jacksonians in denying the presence of class conflicts in the United States. Insisting that widespread ownership of property created both diffusion of political power and social harmony, he thought that government aid to business would benefit everybody.

Current has given us an important interpretive work on the years from 1800 to 1850. He has also written a book that is popular in the best sense: clear, fast-moving, lightened by humor and irony.

Nye's book on Garrison, dealing with the same period as Current's, serves as a valuable supplement. Whereas it is not unfair to Webster to see him as a spokesman for a movement that he never really led, Garrison was anything but an opportunist. He embraced virtually all of the unpopular causes of his lifetime. But it is his abolitionism that makes his life important, for Garrison, as Nye shows, helped to break the conspiracy of silence about slavery. In the decade after 1830, he did more than any other man to make the moral aspects of slavery a public issue.

Spencer's study of Washington forms a conspicuous contrast to these two books. If Current and Nye illuminate historical truth, Spencer confuses it and conceals it. This obfuscation was inevitable, once he had decided to identify Booker T. Washington with improvement in the status of Negroes in this country.

Washington did help greatly to improve the number and quality of segregated educational institutions for Negroes, and he deserves acclaim for doing so. But the good he did in that way he more than bargained away in others. He announced that the "separate-but-equal" doctrine would be satisfactory to Negroes even *before* the Supreme Court enunciated it. He did everything he could to weld the Negro voters into a solid Republican bloc. He opposed trade unions, and he curried support by promising that Negroes would stay in their place, as the white South conceived their place. Spencer reports these facts, and many others like them, but he goes to hopeless lengths to interpret them away. For instance, he makes a half-hearted effort to identify Washington's emphasis on industrial education and economic advancement with the recent enactment of the FEPC laws. But nothing could be more misleading. Washington said that Negroes who were worthy could get ahead *as individuals;* they didn't need laws or organizations. He never conceded that the road to economic progress for Negroes lay in group action to alter the politico-legal framework. He pointed another road, and the road was largely a blind alley.

The debate a half-century ago between Washington and W. E. B. DuBois about the correct strategy for Negro progress is still a living and vital matter for us all. But Spencer, by neglecting the major issues and ranging the gamut of minor ones, has made the whole thing almost incomprehensible.

RAY GINGER formerly taught at Western Reserve and Harvard University.

An Epic of Australia

THE TREE OF MAN. By Patrick White. The Viking Press. $4.50.

By Stanley Cooperman

THERE are some areas of human experience which the novelist must render as epic. The great tales of exploration and adventure fall into the classical pattern of epic, with voyage and hero. There is, however, another epic pattern—the biblical—which has returned to new literature only with the opening of new lands. All the elements of harshness and joy are present: the patriarch, the wilderness, the promise, the woman, the descendants, the "falling on evil ways," the prodigal, the decline into materialism.

Peraps the two forms may be described as the literature of discovery and the literature of settlement, of the hero and the land. In American fiction we have had both the Indian-fighter and the patriarch, and now that the frontier is gone new novelists use it largely as a background for historical fiction.

In Australian literature, however, the frontier is contemporary; even closer to the novelist than the American frontier was to such writers as Willa Cather. There are still great masses of land which have not yet been tamed or made productive, and the individuals who carve a farm or ranch from wilderness have a vitality which has not yet faded into the past. "The Tree of Man" is a novel of the frontier—the contemporary frontier of Australia—and in this book Patrick White has produced a regional epic of land, labor, and space.

American readers will recognize much in this fiction. The patriarch,

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STANLEY COOPERMAN is a free-lance literary critic with a special interest in modern fiction.

whom we first meet as a young man, has his strength in his arms rather than his vocal chords. By urban standards he is dull. There is, however, the introspection and sensitivity of those who spend much of their lives in wilderness. "Self reliance" for such people becomes more than a phrase of literary Brahminism. There *is* only the self and the land. The drama of the mind, of restless dream, is no less vital because its resources are limited.

The relationship between men and women is also placid on the surface only. The communication between White's Stan Parker and Amy, for example, is perhaps more complex than those which occur where there are many distractions of society, amusement, or esthetic sophistication. Along with an acceptance of event, a certain stolidity or determination *(this* is the place I will make my farm, *this* is the woman I have chosen), there is perpetual discovery in depth, a discovery by the individual of his self and of the few other individuals who make up the total of his life. *Knowing* in this sense becomes an altogether different word than the knowledge achieved by the quick, brilliant, or talented.

Patrick White is able to draw the exact image, the point of moment, in sensitive but unrhetorical language. Here, truly, is precision without poverty:

> The man who sat on the cart got down. He rubbed his hands together because it was already cold. a curdle of cold cloud in a pale sky, and copper in the west. On the air you could smell the frost. As the man rubbed his hands, the friction of the cold skin intensified the coldness of the air and the solitude of that place. Birds looked down from twigs, and the eyes of animals were drawn to what was happening. The man lifting a bundle from a cart. A dog lifting his leg on an anthill. The lip drooping on a sweaty horse.

"The Tree of Man" is a large, leisurely book, with little of the explosive action or tension marking so much of modern fiction. Even its climaxes are oddly muted, as sounds in a great space of country. For all the slow rambling of Patrick White's story, however, he has produced a novel which brings to life, as no other book, the open farmlands of Australia.

Theater

Harold Clurman

"WILL SUCCESS Spoil Rock Hunter?" by George Axelrod (Belasco Theater) is a fantasy disguised as an ordinary farce. All farces are essentially fantastic, but in this case there is almost no pretense that the story is even fictitiously real: the central character is the Devil in the familiar form of a movie agent.

I believe I should have liked the play more if it had been presented as a fantasy—an entertainment which took even greater liberties with reality than farce permits. But in this I am box-office wrong. Our audiences prefer their falsehoods straight—perhaps because in the theater at least they are hardly concerned with truth. Here I suspect they are not even concerned with fiction—the play is a series of jokes or improvised gags about Hollywood.

Some of the jokes are funny and there is—helpfully from the standpoint of a certain audience—a bit of rancid ribaldry about many of them. I am a poor audience for these jokes because I consider most of the quips about Hollywood to be based on a lie. The joke about Hollywood's stupidity, madness, and immorality was effective as long as we believed that the people who made the joke had values which were not those of Hollywood—but this is no longer true. Motion pictures are a great industry at which many able people are hard at work, and the product of which most of us patronize. We now realize—if we never did before—that the majority of the people who scoff at Hollywood are extremely eager to become and remain part of its corruption, madness, etc. Martin Gabel, Walter Matthau, and Harry Clark help a great deal through their extraordinarily expert performances.

"A ROOMFUL of Roses" by Edith Sommer (Playhouse) is a competent little play of a kind I find difficult to describe without sounding snide. I might say that it is one of the best plays of 1915. Or I might say it is like a domestic story in *Collier's*, but actually, I don't read *Collier's*, and its stories may be quite different from what I imagine them to be.

What I mean, I suppose, is that "A Roomful of Roses," which deals with a mother's winning of her estranged daughter—estranged through a divorce in which the father won custody of the child—is a neat arrangement of its material with just enough relationship to life to make it credible without ever striking any other note than the conventional. The play is pleasantly humorous, dramatically glib, trite with a rosy hue. Its production conforms to its writing—professional with a stagey ease—the parts all nicely played and

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well-adjusted to the play's mechanics.

There are audiences for this attraction as there are for "Will Success Spoil Rock Hunter?" Far be it from me to discourage them from seeing what they may enjoy.

MODEST productions of fine plays continue to brighten the corners of our city. At the 4th Street Theater, for example, Chekhov's "The Cherry Orchard" may be seen sensitively done by a youngish company. Not all the casting or acting is adequate, although the Tropinov of Gerald Hicken and Nancy Wickwire's Varya are excellent. What is more important is that there is some real feeling for the play in the production, and that the play itself is warm, sweet, humane, understanding, and forever significant. I have seen it in several languages and in many different types of production, but I have never failed to be touched by it.

There would be little point in this limited space in my attempting to interpret the play anew. All that I care to emphasize here is that the recent outcry in some critical quarters about the undramatic nature of plays about frustrated and futile people is founded on a fundamental fallacy. The frustration of Chekhov's people is moving and dramatic because they are deeply perceived, real, and lovable people while the activity of most characters in contemporary shows is meaningless because the characters are empty stereotypes whose usual goal is to accomplish something about which we care very little. What Chekhov's people desire is greater human contact, love, and an ideal by which to live. Chekhov's plays, written from the viewpoint of a particular time and place, are at once social and universal. The time and place are no more, but the human condition that his plays express is still with us even in the America of 1955!

"No Time for Sergeants"

THE AMIABLE simpleton who wrecks entrenched pomposity by clear and childlike logic is a classic hero of comedy. Will Stockdale of "No Time for Sergeants" is a good-humored, simple-minded Georgia plow boy caught up in the classification system of the United States air force, and the situation promises well. But, as it turns out, Will himself does nothing to the air force; he merely stands around guffawing while other people do implausibly silly things and an arbitrary plot rips the organization to pieces.

"No Time for Sergeants" is Will's explanation, in monologue and flashbacks, to the folks back home of how he happened to get a medal. Back home is the Li'l Abner country and you may find Will's view of what is worth repeating a bit primitive. He was pleased and honored when the friendly sergeant made him Permanent Latrine Orderly; some nice fellows mixed him a drink of scotch, rye, gin, and lighter fluid and he enjoyed several large glasses (tasted sort of like the likker Pa makes, only mighty weak); a half-dozen infantry soldiers jumped him one night, but he knocked them all out and was glad for the exercise; he sure had a time pronouncing those funny words on the wall chart: PCZLMTB, XFJQRYN, etc.

None of this forced and rather jaded slapstick has the remotest bearing on how the air force conducts its business. And the notion that Will Stockdale is one too many for his superior officers is only a bare unproved assumption. What is too much for them is a plot gimmick that blows Will up in an atomic test but fails to hurt him (like the mixed drink). The most excruciatingly funny consequences follow from this—at least, a lot of running around and shouting.

Andy Griffith, who plays Stockdale, comes straight from the back country by way of the University of North Carolina, phonograph recordings, night-club engagements, and television. He has an open face, a pork-chop accent, and a miraculously preserved air of innocence. Mr. Griffith is a monologist by trade and has worked up a small package of gestures and facial expressions that might get him handsomely through a fifteen-minute spot. In a full evening, the changes he rings on vacuity become monotonous, but that is not necessarily his shortcoming. The play gives him only one string to pluck.

Myron McCormick, as the sergeant of the title, and Roddy McDowell, as Stockdale's somewhat quicker buddy, work at a level of hysteria that is almost entirely self-induced. They look at their problem boy and begin screaming, but he is by no means that stimulating.

The set is a mechanical masterpiece, with no pretensions to innocence. It slides left and right, up stage and down, in sections or all together, transforming itself from one scene to another like a fully-automatic Japanese house. And in the second act we are entertained by an almost full-size airplane in flight, a nuclear explosion, and a real parachute descent that are rousers. Peter Larkin, the inventor of all this machinery, knows that spectacle is the way to a playgoer's heart. It is legitimate cinemascope.

ROBERT HATCH.

Music

B. H. Haggin

EACH time the Sadler's Wells Ballet has appeared in New York I have had great pleasure from the richly mounted and carefully prepared productions in which the large, well-rehearsed company dances with easy assurance and precision and engaging sweetness and good manners. But I must add that seeing the productions with eyes increasingly accustomed to Balanchine's use of the classic idiom and to the sharply defined execution of his choreography by the dancers of the New York City Ballet, I have been increasingly aware of the softness, amounting almost to flabbiness, of the general dancing style of the Sadler's Wells company—though not of certain of its soloists—in the execution of classic ballet movements less distinguished and impressive than Balanchine's. I was aware of this a few weeks ago even in the Sadler's Wells company's most beautiful achievement—its production of "The Sleeping Beauty," with the scenery and costumes of Oliver Messel and, at the performance I saw, the elegant precision of Margot Fonteyn.

To its revivals of this work and "Swan Lake" the company this year added productions of another old classic, "Coppelia," and two classics of the Diaghilev repertory, Fokine's "Les Sylphides" and "The Firebird." In Sergeyev's version of "Coppelia" I saw a lovely and charming performance in the title role by Svetlana Beriosova, but a mazurka that betrayed the English nationality of its participants. "Les Sylphides" was revised by Serge Grigoriev and Liubov Tchernicheva of the Diaghilev company, whose changes of detail merely, in effect, added another variant of the piece to those we have seen; and the piece is one in which the company's soft style worked well in the context that set off the stronger dancing of Fonteyn.

On the other hand Grigoriev's and Tchernicheva's restoration of the original Fokine choreography for "The Firebird" to the luxuriant original version of Stravinsky's score was very different from the streamlined Balanchine version to Stravinsky's reduced score that we have seen in recent years. The general effect of greater amplitude—in music, in story line, and from the use of a larger company in the dance of Kostchei's subjects and in the finale—was one thing I liked; another was the *pas de deux* of the captured Firebird struggling in the arms of Ivan Tsarevitch, which seemed to me as original and imaginative and effective today as when I first saw it forty years ago; and as for the movements in the big dances that are ineffective today, I accepted them as less effective parts of a great work, with the further thought that they might be revised by someone with skill and taste like Frederic Ashton. Fonteyn's performance in the title role, in which she was coached by Karsavina who created it originally, was superb, and revealed to my eyes no reason for the controversy it aroused in England.

I saw this time Ashton's "Homage to the Queen," which I missed the last time, and which had been described to me as Ashton's "Four Temperaments." It turned out to be as rich in invention as this praise implied, but invention in which I was conscious always of artful contrivance, as against the naturalness and inevitability of Balanchine. But Ashton's "Facade" I again found to be a masterpiece; and recalling his "Wedding Bouquet" and his performance as one of the Ugly Sisters

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in "Cinderella" I will risk the generalization that he is strongest in all forms of comedy.

THREE performances of Mozart's Symphony K.425 ("Linz") have been issued on records. The best pacing of the work, giving it an easy, natural flow, is heard in the performance on Telefunken LGX-66020 (with Schubert's Symphony No. 5), in which the Berlin Chamber Orchestra plays well and phrases simply under von Benda's direction. Additional refinements of orchestral execution and phrasing are heard on Columbia ML-5001 in Beecham's performance with the Royal Philharmonic, but with an over-deliberate tempo in the exposition of the second movement as against the more flowing pace of the development and recapitulation, a slow tempo in the minuet and further excessive slowing down in the trio, and some eccentric balances in the finals. On the reverse side is an effective performance of the Symphony K.385 ("Haffner"). And even more beautiful execution is heard from the group of assembled New York orchestral musicians that plays under Bruno Walter on side 4 of Columbia SL-224, "The Birth of a Performance"; but the performance recalls Toscanini's remark years ago: "When Walter comes to something beautiful he melts." And the melting can be heard in the rehearsals that are reproduced on the other three sides. The accompanying booklet has informative and enthusiastic notes by Neville Cardus, excellent action photographs of Walter at the rehearsals, and the full score of the symphony; thus everything is done to enable us, in Mr. Cardus's words, "to hear a great conductor at rehearsal changing notes into music." In fact one thing too many was done: though Mr. Cardus says Walter didn't know he was "under the microphone" during the rehearsals, Mr. David Oppenheim of Columbia informs us of what is visible in the photographs—that "for the rehearsal sides only one microphone was used, placed directly in front of Dr. Walter for optimum pickup of his voice."

Since Dr. Walter must have been aware of the purpose of this microphone-placement he must have been self-conscious; and while it gives us optimum pickup of what he says, it never gives us correctly the sound he is talking about, which we must hear correctly if we are to understand and appreciate fully what he says and does about it. If the normal microphone-placement for recording the orchestra had been used we would get what he says *and* the sound he is talking about.

COLUMBIA ML-5002 offers Walter's performance with a similar orchestra of Mozart's charming early Symphony K.200, in which his melting over the Andante movement changes it into a dragging Adagio. The Symphony K.183 in G minor, in which others hear premonitions of the great G minor that are inaudible to me, is on the reverse side.

On London LL-1206 is Mozart's Serenade K.203, with lovely Andante and minuet movements, played well by the New Symphony under Maag.

And on London LL-1172 is the delightful Violin Concerto K.216, played simply by Ferras with the Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra under Muenchinger, but not as remarkably as by Poulet on the Remington record. The Concerto K.268, begun but not completed by Mozart, is on the reverse side.

Two Obstructive Votes In the Keystone State

(Continued from opposite page 373)

and a reduction in state services which they know are necessary. There is an appalling lack of awareness among many Democrats as to the real nature of the combat in which they are engaged. Leader and his friends are fighting at close quarters in Harrisburg, where the Republicans can't be licked. But the battle ought to be spread deliberately across the entire state—by sound truck and street corner if necessary—to give the people a chance to win.

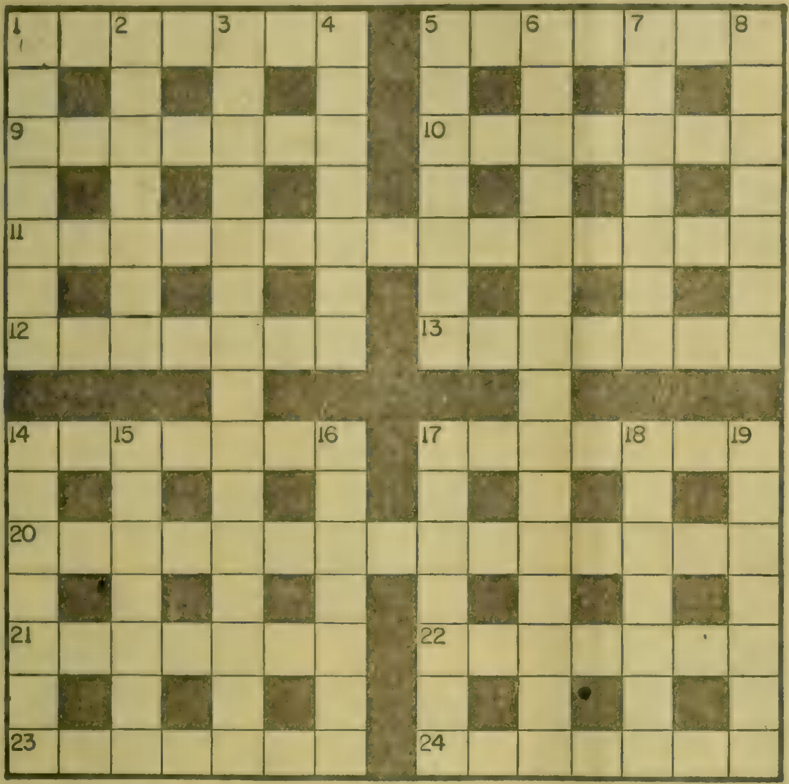
[JAMES HIGGINS is the managing editor of the York (Pa.) *Gazette and Daily.*]

CORRECTION

In The Nation of October 22, Warwick C. Lamoreaux, author of the article entitled The "Ute" Scandal, was erroneously listed as a Colorado state senator. He is a former state senator of Utah.

Crossword Puzzle No. 644

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 3 down

5 Caricatured ruthlessly, in fact portraying a "Treasure Island" character. (7)

9 Variety of sheep. (7)

10 Smart surrounding if making something finer. (7)

11 Carpenters aren't in a class by themselves here. (9,6)

12 This wild lioness might prove dangerous. (7)

13 Involved in a film take-off? (7)

14 Dressed to kill, as those in 7 down might be. (7)

17 Tearing off like a fish in the sound. (7)

20 In a fitting manner. (15)

21 Implying father doesn't work very much as an inkeeper. (7)

22 Lively variation to a main theme? (7)

23 Regular methods. (7)

24. The better half of Napoleon. (7)

DOWN

1 He leaves one across confused by an extremely unusual addition. 7)

2 Trips, perhaps, and stumbles around. (7)

3 and 1 across Implying a purse might be actually followed with the wrong assistant? (9,6,3,4)

4 Everything comes out equal about it. (Those are the things which count!) (7)

5 Rules about what sometimes makes a plural? (7)

6 Does it imply [illegible] telegraphic garble? (It could make you quite burned up!) (9,6)

7 Consonant. (7)

8 Stickled. (7)

14 What a true believer does. (7)

15 Screen theme of D-D-C's in the key of C? (7)

16 Lower. (7)

17 A place to stay in step with the boat? (7)

18 Inherent when not exactly raining. (7)

19 Used to string up Fawkes? (3,4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE 643

ACROSS: 8, 12, 1 and 14 TOO MANY COOKS SPOIL THE BROTH; 9 CUFF LINK; 10 and 20 WEATHER FORECAST; 13 LEAN-TO; 15 LAHORE; 22 STRAY; 23 STUCCO; 24 WORTH; 26 REHEAR; 28 STONE; 29 ENCORES; 30 ESCANABA; 31 and 17 BOWLING ALLEY; 32 INDECENT. DOWN: 1 SICK CALL; 2 and 18 OFF TO THE RACES; 3 LOLLS; 4 HANDLE; 5 TOKEN; 6 AMATORY; 7 INDENTS; 10 WALLS; 11 AT BEST; 16 RATHER; 19 ACCOLADE; 21 CORNCOB; 22 STROLLS; [illegible] PRISON; 27 HEINE; 28 SHAME.

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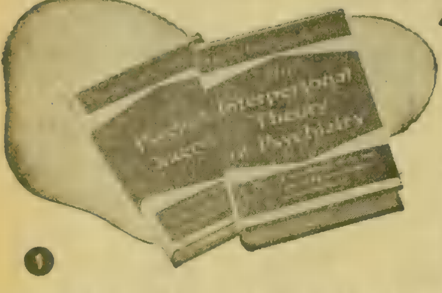

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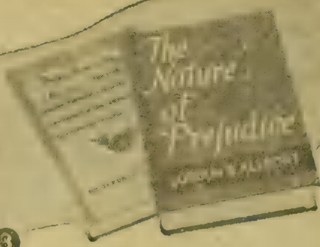

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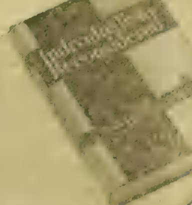

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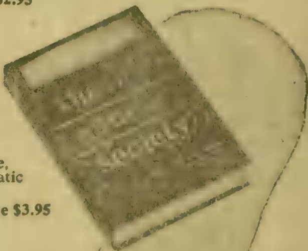

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by CAREY McWILLIAMS

OFF THE EDITORS' SPIKE

● The California political situation has clarified a bit in the last few weeks. A new assurance is to be noted in communiques from the Nixon camp; recent private polls indicate that the Vice-President is a strong favorite with both Republican officials and the rank-and-file. Apparently Governor Goodwin J. Knight made a mistake in being so vocal, at such an early date, in his opposition to Nixon. The effect was to permit the pro-Nixon elements to work the Governor over on the score of party unity. Knowland said in a recent speech that he did not consider "a toothpaste smile, a ready quip, an actor's perfection with lines," or an ability to avoid issues as qualifications for high office, and strongly implied that he would enter the California primary.

● Encouraged by polls which give Adlai Stevenson a 2-to-1 lead over Senator Kefauver, the pro-Stevenson elements confronted Carmine De Sapio, New York Tammany leader, with something like a fait accompli when he arrived in San Francisco on October 12. The following day the official Democratic leadership released wires and messages urging Stevenson to enter the California primary. Among the signers were several members of Kefauver's 1952 delegation, including Representative Chet Holifield. But the old-line conservative Democrats—the elements for whom John B. Elliott and Ed Pauley have long been the spokesmen—are critical of the official leadership; Mr. Elliott contends, for example, that their activity violates the spirit of the direct-primary law. California's puzzle-of-the-week, however, is why Attorney General Edmund G. ("Pat") Brown has bowed out as a candidate for the Democratic senatorial nomination. This is a real puzzle since Mr. Brown, who is a Stevenson follower, would almost certainly have defeated Senator Thomas Kuchel, the Republican incumbent.

The withdrawal of Mr. Brown from the race has given renewed impetus to the movement to induce Robert M. Hutchins to become a candidate. Sam Yorty, defeated by Kuchel in 1954, has already announced that he will seek the Democratic nomination—another circumstance which has made the pro-Hutchins elements bestir themselves.

● Speaking of the Times, what is one to say of the news from Moscow that Mr. and Mrs. Norman Chandler—Norman is publisher of the Times—have invited the Bolshoi Theater ballet to visit Los Angeles? According to these dispatches, Mr. Chandler made it clear that members of the ballet would not have to put up with any State Department nonsense about "fingerprinting" or anything of the sort. A news items like this makes me feel like an Old Bolshevik. It was not so long ago when the Times would have skinned alive any Southern Californian bold enough to extend such an invitation.

● The House Committee on Un-American Activities staged one of its few genial sessions during its two-hour interrogation of the actor, Zero Mostel, in Los Angeles. When Representative Clyde Doyle, Democrat, from Long Beach, made his by-now-familiar "fervent plea" to Mr. Mostel to disavow his beliefs, Mostel replied: "My dear friend, I believe in the antiquated idea that a man is in his profession because of his ability and not because of his political beliefs." Next witness was Representative Donald Jackson, Republican, Santa Monica (why is it, incidentally, that the Southern California beach communities spawn these inquisitorial types in such profusion?). Mr. Jackson thought it passing strange that a fine upstanding American like Mostel should appear on the same program with such disagreeable types as Dalton Trumbo and Dorothy Parker. "If I appeared there and interpreted a butterfly at rest," Mostel replied, "there is no crime in making anybody laugh." Everyone did laugh. Even the reporter who covered the hearing must have been amused for he turned in one of the few relaxed and friendly accounts of an Un-American hearing that the Los Angeles Times has ever carried—a consequence, no doubt, of the appearance of Mr. and Mrs. Chandler at the Bolshoi Theater in Moscow.

● A curious "little cold war" is being waged over a rich oil pool in the Buraimi Oasis in southeastern Arabia. The oasis lies in an ill-defined border region between Saudi Arabia, which has just joined the Syrian-Egyptian mutual-aid military pact, and the pro-British sheikdom of Abu Dhabi and the Sultanate of Muscat. The British contend that Saudi Arabia recently offered a $90,000,000 bribe to a local sheik if the Arabian American Oil Company were permitted to take over the Buraimi pool. The dispute, of course, is actually between Aramco (American-controlled) on the one hand, and the British-controlled Iraq Petroleum on the other. American oil prospectors, escorted by Saudi Arabian troopers, have been ousted from the oasis after an exchange of shots. A pretty situation that will bear watching.

● With great fanfare Premier Ngo Dinh Diem has proclaimed a new republic after defeating Bao Dai as chief of state in "an overwhelming victory" at the polls; Mr. Diem received 98.2 per cent of the vote. Church bells pealed, a twenty-three gun salute was fired, and France, Great Britain, and the United States promptly recognized the new republic in South Vietnam. But Takashi Oka, in one of the few good news accounts of the election (Christian Science Monitor, October 24), reports that Mr. Diem won but "half a victory." Urban areas voted, the rural areas did not. The villagers have been having a fine time lately in South Vietnam. Many of their landlords have fled to the cities and rents which formerly ranged as high as 50 per cent of the main crops have been reduced or in some cases have gone uncollected. "It is recalled," to quote from this account, "that during the Indo-China war the French held all major cities and still were defeated by Ho Chi-minh's peasant-based forces."

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Nationalism-Colonialism: The New Challenge (III)

by Edgar Snow

This is the concluding section of a three-part editorial by Mr. Snow, who spent more than twenty years as a foreign correspondent in Europe and Asia and who is the author of "The Battle for Asia," "Pattern of Soviet Power," and other books.

IN TWO EARLIER pieces in this space we examined some reasons why it is becoming mandatory for America to plan a new and vastly more effective role for itself in helping to advance the economic, social, and political progress of the many millions of people dwelling in various colonial, ex-colonial, and other underdeveloped areas of the world. Paradoxically this challenge seems to become more acute as the fear of atomic war recedes. For the (non-Communist) "needy" areas are still regarded in Marxist terminology as "victims of imperialist exploitation" and legitimate targets for rebellion and class revolution. This applies to countries as far apart in history as India and Bechuanaland and the new Soviet approach, like the old, does not despair of ultimate success in both.

We have realized by now that the metamorphosis of Cold War I into competitive coexistence does not and cannot end ideological rivalry. It intensifies its continuation by other means. It signifies the vigorous reentry of Russia, accompanied by new European and Asian partners, into the world market and the struggle for access to its resources. Today Communists have more to sell than propaganda or obsolete guns to activate "contradictions in the enemy camp," as in the case of Egypt. With the greatest industrial plant in Europe at their disposal, and the largest cadres of technicians, they are assaulting the big market with everything from dynamos to offers of Russian teachers or Intourist deals. From North Africa to Japan Soviet business men threaten to buttress Communist ideological competition with economic infiltration. Western powers can ignore or underestimate them only at their own peril.

But many thoughtful people in Europe and America today clearly see also that Communists cannot create revolutions. They can only reap the harvest of the colonial system. Even without any incentive to contain or modify communism, however, certain inner compulsions of the Western democratic states themselves emphatically oblige us to help speed up the attainment of self-government in all remaining colonies, as well as the modernization of other economically backward areas on a far greater scale than heretofore. This is, of course, partly because if disarmament does come, or arms expenditures are stabilized at a reduced level, other ways must be found for disposing of the thirty to forty billion dollars worth of industrial production which have been annually absorbed in making playthings for the Pentagon. But it is fundamentally more because the inequalities and inequities of the colonial system are now anachronisms whose limited life span has suddenly become apparent to all. The contradictions of democracy and imperialism, the myths of the superior race—the "silent lies," as Mark Twain called them—have caught up with us even in Africa. "This conference," said Paul-Henri Spaak at the U. N. meeting in San Francisco last June, "has fully convinced me that the complete equality of all races with all of its natural consequences has become a reality. Any contemporary statesman who refuses to admit this will make many mistakes." And Mr. Spaak is the foreign minister of a nation with the richest black empire of them all—Belgium.

TODAY'S world has shrunk too much, our neighbors' problems are too inextricably our own, our lives and futures too dependent upon retaining access to a few vital minerals of the atomic age, everybody's security is too patently conditioned by the orderly accommodation of rapid change for us to avoid becoming more and more literally our brothers' keepers. We have no power in Morocco but French blunders there may deeply embroil us in costly troubles in other Moslem domains. We are not responsible for South Africa yet the Union's *apartheid* policy injures our relations with dark-skinned peoples everywhere else.

"What the United States ought to do," John Gunther concludes in his vast and fascinating report on Africa's insides, "is to take a much bolder position, announce its unshakeable faith in freedom for all peoples, and enormously multiply our assistance to Africa in fields of technical aid, education, and the like." And Chester Bowles, a former ambassador to India and potential big man in any Democratic Administration, has reached a similar conclusion after extensive travels in Africa and Asia on his own. In his fine book, "The New Dimensions of Peace," he states that we "must emphatically and meaningfully change our public image as seen by colonial peoples. We must seize the recurring opportunities to reestablish our anti-colonial heritage. . . . It is the spirit of Lincoln that the world expects from us."

But actually how do you, in practice, "enormously multiply our assistance to colonial Africa"—where we have no authority whatever—without arousing suspicions among our allies that we intend to seize their empires? Already French residents in Algiers blame us for all their troubles there. How do we persuade equally suspicious Indians and Burmese that they can now accept our economic and technical assistance without endangering their independence or relations with their fearful Red neighbors on the North? Assuming, that is, that Congress itself is persuaded, and can persuade the American people, that helping the "needy nations" on a big scale is an investment in peace bound to pay off for our children far better than the 300 billions spent on World War II and sixty billions or so used up since then arming our allies.

First, the beginning certainly has to be a firm return to the principle of self-determination—"freedom for all peoples," as Gunther says. That and our faith in the doctrines of human equality and democratic processes set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are all the "ideology" we really possess. When we forget that or repudiate it in cynical pursuit of security built solely on combinations of force we have nothing left to put on the marketplace of ideas. That has been proved again and again.

It is the soundest basis we can find for a foreign policy today, if consistently adhered to, simply because people are more important than bombs and machines. In the end they always decide the fate of the lands they live in. It is sound because a free United States has proved sounder than a colonial America—just as a free India and free Burma are today better assets to peace and progress than they were as colonies.

If we really believe in this—self-determination, "freedom for all peoples"—then we shall have to uphold it not only in the pulpit and at press conferences but in the United Nations and NATO and Geneva. We should then have to join the Asian-African bloc in demanding a public airing of legitimate grievances raised by non-self-governing peoples before the United Nations. We should have to support the move to extend to them also the right of petition now guaranteed by the United Nations Charter to the trusteeship territories. This would mean voting against our European allies from time to time, of course—but it would presumably be for their own good, in working toward evolutionary rather than revolutionary change. On the other hand we could be offering the colonial powers themselves very widely increased access to our own production, capital, and technique in cooperation with their plans for preparing Africans for full citizenship.

Second, the United States could dramatize both the size of the whole problem and of its own readiness to meet it on a high plane by forming a new federal agency to plan world development and the expansion of freedom. It could be something on a cabinet level, perhaps a special assistantship to the President ranking with Mr. Stassen's post. Or are emancipation and development less vital to human progress than disarmament? Are they not, in fact, complementary—or at least the one the corollary of the other?

Such an agency could be responsible for the planning of all American governmental economic, technical, and cultural aid extended to the kind of areas we have been talking about. It could coordinate such work with the plans of other countries and international agencies as well. Lord Boyd-Orr has suggested that all the great powers pledge themselves to contribute to a fund for development of the "poor" countries such sums of money—or the equivalents in production—as are lopped off from the present arms budgets as a result of any disarmament agreement. We could be the first country —through such a agency—officially to proclaim the adoption of this excellent idea.

THE WORLD Development Agency would in effect provide a general staff to plan for a universal war against ignorance, poverty, and disease just as we now have a general staff to plan the destruction of our neighbors by fire, pestilence, and gas. It could seek allies in all countries anxious to draw abreast of the opportunities now offered by science. It could team up with all independent nations represented at Bandung, for example, and offer them help in the speedy realization of their national plans aimed to raise the living standards of their peoples.

This novel new department could immeasurably enlarge the present picayune Point Four activity. It would extend and to some extent might supersede our role in the conventional operations of the International Bank for Reconstruction and the International Monetary Fund.

Such comprehensive planning would certainly have to be preceded by very extensive surveys, conferences, and consultations with all national, regional, and international planning agencies. It would have to find ways and means of reciprocal trade and perhaps ultimately change our whole concept of foreign trade—unavoidable in any case. Our government would have to abandon myths that it is not already "in business" and bound to get in deeper. We would be obliged to work out practical exchanges of our goods and services for imports of necessities and minor luxuries the distribution of which would not unbalance our domestic market.

Third, the United States could at the same time devote far more attention to all United Nations agencies now dealing with colonial questions on the economic, cultural, and political levels. These are principally the Trusteeship Council and the Committee on

Information for the Non-Self-Governing Territories. Neither has ever been taken as seriously here as in Asia and Africa. A policy of unequivocal support of the right of self-determination certainly ought to favor the idea of ultimate responsibility of all colonial powers to the United Nations. In this respect the United States fully could cooperate with the Eastern powers in seeking to establish that principle in the General Assembly and in the drafting of the U. N. Covenant. So far we have repeatedly either opposed or remained indifferent to moves in that direction.

Another U. N. agency useful to underdeveloped areas which we could be sponsoring and even leading, is the proposed Special U. N. Fund for Economic Development. Instead, our response to this appeal also has been half-hearted and negative because the participating nations declined to have the Fund utilized for cold-war purposes. "What the United States Congressmen cannot see," a U. N. delegate said to me the other day, "is that the struggle for colonial independence goes on quite outside the folklore of the East-West ideological struggle. Colonial and semi-colonial peoples can have only a passive part to play, at best, in this battle between the titans. It is only after a country has attained all the economic as well as political conditions of national freedom that it can become involved in such ideological conflict. For this reason nearly all Africa, and a great deal of Asia, honestly feel they have nothing much at stake in the outcome."

Such is the new challenge of nationalism and colonialism in the underdeveloped countries which hold well over half the world's population today. The task of raising them to the level of full national freedom—and responsible world citizenship—is still very formidable. State Attorney General Jacob K. Javits of New York started a foreign-policy conference by declaring that our contribution to "a program of peaceful economic competition with the Communists" might run to an investment of 100 billion dollars or more over the next two decades. It should begin at once, he thinks, by increasing our economic contribution in Asia to three or four billion dollars annually—in order to "take the economic offensive on a far broader scale than anything yet contemplated."

The cold war may be over—but the expense of coexistence is just beginning!

The Shape of Things

Civil Liberties: Some Tactical Gains

With customary doggedness, the courts are gradually forcing congressional inquisitors to exhibit a measure of respect for the rights of citizens. In dismissing four counts in an indictment for contempt against Leon J. Kamin, Judge Bailey Aldrich of the federal district court in Boston assailed congressional "fishing expeditions." "A fishing expedition," Judge Aldrich observed, "would seem to be a proper description of the government's contention that a question is pertinent if an answer might reveal further sources of information which, if pursued, might eventually lead to a pertinent inquiry." In Washington another contempt citee, Lawrence Baker Arguimbau, formerly a teacher at M. I. T., won at least a moral victory when Judge James W. Morris suspended payment of a fine and jail sentence. Without claiming the protection of the Fifth Amendment, Arguimbau had admitted former membership in the Communist Party but had refused to name names. In another contempt trial in Washington, Harvey O'Connor scored a tactical triumph in a clear-cut defense of his principled position before Judge Joseph C. McCarraghy. Not only was Senator McCarthy subjected to a searching and most revealing cross-examination for perhaps the first time, but Judge McGarraghy declined to force O'Connor to answer in court the same questions about his political beliefs that he had declined to answer before the Senate subcommittee. A decision in the O'Connor case is expected soon. It may be too early to cheer but judicial resistance to the usurpation of power by inquisitorial congressional committees seems to be stiffening.

The Right of Confrontation

The Department of Justice's position that the accused is not entitled to face his accuser in loyalty-security cases has been badly shaken by the decision of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals enjoining enforcement by the coast guard of its "screening" regulations. The seamen who brought the action had been told that the burden was on them to prove that they were entitled to clearance documents despite the fact that they knew neither the names of their accusers nor the specific nature of the so-called "derogatory information." The chairman of the appeals board which had heard their case frankly stated that he did not know the names of the accusers nor did he know who had evaluated their information or the means used to evaluate it.

Conceding that some screening procedure would be justified, Judge Walter Pope, who wrote the majority opinion for the Court of Appeals, then raised the basic question: "Is this system of secret informers, whisperers, and talebearers of such vital importance to the public welfare that it must be preserved at the cost of denying the citizen even a modicum of the protection traditionally associated with due process?" Here is Judge Pope's answer to the question and to the contention, heard so often these last few years, that disclosure of the identity of informers might dry up certain sources of information:

> . . . . Surely it is better than these agencies [such as the F. B. I.] suffer some handicap than that the citizens of a freedom-loving country shall be denied that which has always been considered their birthright. Indeed, it may well be that in the long run nothing but beneficial results will come from a lessening of such talebearing. . . . In considering the public interest in the preserva-

> tion of a system under which unidentified informers are encouraged to make unchallengeable statements about their neighbors, it is not amiss to bear in mind whether or not we must look forward to a day when substantially every one will have to contemplate the possibility that his neighbors are being encouraged to make reports to the F. B. I. about what he says, what he reads, and what meetings he attends. It may be possible that we have reached an age when our system of Constitutional freedom and individual rights cannot hold its own against those who, under totalitarian discipline, are prepared to infiltrate not only our public services, but our civilian employments as well. In the event of war we may have to anticipate Black Tom explosions on every waterfront, poison in our water systems, and sand in all important industrial machines. But the time has not come when we have to abandon a system of individual liberty for one modeled on that of the Communists. Such a system was not that ordained by the framers of our Constitution. It is the latter we are sworn to uphold.

In essence, the decision holds that refusal to disclose the identity of informers and, with some specificity, the nature of their charges, constitutes a denial of due process. Of major importance, the decision if appealed will provide the Supreme Court with an opportunity to sound the death knell of the informer system.

Buy American

Washington's foreign trade practices continue to be in glaring contrast with official pronouncements. Last year the tariff wall was raised to minimize competition from Swiss watchmakers. More recently, the Administration raised the tariff against foreign-made bicycles. In the wake of these irritating manifestations of economic isolationism, the low bid of a British firm to manufacture equipment for the Chief Joseph Dam was rejected. This is the second time the British firm—English Electric—has lost out to Westinghause Electric Corporation on equipment for Chief Joseph; it was the low bidder for two generators and ten transformers in 1953. At the same time, Secretary of Agriculture Benson toured Europe seeking reactions to the Administration's plans for dumping government-owned surplus farm commodities in European markets. But if we are not prepared to let the British, who have lost $1,500,000,000 in gold and foreign-exchange reserves since 1950 while West Germany was gaining $2,500,000,000 in reserves for the same period, trade in American markets except under severe handicaps, American firms are reaching out eagerly, with apparent official approval, for new foreign markets—including some behind the Iron Curtain. According to *Business Week*, the board of General Motors, reversing an earlier policy, has told its executives that they are now authorized to sell non-strategic goods, specifically automobiles, to Soviet Russia and its European satellites. Also more and more American firms are hurdling European trade barriers to build branch plants abroad; "U. S. Firms' Factories Burgeon in Booming West German Cities" headlines the *Wall Street Journal* (September 8). It is not surprising, therefore, that the London *Daily Express* should demand the resignation from the British Cabinet of the trade minister who supported America's liberal trade policies; these policies, the paper states, are "dead," killed by their own sponsor.

Fingers Through the Chain

The proposition that Russia's recent fishing in the troubled waters of the Middle East not only violates "the Geneva spirit," which is doubtless true, but that it somehow justifies "a new cold war," has won widespread editorial acceptance in the American press. But this comment has failed, by and large, to relate Soviet intrigue in the Middle East to Iran's adherence to the military alliance between Turkey, Iraq, Pakistan, and Great Britain. As Joseph C. Harsch points out in the *Christian Science Monitor,* the containment of Soviet Russia by a chain of military alliances was completed when Iran adhered to this treaty. Now, at least in theory, Russia is contained along its Western borders by NATO, in the east by the American alliance with Japan, Korea, and Formosa (and even more firmly, perhaps, by the new China), in the southeast by SEATO, and on the south by the newly-formed association of Moslem states. The completion of this chain of alliance, on which American strategic planners have been at work since 1949, just happened to cut across the pattern of new East-West relations at the moment when these relations were about to receive their first major test at the second Geneva conference. But should we be surprised that the completion of the military chain should have prompted the Soviets to extend "fingers" of infiltration through the chain's weakest links, in the Middle East? Unlike an iron curtain, as Mr. Harsch observes, a chain of military alliances, by being permeable, invites infiltration. In the chess game of power politics, infiltration by "fingers" is the logical move to counter encirclement by "chains." Once again American policy has apparently been formulated without adequate weight being given to the logical, and easily anticipated, consequences of our own tactical move. It is disingenuous to complain of tactics, however mischieveous they may be, which stem logically from our own tactical designs.

NEXT WEEK IN THE NATION

The Middle-East crisis—its extent and portent:

An American view by Lillie Shultz, *The Nation's* expert on Middle-East affairs.

A British view by Jon Kimche, co-author of "The Secret Roads. The 'Illegal' Migration of a People, 1938-1948," and author of "Seven Fallen Pillars: The Middle East."

Here is an important contribution to enlightenment on one of the most dramatic developments of the year. Be sure to read it.

PROGRESS AT GENEVA

Detours to Agreement . . *by Arnold Adams*

Geneva, November 7

TWO IMPORTANT minimal results are already more or less assured halfway through this most businesslike of all Big Four conferences to date.

First, it seems agreed that expert negotiations on various narrowed differences between East and West can fruitfully follow the present meeting. Such negotiations could keep the ball rolling until a fresh top-level phase is reached next year in a necessarily long chain of East-West conferences. Secondly, for the first time the principles of a workable European security treaty have been agreed upon on the basis of Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov's concessions, which were acclaimed as no Soviet move ever has been by Secretary Dulles. Even if the treaty remains shelved pending progress in future meetings on the stalled German reunification problem, the now patent possibility of devising mutually acceptable security measures will become a powerful factor in the search for further East-West understanding.

BUT it seems doubtful whether the second half of the conference can achieve considerable successes beyond these two long-term promises. Even the improvement of cultural, commercial, and other East-West contacts which are being discussed secretly in committee is proving tougher in practical detail than had been assumed, with progress largely dependent upon the outcome of the main issues: security, reunification, disarmament. Soviet denunciation of strategic trade restrictions and Western protestations against broadcast jamming have caused sharp clashes in committee and there is little enthusiasm on either side for formalizing the recent spontaneous expansion of contacts so long as there is no certainty that the cold war is really coming to an end on the main fronts. Well-informed observers expect no more than partial results sufficient to give some color to the final conference communique and to form a basis for continued expert negotiations, but insufficient to stimulate a *rapprochement* on the central problems in plenary sessions. Still it is significant that on the whole the propaganda by-play has never been less acrimonious at any previous conference excepting the July summit talks.

NOTHING definite is predictable as yet in the disarmament discussions which are due to begin this week. It is considered likely that both sides may at the very least make some minor concessions, purposely held over for this occasion, before returning the problem in slightly more promising shape—to the U. N. disarmanent subcommittee. But what Bonn has feared and West European liberal opinion has strongly favored ever since the conference began might still come to pass: The Big Three might after all attempt to clinch the outline of an overall deal with the Soviets which would be built around a combined security-disarmament agreement instead of one which makes everything dependent upon the forgng of what is still called "the pivotal link between European security and German reunification." In such a case it is expected that the Soviets could be induced to take several important steps forward on disarmament and other matters of real importance to world peace.

It is now tacitly agreed here among all of the participants that the German reunification problem is indeed insoluble for the time being, particularly if it is put ahead of all others. Each side realizes fully that under present circumstances the other can neither afford nor effectively be forced to yield its hold over part of Germany. The West's insistence upon continuing a fruitless discussion despite this realization admittedly serves propaganda purposes, while the Soviet's frank indifference even toward the propaganda angle of reunification only confirms two open secrets which are daily proved anew in conversations at the *maison de la presse*. First, Europe, Asia, and Africa care little for German unity, and even within Germany itself the aim of achieving reasonable European security guarantees is rated more important for maintaining and solidifying peace than a reunification which nobody considers feasible. Secondly, with the Adenauer era apparently drawing to a close and the Social Democratic opposition gaining supporters in the Bonn government's own camp, a more genuine promise of eventual reunification is seen in German-Soviet and intra-German discussions, at least as indispensable counterparts to further Big Four negotiations.

THE Soviets seem genuinely convinced that time is working in their favor in Germany. So it seems, also, to liberal observers of practically all nationalities here, among them a good number of West German correspondents. Significantly, the questions put by Bonn newsmen at a recent East German press conference were politer and more objective in tone than those of many of their non-German colleagues. The West German reporters, moreover, are becoming increasingly outspoken in their criticism of the Big Three's failure to deal realistically with the situation.

"The Western powers would commit a serious mistake if, because Germany's reunification appears to be clearly unrealizable, they were to neglect the great possibilities arising from the unexpected *rapprochement* of Western and Soviet viewpoints on the matter of security." Thus does the middle-of-the-road

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ARNOLD ADAMS is the pen name of a veteran European diplomatic correspondent.

Le Monde summarize opinion held by "all Geneva observers with some rare exceptions, particularly of West Germans and Americans."

It is by no means certain that the outwardly united Western camp here—all too negatively and rigidly united despite growing misgivings in all delegations at the rather sterile attitudes to which they are committed—can avoid making this "serious mistake" during the current conference. But expert negotiations and fresh top-level meetings will probably follow upon this "Geneva Number Two." Developments inside West Germany are considered likely to help toward a more practical exploitation of the Soviet's genuine, though by no means desperate, need for a long-term formalized *detente*. So are America's election campaign and the Bandung powers' reactions to this conference. Hence there is growing hope here that eventually ways may be found to security and disarmanent by shelving Germany's reunification (and thereby incidentally preparing more realistically for its eventual achievement) if not this November, then at some future Big Four meeting.

COMEBACK FLOP

McCarthy in Boston . . *by Joseph Garland*

Boston

HE LOOKED not unlike Tony Galento as he bounced down the long aisle of the Boston Arena with his American Legion color guard to the blare of the Ashby Military Band. He climbed into the ring to wave at his stomping and yelling fans, some 1,200 of whom had sloshed through a driving northeaster to watch him mount the comeback trail. He seemed pasty and flabby under the harsh kleig lights. Was the old magic still lurking in those hammy fists? Could he still duck the lefts and sneak to the kidney with a right?

Two hours of clumsy jingoism and mumbled innuendo later, it looked as if Jolting Joe McCarthy had lost his jolt.

The bout was promoted by Friends of Senator McCarthy, Inc., which presumably would not have engaged the arena if it hadn't expected its man could fill it, adverse weather notwithstanding. The billing begged the question "Is There Sabotage in Our Guided Missile Program?"

The preliminary was a memorial service for the recently deceased F. B. I. informer William H. Teto of nearby Ashby, late chairman of American Activities for Joe's incorporated friends. The eulogy was presented by Bernard M. McQuaid, co-publisher with China Lobbyist William Loeb of the Manchester, N. H., *Sunday News*. McQuaid was moved by "attacks on the character and credibility of my good friend Teto" to read a letter from J. Edgar Hoover to the informer stating for the record that he had, in fact, furnished information to the F. B. I. McQuaid similarly quoted from a laudatory report of New Hampshire Attorney General Louis Wyman, whose investigations he described as "a model for the entire country." These remarks were perhaps prompted by uncomplimentary press stories that followed disclosure of Teto's police record.

THE publisher lamented that Teto had died "jobless and nearly destitute" a few weeks earlier and wound up by reading an editorial by Loeb complaining that Teto's fees had ended upon completion of his undercover work and he had been "cast aside by an ungrateful government." The editorial concluded that it will become most difficult to recruit informers if this is the sort of treatment they can expect.

There was a minute of silent prayer, and at the conclusion of the rally a collection was taken for the education of the Teto children.

During this melancholy tribute to one of his old committee witnesses McCarthy seemed preoccupied and fidgety. His lips had barely moved during the mass recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance. The sound system in the arena was poor, and the reverberations were exaggerated against the thousands of empty seats. When he began to speak, many complained that they could not hear him. This is understandable for the phrase "the sabotage of our intercontinental guided-ballistic-missile program" is a mouthful for any orator and particularly for one who tends to mumble.

His speech, in fact, was a study in frustration, and one got the impression that this was sensed by not a few of the faithful. They hissed stoutly at his reference to the Ford Foundation and Edward R. Murrow, but reacted with perfunctory enthusiasm to his sneers at the "spirit of Geneva" and not at all when he threatened them with the calculation that a guided missile could destroy Boston thirty minutes after its departure from Moscow.

In order to play up the missile, McCarthy went so far as to concede that the United States has "some defense" against aircraft-borne bombs. Then he went on to state that the "available evidence" finds the Russians on the verge of perfecting the missile, while our program moves "at a snail's pace"—a state of affairs about which he came to the "frighteningly compelling" conclusion that highly placed Communist agents are responsible.

But the closest he could come to putting the finger on the "baddies" was a dark hint that the missile program was being cut back at about the time that J. Robert Oppenheimer was "convincing President Truman that the H-bomb was immoral" in 1949.

***JOSEPH GARLAND** is a Boston newspaperman.*

The Sunday punch just wasn't there, and the sponsorship of the affair was as indicative of the state of the McCarthy fortunes as the speech. There was a marked lack of political weight on the platform, with the lone exception of G. O. P. State Chairman Elmer C. Nelson, who didn't speak. The aged James M. Curley shuffled in, but neither or the opponents who thrashed him in the recent mayoralty primaries turned up.

And while the present Mayor John B. Hynes has consistently kept McCarthy at arm's length, State Senator John E. Powers—an investigator of subversion in his own right—was not too long ago a vociferous McCarthyite in the Irish Catholic bastion of South Boston.

Others on the platform included Robert H. Montgomery, a Bourbon utilities and textile-corporation lawyer; Cambridge candy manufacturer Robert H. W. Welch, Jr.; and two old supporters of Bob Taft in the Bay State, former New Dealer Joseph P. Kennedy and Basil Brewer, publisher of the New Bedford *Standard-Times,* who teamed up in 1952 to back the former's Democratic son, Senator John F. Kennedy, against Eisenhower kingmaker Henry Cabot Lodge.

While the rally had received scant advance notice in the Boston papers, the morning editions relented to give McCarthy page-one treatment the next day—all, that is, except Hearst's tabloid *Record,* which planted him in a half column on page four. John Fox's friendly *Post* handed him a column and a half, and he drew a column in the conservative but critical *Herald,* slightly less in the middle-road *Globe.* A year ago they all would have splashed him across page one.

The audience enjoyed the band music and concessionaire's hot dogs and what it could hear of the speeches, but the anticipated fireworks fizzled, and many probably regretted the $1.10 price of admission which, incidentally, had not been publicized.

DO YOU OWE TOO MUCH?

The Personal Debt Spectre . . *by Jules Backman*

THE SHARP rise in consumer credit and in mortgage debt combined with a significant easing of credit terms has raised the question: Is the amount of personal—or consumer—debt too high? The concern of government officials in the problem is reflected in the various actions taken to tighten the supply of credit and to make it more costly to borrow. Increases in stock margins, rises in the discount rate, and reversals of earlier moves to ease housing credit may be noted in this connection.

A few facts are clear. Private debt has been rising very rapidly since the end of World War II. Total personal debt (consumer credit and mortgage debt) has increased from about $24 billion at the end of 1945 to about $115 billion currently. During this same period, other types of private debt, including stock-market and farm credits, business borrowing, etc., have increased from about $116 billion to $250 billion. Total private debt, therefore, has risen from $140 billion to about $365 billion in less than a decade. These are enormous figures even when allowance is made for the price inflation of the past decade as well as for the fact that there was little change in private debt during World War II.

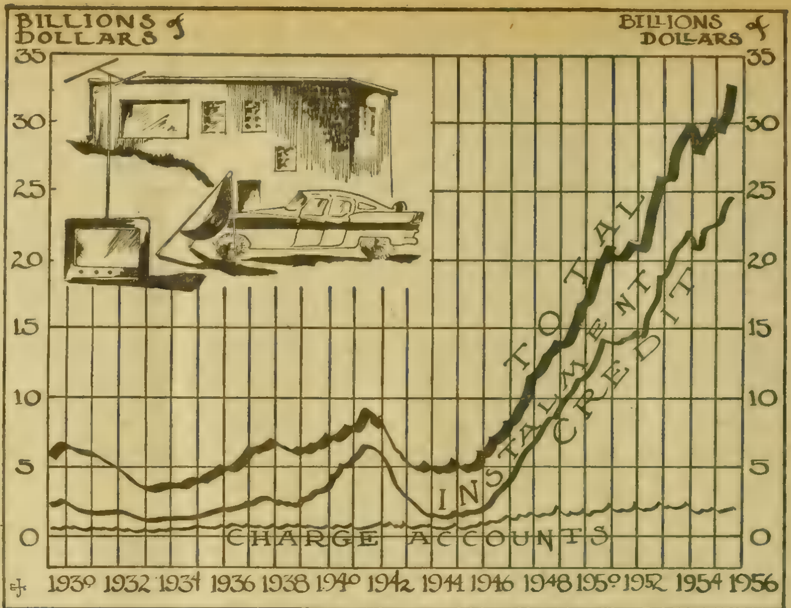
To a large extent, the increase in personal debt has reflected the automobile and building booms. During the first nine months of 1955, for example, automobile production totaled six million passenger cars. This was an increase of 1,900,000 or 45 per cent over 1954 and 20 per cent over the previous record year of five million in 1950. Residential housing started in the first nine months of 1955 totaled 1,047,000 as compared with 915,500 in 1954 and 1,113,000 in the comparable period of 1950, the previous record year.

THIS BOOM in automobiles and housing has been financed to a substantial extent by personal borrowing. Consumer credit and mortgage debt have been increasing steadily as the sales of cars and homes have expanded. In August, 1955, the volume of automobile instalment credit outstanding was $13.5 billion as compared with $10.3 billion a year earlier. This was an increase of $3.2 billion or about 30 per cent. During the same period, the total volume of all consumer credit increased by $4.9 billion or 17 per cent. The August, 1955, total of $33.6 billion compared with only $5.7 billion at the end of 1945. Total consumer credit is now an average of $625 per family.

The 1954-55 period also witnessed a significant easing in instalment credit terms. The down payment for new cars has been cut to 25 per cent —less in some instances—while the time for payment of the loan has been extended up to thirty-six months or longer. A similar easing of instalment credit terms has taken place for all types of electrical appliances, furniture, and other "hard goods." This easing of credits and the accompanying rapid expansion of consumer debt has created concern in many quarters about the "quality" of the new debt.

The pattern in housing has been similar. Under the Housing Act of 1954, the F. H. A. was permitted to insure mortgages up to 95 per cent of appraised value up to $9,000 and 75 per cent of the value between that amount and $20,000. The term of the mortgage was extended to thirty years. In many instances, no down payments were required on smaller houses.

JULES BACKMAN is professor of economics at New York University.



Last spring, some lenders actually were making small cash payments to cover "closing costs," such as title, expense, appraisals, and surveys. Such payments, which ran to $100 or more, were included in the mortgage. This situation was sometimes described as the "no no-down payment." However, government agencies cracked down on such arrangements; they had to be discontinued for F. H. A. and Veterans Administration loans. Then in August, the down payment was increased by 2 per cent and the terms of the mortgage limited to a maximum of twenty-five years.

Mortgage debt on one-to-four-family houses was $18.5 billion at the end of World War II. The total has increased as follows:

	(Billions of Dollars)
1945	$18.5
1949	37.5
1951	51.9
1953	66.3
1954	75.2
August 1955 (est.)	85.0

This more than fourfold increase is truly amazing for a ten-year period.

THERE is no dispute concerning the magnitude of these increases in debt. The point where analysts part company is in their interpretation of their significance. Are we heading for trouble as a result of the recent sharp increase in personal debt? How long can we continue to increase debt at this rate? Are there any critical levels beyond which debt expansion spells trouble? These are becoming important questions. In part, the disagreements stem from the fact that three different aspects of the problem are being discussed—although the distinctions are blurred: (1.) The impact of expanding debt on the general level of business activity; (2.) The ability of the borrowers to pay the interest charges; (3.) The ability of the borrowers to repay the principal.

Any fruitful consideration of the problem must distinguish among these phases. There may be implications adverse to the future general level of business activity if, in the face of the consumers' continued ability to carry the current debt and repay it in full, the rapidly expanding debt is slowed up or stopped. And it is, therefore, no answer to a warning concerning the first aspect to make reassuring statements concerning the small rate of repossessions.

A family earning $100 a week may spend considerably more than that as it refurnishes a home, or buys a car, a television set, or a refrigerator. At some future date, however, the family must spend *less* than its income if it is to repay the loan. During the period when the purchases are made, on balance, the economy is stimulated. Once the repayments are made, the stimulus is lost or reversed. When large numbers of families are going into debt, the net volume of such debt rises, as has been true in 1955. Under these conditions, the economy is stimulated. However, we cannot continue to spend more than we earn indefinitely. When repayments exceed new loans recessionary tendencies may develop in the economy.

The stimulating effect of a growing volume of personal debt has been evident in the business boom this year. Consumer credit and mortgage debt was $16.6 billion greater in the second quarter of 1955 than in the same period of 1954. Thus, about three-fifths of the rise in economic activity reflected the expansion in personal debt. Remove this stimulus and the most important single factor in the 1955 boom would be eliminated. It is for this reason that the rate of increase in personal debt is so important in the economic outlook. A slowing down of the automobile and housing booms would be reflected promptly in a slower rate of increase in personal debt.

IS THE total volume of personal debt now too high? This question cannot be answered on any quantitative basis. As was noted earlier, the total volume of personal debt has risen to new record levels. But the same is true of the overall level of economic activity and of consumer incomes.

In August, 1955, total consumer credit outstanding was 12.6 per cent of total personal income after taxes. In 1929, the ratio was 7.7 per cent; in 1939, it was 10.2 per cent. The current ratio is the highest ever recorded. In other words, consumer credit has increased more than consumer incomes after taxes. But this fact does not prove that total personal debt is or is not too high. There is little evidence that consumers cannot pay off these loans. Repossessions are still reported to be low. Delinquents are not a pressing problem. Apparently, we can carry the current volume of personal debt at the current levels of personal income.

How much further can personal debt increase before we get into trouble? Again, there is no micrometer which can or will provide an exact measurement of the danger point. However, it is a matter of concern that credit terms have been eased so markedly and that borrowing has been encouraged on a large scale. In July, the Comptroller of the Currency stated that "recent surveys indicate that in some areas there is a tendency to loosen terms under which this type of credit is granted, particularly in the automobile financing field, by extending maturity and accepting down payments which, measured in terms of actual value, are lower than previously had been considered standard." Some families and businesses are bound to be hurt by these developments since excesses develop very readily under such conditions.

Mortgage loans, which are increasing rapidly, create a similar problem. However, in this area it is important to keep in mind that to a large extent mortgage payments are a substitute for payments of rent—although in most instances, they may be a heavier burden than rent. There has been a rapid growth of home ownership. In 1940, 43.6 per cent of the families were home-owners as against 55 per cent in 1950. The current proportion is still higher. Moreover, the decline in interest rates (now 4½-4¾ per cent as against 6 per cent before World War II) means that the servicing costs have not risen as much as has the total mortgage debt. In this area, too, the expansion has been encouraged by loose lending practices which could be planting the seeds for future trouble. In many lower-priced homes, after several years of payments, the owner will have little equity. The restrictive actions noted earlier are designed to limit excesses in housing credit.

In the past, excessive expansions of credit have tended to characterize periods of boom and have created problems which contributed to the subsequent recessions and depressions. There is no way to determine, in advance, how long the recent expansion in debt will continue or what heights the total will reach. But the rapidity of the rise combined with the relaxation of credit terms referred to earlier suggests that further increases in debt should not be viewed with equanimity.

ECHO OF POLITICS

France's Intellectual War . . *by Haakon Chevalier*

Paris

AN ODD CHANGE of mood has come over the French literary world in the past few months. Its source is political. It is related both to the seemingly overwhelming problems with which France is beset and to the hope aroused in the country, as throughout the world, by the symptoms of *detente*. But along with this, and on a more purely intellectual level, fundamental positions of an ideological nature are being sadly shaken by a combination of factors that include not only the above, but problems such as that of France's preeminence in letters and the arts, the reexamination of values in the light of France's political and economic decadence, and more particularly the anguishing problem presented, for intellectuals not wholly committed, by the Soviet Union's "new look."

A whole generation has been raised in the belief that communism is a sinister world-wide plot for the enslavement of mankind, directed by a grim handful of bloodthirsty criminals sitting in the Kremlin; that Russia's government is a ruthless dictatorship under which millions of citizens are slaughtered and imprisoned and enslaved in labor camps and the rest live in fear and trembling, hungry, oppressed, lacking any kind of freedom, shorn of all hope. This picture, done in varyingly lurid colors, is one to which the entire propaganda apparatus of the West had committed itself for a quarter of a century.

IT IS TOO early yet to tell how far the U. S. S. R.'s new conciliatory trend will go, with all its domestic and foreign implications, or what its full significance may be. But the stock picture has already been sufficiently battered and punctured since Stalin's death to confront thoughtful citizens of the Western world with such questions as, "What if the Communist countries should turn out to be not wholly evil?" "What if they should turn out to be as civilized and humane as ourselves?" "What if they should even outdistance us in the very things by which we set the highest store?"

The year 1955 has been marked by lively controversy among French writers and journalists on various aspects of this crucial problem. Not since the French Liberation, ten years ago, have the issues involved in conflicting ideologies of the Right and of the Left been so sharply raised. It is an explosive year. The events of Indo-China, the Paris Pact, the growth of tension in North Africa, and the approach of the 1956 legislative election here are all elements creating a sense of urgency that heightens even discussion of abstract ideas.

Two events inaugurated the French literary year of 1955. The first was the awarding of the Goncourt prize last November to Simone de Beauvoir for her novel, *"Les Mandarins,"* which is slanted to the Left. The second event was the bringing out last December of Andre Malraux's great pro-Communist novel of the thirties, *"La Condition humaine,"* in the form of an awkward, badly cluttered play in a version by the rabidly right-wing pamphleteer, Thierry Maulnier, author of *"La Tete de Meduse du Communisme."* Malraux himself rewrote the end to alter completely the political impact of his original work, as though to signify with finality that politically, as well as philo-

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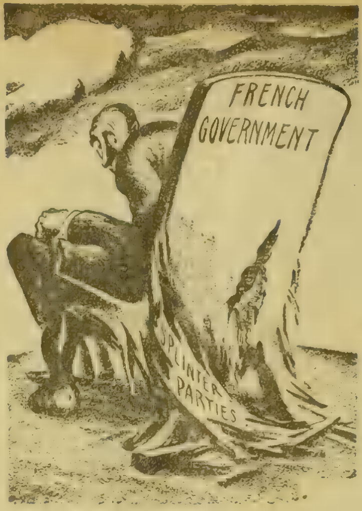
HAAKON CHEVALIER, translater, critic, and novelist, is at work on a new novel, "The Man Who Would Be God."

sophically, he has become a man of the Right.

The fall of Mendes-France and his government at the beginning of this year under the enraged onslaught of the Center-and-Right coalition in the Chamber of Deputies had as a consequence a revival of vitality on the Left. At least two New Left movements have come into being. One of these, with a bourgeois-liberal complexion, has *L'Express* as its chief organ. It is anti-Communist, though it sometimes pretends not to be. The other is definitely left wing, has a working-class base, and while not Communist has as a basic axiom the conviction that no left-wing bid for power is possible without the Communists. It has no official organ, but has an effective spokesman in the weekly *France-Observateur.*

While *France-Observateur* is wholly a journalist's journal, *L'Express* features big literary names, and now, having become a daily tabloid-style newspaper after two years as a rather *chi-chi* weekly, includes such contributors as the Catholic novelist, Francois Mauriac, novelist and playwright Albert Camus, and also Andre Malraux.

IT IS significant that today, as ten years ago, Jean-Paul Sartre and his monthly review *Les Temps Modernes* (whose first issue came out in October, 1945) are at the heart of, and to an extent the occasion of, the existing controversy. In 1945 it was existentialism. Today it is "ultra-Bolshevism." It is necessary to remember that the immediate post-Liberation days were a time of great fervor and hope that united men in a common aspiration to lasting peace and human brotherhood. The first issue of *Les Temps Modernes* included in its editorial committee, in addition to Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Merleau-Ponty, Michel Leiris, Raymond Aron, Jean Paulhan, and Albert Ollivier. These ten years have witnessed a fundamental reorientation, though within the framework of the conviction that the practice of literature is a social function, and of the original team only Sartre and De Beauvoir remain.



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
One crisis after another

Two members of that original team of *Les Temps Modernes* have come out this year with major frontal attacks on the ideologies of the Left. Raymond Aron, in *"L'Opium des Intellectuels,"* and Maurice Merleau-Ponty, in *"Adventures de la Dialectique,"* have provided food for what is probably the most animated and substantial debate on fundamental political issues that France has seen since the end of the war. Both Aron and Merleau-Ponty belong to the group of intellectuals, whom Simone de Beauvoir calls "the Mandarins" in her novel, who at the moment of the Liberation held out such high hopes for the postwar world. Aron, historian and journalist, very quickly aligned himself with the Right and became one of the chief editorialists of *Le Figaro,* so that his polemical broadside hardly causes any surprise. But Merleau-Ponty, a philosopher who holds a chair at the *College de France,* has during most of these years been an associate of Sartre and de Beauvoir, is—or was—a Marxist, and remained sympathetic to the Communist cause and to the Soviet Union through the purges, the Nazi-Soviet Pact, and the other difficult passages. It was the Korean War that caused him to break his former ties and to reexamine his beliefs. His book is the result of this reexamination.

It is perhaps curious that both these books, one by a solid apologist of the status quo, who likes to think of himself as a liberal, the other by a troubled and deeply humanitarian idealist, should at this juncture devote a major part of their ammunition to an attack on dialectical materialism, which one assumed that the traditionalists had disposed of to their satisfaction long ago. It helps to explain why even those who tend to share their authors' views are not altogether happy about either.

The title of Aron's book, "The Opium of the Intellectuals," is readily recognized as an adaptation of Marx's famous statement on religion and suggests its thesis, which is that French intellectuals have been drugged by Marxism. Analyzing the Left, the Revolution, and the proletariat as political myths, attacking the Marxist interpretation of history and the illusion of necessity, concluding with a search for the reasons why intellectuals, presumably reasonable men, become seduced by such errors, he ends with a plea for skepticism.

Merleau-Ponty's "Adventures of the Dialectic" is a more heavily philosophic book that traces what the author considers the "failure" of dialectics, from Max Weber through Sartre. A good half of the book is devoted to the essay on Sartre and ultra-Bolshevism. Simone de Beauvoir has answered the attack in an essay, Merleau-Ponty and Pseudo-Sartrism, which has just appeared in volume form at Gallimard's with two other essays, one on the Marquis de Sade and one on Rightist Thinking Today, under the general title, *"Privileges."*

THERE is no space to go into the details of these disputes, which mark sharp lines of divergence in the evolution of ideas and of ideological alliances. Merleau-Ponty is now prominent on the team of *L'Express,* which is Mendes-France's mouthpiece. Sartre, eschewing direct involvement so far, marked the year with the production of "Nekrassov," a political satire in which a leading Paris newspaper becomes the victim of a hoax when an adventurer offers to establish contact with a top Soviet official who has just escaped from behind the iron curtain. Some critics thought the plot too farfetched until, just a few weeks after the opening, it came out that the *Le Figaro* had fallen for just such a swindle. The play, which had a highly successful run in June, has reopened for the fall season.

One has the impression that the polemical battles have only just begun.

WISCONSIN'S CONSCIENCE

William T. Evjue . . *by Jacque and Lorraine Hopkins*

Madison, Wisconsin

THE REELECTION of Senator McCarthy in 1952 was for many an affirmation that McCarthyism was the embodiment of Wisconsin's political temper. But while fostering McCarthy, Wisconsin also counts among its sons his first and most persistent enemy, William T. Evjue, the courageously liberal editor of the *Capital Times* of Madison.

Evjue's influence as a political journalist is enormous in Wisconsin. One Republican complained of it when he said, "Mr. Evjue frequently runs the Republican Party in Wisconsin, yet Mr. Evjue isn't a Republican. . . . So convincingly has he built his myth of political power that we Republicans worry more about Mr. Evjue than we do about the other 3,500,000 citizens of the state."

Evjue is a rarity in contemporary journalism, but he is solidly in the tradition of the great personal editors of the nineteenth century. He has been a consciously rebellious spirit since his boyhood in a Scandinavian lumberjack town in upstate Wisconsin.

He is now one of the hundreds of former LaFollette Progressives who remain as political independents or as maverick elements within the Democratic Party, remembering with satisfaction the battles "Old Bob" fought against the moneyed interests but recalling with some sadness the fragmentation of the Progressive movement under "Young Bob" and Phillip LaFollette in the forties.

For the people of Wisconsin, however, 73-year-old Bill Evjue is much more than a leftover Progressive. For thousands of radio listeners throughout the state, he is a hoarse, strident voice every Sunday crackling with outrage over the blunders of the Eisenhower Administration, flaying the corporation lawyers for their betrayal of the Constitution. For the 46,000 subscribers of the *Capital Times,* he is the garrulous author of the daily column Hello, Wisconsin! and of such thundering editorials as The Public Takes Another Beating in the Establishment of Insurance Rates and What About Cronyism? Take a Look at the Money Barons Who Flocked to Denver.

On the floor of the normally Republican Wisconsin State Senate, a frequent target of the Evjue editorials, he is a "Communist mouthpiece," the "owner of the most dangerous monopoly in the United States," a "hypocrite," and "old windbag Bill."

VILLIFICATION is not new to Bill Evjue. The Madison *Capital Times* was founded in 1917 with the support of LaFollette admirers during the troubled period of LaFollette's World War I non-interventionism. Rumors that the newspaper was financed by "German gold" drove Madison's advertisers from its pages. And conservative business men, always against LaFollette, wasted no prayers for its success.

Accompanying the financial crises of a shoestring operation were the annoyances suffered by all LaFollette supporters. The Madison Association of Commerce rejected the *Capital Times'* application for membership until the newspaper could prove its "full support of the government in carrying out the war." Inspired by reports of disloyalty, a government investigator arrived from Washington, later giving the *Capital Times* a clean bill of health. Even the paper's delivery boys weren't exempted from the controversy, frequently arriving at the circulation office, bruised and in tears, saying they "didn't wanna" deliver the paper anymore.

The $20,000 LaFollette supporters had given Evjue to found the paper soon dwindled away. The cooperation of a local banker in ignoring a frequently overdrawn account, the investments of a wealthy Mississippi liberal, and the savings of a University of Wisconsin president (who was thankful for Evjue's defense of the university against charges of being pro-German) barely sufficed to maintain the *Capital Times* through a period of financial chaos.

At one critical juncture, Evjue, in desperation, went to the outlying towns to talk to small farmers and business men, some of whom gathered in the secrecy of back rooms to hear him and to purchase $25, $50, and $100 shares of *Capital Times* stock.

Evjue survived the buffeting of the World War I years, and the purchase in 1925 of a controlling interest in Madison's first radio station marked the newspaper's achievement of some financial stability. The tumult of the early years never ended, however. Evjue lived through the anti-German hysteria of the war only to become involved in new controversies and new battles.

Evjue had founded the *Capital Times* to be "independent of political parties and . . . fully determined to hear all men, all parties, all interests—fairly and honestly. It will always stands unwaveringly for good government in the city, county, state, and nation." And Evjue, more than any other one man, generally receives the credit for Wisconsin's record in clean city government. His attacks were never gentle.

After Republican Governor Julius Heil took office, the *Capital Times* soon discovered he spent much of his time with cronies in Milwaukee. Evjue harried him out of office in 1942 with a daily, front-page record of his absenteeism: "He's In," "He's Out."

The *Capital Times* has long made a practice of printing both national and state legislative roll-call votes on significant issues. Assessing the Wisconsin delegation to the 80th Congress as revealed in these votes,

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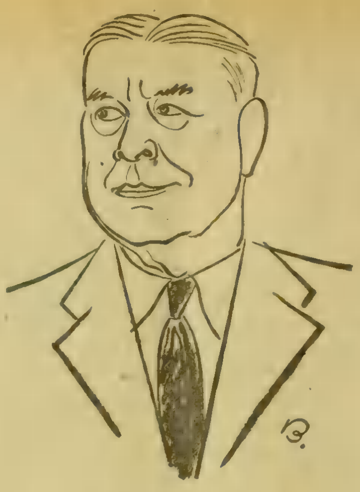
JACQUE and LORRAINE HOPKINS are graduate students at the University of Wisconsin.

Evjue wrote, "Voters in the second district should note that Representative Glenn Davis narrowly missed the worst record in the House. It is only because he started late and was not in Congress for all fifteen votes that he bettered the record of Representative Byrnes."

Then there was in 1951 the now famous series on Senator McCarthy which forced the first breach in the Senator's seemingly impregnable record as patriot and Communist-hunter. In connection with the series, Evjue now says, "We have the best file on McCarthy in the country. As a matter of fact, our problem is to keep it from being rifled by all the people who want to work him over."

Stories about Evjue's bullheadedness provide lively copy, as at the Fond du Lac convention in 1934 when G. O. P. Progressives voted to become the Independent Progressive Party. Evjue, chairing the convention, called for a unanimous vote for the record. "The forty-four dissenters," the *Wisconsin State Journal* reported, "refused to stand. . . . Chairman Evjue ordered the pianist to play the national anthem. The forty-four dissenters stood up and the vote was unanimous."

NOT TOO many years ago, *Capital Times* staffers recall, Evjue called for a full-scale hearing into the activity of lobbyists at the state capitol. He indicated that he could provide a hearing with enough information about the lobbies to prompt criminal action by the state. At the hearing, Bill Evjue turned up and announced that he personally had no information to reveal. But, he said, the *Capital Times* political reporter had all the facts and figures. Evjue left after promising to return with the reporter. While Evjue was out, the reporter wandered in and, under questioning, admitted he knew only of drinks being bought for certain legislators, and parties being held—the usual lobbying techniques. He was dismissed from the hearing and returned to the newspaper office. At his desk he found a large "See me. W. T. E." in his typewriter. He went into Evjue's office. Evjue jumped up. "Now listen," he said, "there's a hearing over at the capitol. You go over there, and here's what I want you to tell them—"



William T. Evjue

Evjue's critics use harsher ammunition than this, however. His membership in the exclusive Madison Club (which once changed its by-laws to oust Evjue's LaFollette) and the substantial profits of the *Capital Times* are offered as evidence of an inconsistent liberal philosophy. And they call attention to the uproar which regularly accompanies negotiations for new union contracts at the *Capital Times*.

Additional criticism occasionally arises from a misunderstanding of the *Capital Times'* relationship with its competitor, the conservative *Wisconsin State Journal*. In 1948, both newspapers needed new plants and additional printing facilities, necessities which would have demanded the outlay of about $1,000,000 for each. The *Capital Times* and the *State Journal*, however, decided to combine their mechanical and business operations in one building under one corporation. Stock in the corporation is owned jointly. The editorial staffs are unaffected by this business arrangement and remain vigorously independent. And if anything is more noticable about Madison than other two-newspaper cities, it is the freedom with which Evjue refers to his competitor in critical editorials.

Another innovation of recent years was the establishment of a special Monday edition of the *Capital Times* which can be bought separately at special subscription rates. The edition reaches about 3,500 readers throughout Wisconsin and the Middle West. A special section is devoted to complaints from Wisconsin residents and answers by *Capital Times* staff members. A column of political commentary is contributed by Miles McMillin, Evjue's shrewd assistant editorial writer.

Under Evjue's direction, the *Capital Times* continues its zestful coverage of politics, farm problems, big business, labor, and the defections of the state's Republican administration throughout the week. In recent weeks that saw much newspaper space occupied by the stories of President Eisenhower's illness, the *Capital Times* managed to present slam-bang local and state stories: "[Lt. Gov.] Knowles is Guest of Finance Firm on Fishing Trip" announced the paper. The following day it was, "Two Judges Deny Impropriety in Thorp [Finance] Co. Trip" and "Denies Business Propaganda: [University of Wisconsin] Defends Use of Firms' Gifts to Support Seminar."

AT 73, Evjue still maintains an exhausting schedule although he rarely arrives at his office before noon. He reads the morning papers during his 7 a. m. breakfast at home. At 9 a. m., his secretary arrives with the morning mail. On Wednesdays and Thursdays, he spends the morning preparing the Sunday talks which are now carried over seventeen Wisconsin radio stations. Vitally concerned with the fact of a one-party press and radio, he rarely forgets to give a plug to the *Capital Times'* Monday edition in his broadcasts. He lunches in Madison and spends the afternoons at his desk, dictating editorials, chatting with visitors or conferring with editorial assistants.

Occasionally, he talks of getting away from the paper and devoting more time to personal projects, particularly an autobiography. But his close associates smile at this. Not only is Bill Evjue the *Capital Times* but the *Capital Times* is to a large extent Bill Evjue's whole life. There is as much of Evjue in the *Capital Times* as there was of LaFollette in the Republican Progressive movement. The Progressives never did find a replacement for "Old Bob" following LaFollette's death in 1925. And it is a real question whether the *Capital Times* will continue to move and shake Dane County and all Wisconsin without Evjue.

BOOKS

A Lot More About Africa

INSIDE AFRICA. By John Gunther. Harper and Brothers. $6.
THE AFRICAN AWAKENING. By Basil Davidson. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.
THEY WAIT IN DARKNESS. By George W. Shepherd, Jr. The John Day Company. $4.
THE AFRICAN GIANT. By Stuart Cloete. Houghton Mifflin Company. $4.

By Melville J. Herskovits

"INSIDE AFRICA" is the work of a first-rate reporter and student of current affairs. Its author traveled far and fast in Africa, adding to his own experiences and those of his wife the insights obtained from intensive reading in current periodicals dealing with Africa, government publications, and works lying in various specialized fields.

Mr. Gunther is at his best when confronted with a situation of crisis. His discussion of Kenya, or the Union of South Africa, is thus incisive and informative. Despite the diversity of his coverage, he has grasped some of the major problems of the continent. "No African country under European rule is happy, once it has reached the point of being educated enough to want freedom," he says, speaking of Uganda. Again and again, he puts his finger on the color bar as a prime irritant. Or, in discussing South Africa, he isolates a fundamental element in the situation when he points out that an "important factor in Afrikaner character patterns is that, if crisis comes, they have no place to go." Some of his character sketches are superb; his analysis of Schweitzer should help in correcting the idolatry that marks the attitudes of so many Americans toward him.

Above all, Gunther is a realist. He shows time and again the relation between the incidence of permanent white settlement and interracial tension. He senses the power in the African's drives for literacy and schooling, and the difficulties in the way of satisfying these drives. He realizes that "African mental patterns . . . are a mystery only to white people who make no effort to understand them."

Yet this book will scarcely clarify the African scene for readers not already familiar with it. For one thing, the overlay of irrelevant incident is too great. That "giraffes intertwine their necks when making love" is scarcely pertinent to the analysis of the emergence of Africa "with exaggerated speed into the embrace of modern times," the particular point toward the explanation of which the book is oriented. Again, Gunther's division of the continent cannot but confuse readers who everywhere else will encounter the customary division into North Africa and that part south of the Sahara. Obviously, Gunther was a prisoner of his trademark; but why in the book must he bracket British East Africa with the Arabized North? He himself feels this inconsistency. "Now at last we reach Bantu Africa," he says when, two-thirds of the way through Part I, he leaves Ethiopia and reaches the sub-Saharan mass of the continent.

He likes the quick flash, is ill at ease with mass data. "Now we must swallow a few mild statistics," he says in one place; or, again, "Let us bolt down other facts and figures." And his figures fall into a monotonous pattern. Each territory—number of square miles, how many American states it equals; how many people it has, and their equivalence with the population of Chicago, or Minnesota, or France. He also went so fast that his impressions sometimes become confused and his facts mixed. Thus, there is no "foaming jungle" anywhere near Entebbe; the "red laterite road" from Lagos to Ibadan in Nigeria is fully paved! "There is no risk of fragmentation as in Nigeria," he says of the Gold Coast. Yet here tribal loyalties, which he seems not even to have sensed, have since his visit demonstrated their force in the demand of the Ashanti for a federated state.

Gunther seems to have tired when, toward the end of his long trip, he reached West Africa. Otherwise, it is hard to understand why, in his account of Liberia, he devotes three and a half pages to raking over a *1931* report on forced labor there, only to end with the comment, "Pawning and its attendant horrors, so far as is known, have now disappeared." Discussing Nigeria, he exclaims, "Africa, let us say once more, is a very mixed-up continent." In West Africa, the winds of political freedom blow strong, and freedom in solving some problems brings on others no less pressing. He obviously found it difficult, after accommodating himself to the interracial dichotomies of the rest of the continent, to reorient his thinking to the complexities of West Africa. One can but sympathize with the relief apparent in the final sentence of his book, "So now 'Inside Africa' is done."

BASIL Davidson's work treats of "the great central region" of Africa, "formed by the Belgian Congo, the French Congo, and the Portuguese colony of Angola." His documentation is careful, his observations are shrewd, and he writes well.

He begins with the Portuguese discoveries in the fifteenth century, recounting something of the thriving cultures they found, and what happened to them as the slave trade to the Americas gathered momentum. Then he moves to Stanley and Brazza, and the penetration of the interior by the Belgians and French, with the partition of the vast region by the Conference of Berlin in 1885, that sanctioned the Congo Free State, whose excesses also set the pattern for early colonialism in French Equatorial Africa. "The consequences of all this were to complete what the slave trade had begun. The country was depopulated, its tribal society appallingly degraded."

The gradual development and working out of policies of economic and social amelioration are next considered. The complex of problems that have accompanied the increasing absorption of the Congolese into the industrial system is evaluated with objectivity and fairness, and it is to be remarked that

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MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS, professor of anthropology and director of the Program of African Studies of Northwestern University, has spent considerable time in Africa.

this is one of the few books—the only one, in English—that gives a full account of the far-sighted program of urban settlement for Congolese, initiated by M. Grevisse, District Commissioner of Elizabethville. As against this economic enlightenment of Belgian policy, Davidson sets the questions raised by the "political vacuum" that characterizes its tightly knit paternalism. Nor does he neglect the role of the Catholic church in the changing Congo scene, or the significance of the dissident religious cults and other clandestine movements, with their 3,818 political prisoners "exiled to distant villages," as shown in the official statistics of 1952.

The final chapters of his book are devoted to the Portuguese territory of Angola. Serious charges are laid against the administration, as regards its labor policy, charges which are documented from Portuguese and other official sources, and by facts obtained through personal interviews. The picture that is drawn of forced recruitment of labor and of the wage scale, of the conditions under which Africans live, and of the position of the *assimilado*, as the African who has received Portuguese citizenship is termed, is a disquieting one. These are serious charges, and it is to be hoped that they will receive the attention they merit from the responsible officials whose statements of policy are so much at variance with the assertions made in this book.

Even more restricted, geographically, is George Shepherd's volume. It is a moving story, simply told, of his experiences as "the first white man employed by an African organization" in Uganda, "the Federation of Uganda African Farmers." It is significant from several points of view. It shows in close focus the African moving toward fully functioning membership in a society which he numerically dominates, and the bitterness and cynicism that must be dispelled if peaceful solutions are to be found for the problems of adjustment. It also gives a close-up portrayal of Ignatius Musazi, prominent in the organization for which Shepherd worked, now leader of the Uganda National Congress, who well may, as Shepherd says, "in time become the Nkrumah of Uganda and be Prime Minister of the country."

Shepherd's tale of the development of the cotton cooperatives among the Uganda farmers is a case study in method that could well be examined by all in charge of technical-aid programs. He describes his experiences in Kenya, and gives an account of his meeting with Jomo Kenyatta and the onset of the Mau Mau revolt there. His portrayal of Sir Andrew Cohen, the Governor of Uganda, gives further testimony of the abilities of this dynamic British colonial administrator. Denied a passport by our Department of State until court action forced the granting of one too late for him to carry on his mission, Shepherd has organized an American Committee on Africa to develop better understanding here as a basis for the formulation of an effective American policy toward "this neglected area of the world." One can but wish him well in his new venture.

With Stuart Cloete's book, we return to the large canvas—but here the obverse of the portrayal by our other authors. Like them, he recognizes the same basic problems—as he puts it, "the two facts that stand out are color and education." But whereas Gunther and Davidson and Shepherd appraise situations in terms of actualities and potentialities, Cloete is a romanticist. His overall formula for resolving the complexities of Africa is simplistic in the extreme—"education and religion." The "truth" he reveals is, indeed, the truth as it appears to many Europeans in Africa. Yet one need but read the recent speech of Governor-General Petillon of the Belgian Congo to his Administrative Council to see that Cloete's appraisal of the situation is by no means that of all on the African continent, even in high places.

Aside from Cloete's presentation of a point of view about the African that is contrary to all our scientific knowledge of the nature of human behavior and the functioning of human culture, the book is merely a light travel-volume, with undisciplined speculation about many things looked at, but not seen. It scarcely deserves attention from anyone seriously interested in knowing what the Africa of today is like, and where it is proceeding.

New China Travelogue

MANDARIN RED. By James Cameron. Rinehart and Company. $3.50.

By Edgar Snow

THIS agreeable book ought not to be compared by its publishers with "Berlin Diary" and "Thunder Out of China" so much as with the early Lafcadio Hearn—or even "Messr. Marco Polo." China has been closed to us just long enough now to make it possible for journalists to rediscover it. For those who have become China-conscious only "since the flood," therefore, the most elementary observations about the way the country looks, feels, smells, tastes, and sounds to alien senses make more fascinating reading than news of political developments. James Cameron had the common sense to realize that, the temperament to assimilate and savor his experience, and the talent to write a warm, humorous, sometimes moving piece of literature, which often vividly re-creates authentic China.

As chief correspondent of the respectable London *News-Chronicle*, Cameron entered the country simply as a working journalist—"part of no group and committed to no opinions," the blurb puts it—and was apparently allowed to stay a bit longer than his predecessors. He reports little not already known about things like five-year plans, the way the new steel plants work, the Russian influence, the "great upsurge" in education, and land reform. But his distinction is a pleasant literary style and a tolerant eye more interested in learning than moralizing and more concerned with humanity and other natural phenomena than machines.

Cameron cannot be accused of falling in love with Chinese communism but he had quite an affair with the country and the people. That used to be considered a permissible deviation in writers of travel books and it would be nice to see something symptomatic in it here. Certainly few can object to Cameron's

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EDGAR SNOW is the author of "Red Star Over China" and other books.

enthusiasm for the beauty and charm of Chinese children, the shapeliness of the Chinese female leg, the clean logical lines of Chinese temple architecture, the breathtaking grandeur of the Great Wall, the cleverness of Chinese magicians and acupunturists, the superlative qualities of Chinese food, the enchantment of the Chinese landscape, and the fearful, oceanic majesty of the Yangtze River. Communists have subdued and regimented the latter, he reports, along with the population. But Cameron also attests to national passions for unheard-of things like cleanliness, tidiness, sanitation, efficiency, honesty, punctuality, courtesy, and unselfish officials—which must indeed be ranked as discoveries made only since the flood.

HONGKONG excluded, there is not one night club left on all the China coast, which once boasted more *boites* than all France. On Shanghai's fabulous Bund, formerly policed by foreigners for *taipans* who dominated China's trade, Cameron got drawn into one of the groups of young couples in "blue boiler suits" who nightly dance the *yank-ko* beside the waters of the now nearly idle Whangpu. And on the site of the International Race Track he saw a Chinese theater being erected to seat 18,000 people!

Clearly this is no longer the China which men of any race, color, or creed could learn to call home; at last it is 100 per cent China for Chinese. Even the "many thousands" of Russians live quite apart from the Chinese, have their own hotels, stores, and restaurants, and take little part in social life. The country was also full of comradely delegates from the Red world; Cameron, try as he would, could not often avoid being confused with them. He himself was not allowed to stray far from their well-worn

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MEMOIRS by Harry S. Truman

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tourist trails. He had to apply for a special travel permit even to go outside the city walls. But with no knowledge of the language he could scarcely have gone anywhere without his interpreter-guides, anyway. They accompanied him on all his trips with one significant exception. It was when he visited the Peking dormitory where the Western converts from Korea were housed—the former P. W.'s who chose exile in unknown China to repatriation.

Inevitably he also picked up a quota of misinformation, for the most part trivial. Example: there are no words for "left" and "right" in Chinese, and the language excludes the possibility of expressing nuance by mere inflection of voice(!). What is more likely to be held against his book by some critics, however, is the careful omission of any detailed consideration of such items as brainwashing and brainwashers, slave labor, mass executions, and other disagreeable facts of the revolution. It appears he did not venture to raise such questions with his Chinese hosts at all!

Perhaps then the harshest thing anyone will say about "Mandarin Red" is that nothing in it is likely to cause Peking to declare the author *persona non grata* or to interrupt a renewal of his promising affair with China. Cameron's own defense doubtless would be the same reason he gives for relegating to a mere appendix his only serious attempt to dissect the anatomy of the dictatorship—the party machine that makes, administers, and enforces all laws of the nation. He placed this material "aside from the rest," he explains, "on the considerate principle that one keeps from deliberately including a piece of salt pork in a cheese soufflé." Cameron holds his salt pork of hard politics down to a tailpiece of ten pages; but it would probably be unfair to hang so amiable an author with his own metaphor by suggesting that the 324 pages preceding it consist entirely of cheese soufflé.

An Impartial Pro-Democrat

TRIUMPH OF THE EGGHEADS. By Horace Coon. Random House. $4.

By Howard Mumford Jones

"TRIUMPH of the Eggheads" falls between being an impartial history of the United States from the Democratic point of view, and symphonic propaganda designed to elect Adlai Ewing Stevenson as president of the United States. Mr. Stevenson is darkly described as "the outstanding premature baby of American politics delivered to his party by a remarkable Caesarian operation," too ovicipital a phrase to do him much good, though it illustrates a certain joyful excess in Mr. Coon's prose. Unfortunately his style is also capable of sinking to such dreary levels as: "She inspired him to aim always for the highest, to make any sacrifice in order to follow his heart and his conscience, never to compromise his ideals, or to do things only for money or expediency."

The dust jacket animadverts upon the content of this volume as follows: "The rise of the intellectual in modern American politics: the heritage of Thomas Jefferson; the legacy of Woodrow Wilson; the stimulus of Franklin D. Roosevelt; and the future of Adlai Stevenson." It will be rightly inferred that brains are the peculiar possession of Democrats. The two Adamses were intelligent, but they receive short shrift from Mr. Coon, and only a canonical tribute is paid to Abraham Lincoln, whose "sense of dedication as well as his inspiration was something more than human." Mr. Coon is not interested in writing history but in nominating the candidate of his choice.

HE HAS read widely but not altogether wisely. He tells us that Croly's "Promise of American Life" (1909) is basic to the role of the intellectual in politics, but of the eight paragraphs he devotes to it, four have nothing to do with the content of this complex book, though Mr. Coon refers to what he has said as a "resume." Andy Jackson was for him "more intellectual than he admitted but his was the voice of the illiterate frontiersman," a phrase that merely perpetuates a legend historians have been trying to correct. Harriet Beecher Stowe, on the other hand, was "a rare type of intellectual." In the "dark recesses" of his Craigie House study Longfellow lived in a dream world; in fact Longfellow was an active diner-out, and Craigie House received every refugee radical from Europe. We read on one page about "the lack of any intellectual force or life in the second half of the nineteenth century" and on the next admire young Woodrow Wilson, in 1875 precisely, stirred by Godkin's *The Nation* and editorials in the *Evening Post*. Mr. Coon interprets the Brown Decades by way of "The Education of Henry Adams," forgetting that Adams was intellectually stirred by the tremendous intellectual forces of the Brown Decades, a period that struggled with Reconstruction, civil-service reform, municipal government, international copyright, international arbitration, social service, modern graduate schools, tremendous advances in science, technology, and architecture, and enlightened discussions of suffrage, currency, and the tariff. But it was, of course, mainly a Republican period.

An egghead is defined as an "adult who believes in intelligence as an instrument for social change, who believes in reason and rationality as a test for evaluating political issues." Of Mr. Coon's four heroes, two reach a tragic end. Woodrow Wilson was broken by his failure properly to estimate the postwar emotional reaction of the American people, and in Roosevelt's case breakdown was involved in the burden of emotional attachment of followers to leader, as Harry Hopkins pointed out (pp. 273-4). Rationality is not enough.

Mr. Coon treats Jefferson, Wilson, F. D. R., and Adlai Stevenson sympathetically, but for him history has the either-or aspect it had for Macaulay. Under the heading Highbrows of the Nineteenth Century he remarks: "The role of the intellectual in American politics in the nineteenth century is not the staggering subject it might at first appear." If you cast your Woodrow Wilsons in the role of Michael and your Senator Lodges in the role of Belial, the subject greatly simplifies itself.

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES, professor of English at Harvard University, is the author of "The Pursuit of Happiness" and other books.

Art

A. L. Chanin

SCULPTURE, laggard for several centuries until Rodin, has acquired a new lease on life in the last fifty years. Men like Matisse, Picasso, Maillol, Lehmbruck, Barlach, Boccioni, Villon, Brancusi, Gonzales, Epstein, Moore, Lipschitz, and Gabo—to name only some of the leading figures of the older generation—have infused stone, wood, and metal with new force, fire, and daring. And it is more than likely that when time will sift the major from the minors, Constantin Brancusi will emerge as the greatest of them all since Rodin.

For this reason, as well as for the sheer dazzling beauty of his pieces, the first full-scale survey of his art, now current at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum (to January 8; thereafter, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, January 27 to February 26) is one of the memorable exhibitions of recent years.

Oddly enough, Americans, more than Europeans, have long had the best opportunities for seeing Brancusi's revolutionary work. Some were shown at the epochal Armory exhibition of 1913, and in 1914 Alfred Stieglitz's Photo-Secession Gallery presented the sculptor's first one-man show anywhere. The Arensberg collection, now installed in the Philadelphia Museum, contains some twenty examples, and the Museum of Modern Art owns five notable pieces. In fact, some 80 per cent of Brancusi's art is in this country—and recently, Brancusi wrote Guggenheim director James Johnson Sweeney, who assembled this show, that "without the Americans, I would not have been able to produce all this, or even to have existed."

It was in America, also, that a Brancusi sculpture became a cause celebre in *Brancusi vs. United States*, 1927, a significant battle for an artist's right to create in his own way. It happened when the government demanded that Edward Steichen, the famed photographer, pay a high customs duty on his Brancusi acquisitions. Art was permitted duty free, but sculptures were officially defined in the tariff act as "imitations of natural objects in their true proportion or length, breadth, and thickness." Therefore, Brancusi's pieces, near-abstractions, were on this basis considered commercial wares for which the government demanded payment based, paradoxically, on their evaluation as art objects.

The test piece, included in the Guggenheim exhibition, was Bird in Flight, probably the most famous Brancusi. Even to laymen, it is the image and symbol of modernism in art, and it has fathered a host of streamlined design adaptations. The prosecutor jeered at the piece. Several conservative sculptors testified to its unworthiness. Jacob Epstein came from England to defend it with logic and eloquence, and Steichen, Frank Crowninshield, the editor of *Vanity Fair,* Henry McBride, then art critic for the New York *Sun,* were among the defenders. Judge Wait's liberal decision in favor of Brancusi declared that "the object now under consideration is . . . beautiful and symmetrical in outline, and while some difficulty might be encountered in associating it with a bird, it is nevertheless pleasing to look at and highly ornamental, and as we hold under the evidence that it is the original production of a professional sculptor . . . we sustain the project and find that it is entitled to free entry. . . ."

It is worth recalling that five years later, another major artist won in a New York trial a victory for the freedom of the creative mind: in *United States vs. "Ulysses."* Joyce and Brancusi were friends. In the exhibition, a swift, brilliant drawing of the author links the two celebrated cases.

For half a century Brancusi, an aloof individual, has lived and worked quietly in a Paris teeming with the battlelines and manifestoes of the modern movements. He was born in a town in southern Romania on February 21, 1876, and trained in a school of industrial art as a cabinet maker. In 1902, he received a scholarship to the Bucharest Academy. There he won first prize for a male nude so carefully modeled that the government acquired it for an anatomical model for a medical school. Drifting to Munich and Zurich, he finally settled in Paris in 1904.

Here he was deeply stirred by Rodin's work, but when the aged giant, impressed by the youth's talent, invited him to work in his studio, Brancusi refused. "Nothing is grown beneath great trees," he

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replied, and this independence of spirit has remained the hallmark of his work. By 1906 he had produced the subtle, harmonious structure and poetic mood of Ancient Figure, and the bold simplicity of The Kiss. By 1912, with Bird and Maiastra—a mythical Romanian bird—and the memorable Mademoiselle Pogany, he hit his stride as a major and brilliantly original artist.

The gist of Brancusi's art—but not the haunting drama and beauty of the objects themselves—may be summed up as precision, clarity, and simplicity of harmonious, non-naturistic form, compactly organized and controlled to evoke and express inward, poetic content. Like all true sculptors, he is gifted with an amazing response to material, to the texture and weight of wood, the purity of marble, the gloss of highly polished bronze. His sense of balance, rhythm, and proportion is both deeply discreet and subtle, and at the same time immediately thrilling and forceful to the perceptive eye. He dominates material, evoking from it a particular vision, yet retains its organic shape and character. And his best creations possess the dazzling delight of a fresh vision. "When we are no longer children," he declared, "we are already dead."

The fusion of outer form and inner meaning meant a revolt against naturalism, and a ruthless concentration on eliminating extraneous details in order to arrive at the ultimate meaning of an image and the purest beauty of form.

"Beefsteak" is his contemptuous epithet for nudes in marble or bronze. "What is real is not the external form, but the essence of things. Starting from this truth it is impossible for anyone to express anything essentially real by imitating its exterior surface." Nor is simplicity a mere exploitation of brevity of shape, but the *leitmotif* of his whole expression. "Simplicity is not an end in art, but one arrives at simplicity in spite of oneself by approaching the real sense of things."

To select highlights from among the seventy or so pieces in the exhibition, the fruit of long contemplation and productivity, is a dangerous maneuver. For often, Brancusi creates a number of themes and variations of persistent motifs, and these in turn will receive alternate and equally successful treatment in wood, marble, or metal. Again, almost all pieces hold infinite appeal, the small, unobtrusive pieces no less than the idol-like large ones.

AMONG the bronze or brass masterpieces there is the gleaming vision of soaring, vertical flight. Bird in Space, 1925; the audacious, bold simplification of Torso of a Young Man, 1925; the voluptuous sequence of curve in the portrait head of Mademoiselle Pogany, 1925.

In marble, there is the memorable, dominating carving, the 71-inch-long Fish, 1930. In this astonishing image, terse simplicity of form conveys the gliding motion of swimming, and the veins of the grey marble function as pattern and again as the image of underwater motion. The Maiastra, 1912, is all grace and power and purity, and the white marbles become intense, poised, and contrasted with a limestone base.

Brancusi's feeling for wood is like a peasant's passion for land. Time and again he exalts old oak into awe-inspiring shapes. The tall King of Kings literally stops visitors in their tracks as it looms, totem-like, grave, and powerful, a composite of varied forms harmonized into a mystic, majestic idol. The Adam and Eve, 1925, fuses erotic shapes, straight line, and swelling roundness, into an amazingly inventive unit. These and others integrate this century's sophistication with the eerie, evocative power of primitive sculpture.

All the pieces seem to breathe the modern spirit. Yet, in actuality, they artfully mingle traditions such as African Negro sculpture, the exotic rhythms of Oriental carving, the still and quiet repose of archaic Greek, with modern inventiveness. Thus, although they are timely, spanking fresh, and new-coined, they can live as well in a room of early Greek sculpture, or in an Eastern temple, as within the bare, pristine, white modernity of the galleries of the Guggenheim Museum.

Theater and Films

Robert Hatch

THE COMEDIE FRANCAISE has been playing *"Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme"* for 285 years. It does not grow stale and it does not lose its cutting edge, but neither does it offer new generations much scope for interpretation. Monsieur Jourdain, the would-be gentleman, is as immortal a comic figure as Falstaff, but he is an explicit figure. He prevails because he was drawn—without shadows or ambiguities—to be true for all time. We cannot discuss what Jourdain means to us—he means exactly what Moliere said he meant.

If you cannot interpret, then you may wish to polish, and the production of *"Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme"* with which France's national theater opened the first American engagement in its history (Broadway Theater) is polished beyond any pertinent comparison on our contemporary stage. The set is as pure and elegant as though carved in ivory, the costumes sing together, the speech is a miracle of precision and styled characterization (and you can know that without knowing much French), every gesture is guided by almost three centuries of unbroken tradition, and the stage movement flows like quicksilver.

The effect is a ravishment of the senses; also a removal from contact—the so-perfect picture is behind glass. I do not say that to object. *"Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme"* is one of France's most precious state jewels and I am glad to admire it in its case. But Moliere, though he wrote for the court, did not write for the museum and I had expected to meet Monsieur Jourdain on more workaday terms.

ANOTHER success of style—or in this case, perhaps, stylishness—is Enid Bagnold's "The Chalk Garden" (Ethel Barrymore Theater). The subject matter of the play is wit, or so it emerges from Albert Marre's cut-glass direction. The play has content as well as sparkle, but Marre took the right course. If he had allowed "The Chalk Garden" to ride on its dramatic substance we should have been depressed by Miss Bagnold's disinclination to look very thoughtfully into the melancholy situation she has invented for a play.

A chalk garden is one in which flowers do not thrive and Laurel is a young girl who is not thriving in her grandmother's house. Miss Madrigal, engaged as a companion, has seen little of the world (when the judge comes to lunch, we learn why that was so), but she has a knowledge of soil chemistry and an insight into the process of growth. Once she arrives, the flowers and the girl are understood, but the old gardener is without an avocation.

That is all. You could play it like Shaw—with bad results. But Marre plays it like Wilde, and though it is not Wilde, it is an evening of gratifying persiflage.

The cast beautifully suits the manner. Siobhan McKenna and Fritz Weaver, though young at the game, are quite up to Gladys Cooper's tricks and the three of them bat the lines around with never a time out for missed shots. It is not always possible to catch the meaning as you follow the sport, but the loss of sense is more than made up by the gain in fun.

Siobhan McKenna comes to America on a wave of unrestrained London enthusiasm for her recent St. Joan. Miss Madrigal is not a test for much more than the surface of acting, but the part shows us a handsome, fleet-witted woman with a sure presence and a deadly accurate delivery. Fritz Weaver is a phenomenon these days—a young actor whose strength lies in a stage craft that he has learned and not in a stage personality that he cultivates. Betsy von Furstenberg is more the personality, but Laurel is only the object of the play, and it doesn't much matter how she is performed.

SEVERAL years ago Clifford Odets wrote "The Big Knife" to express his dissatisfaction with the climate of Hollywood. This has now been adapted as a horror comic and brought to the screen with Jack Palance, Ida Lupino, Rod Steiger, and Wendell Corey in the main roles. Drinking, cursing, and throwing himself around his vaulted fieldstone living room, Palance howls that he is an actor with ideals and wants to make great pictures. But Rod Steiger, a producer with young-white hair, blue glasses, a hearing aid, and a trick of bursting into tears, insists that he make lousy pictures and threatens to tell the police about an unsolved homicide if he refuses. Wendell Corey, a secretary-murderer, believes in good studio publicity and is prepared to poison the gin of any little girl (in this case Shelley Winters) who talks too much. Miss Lupino is the star's wife, a normal woman oppressed by the company of psychopaths. She is comforted by a recent graduate of the Yale Dramatic School. You won't believe how it all comes out and I won't tell you.

There must be a side to Hollywood that the fan magazines never mention, but I wonder if this picture exposes what they hide. It plays like a spinster's vision of Gomorrah—a spinster with an instinct for ham acting.

QUITE a few people have told me that "The Trouble With Harry" offends them. They don't approve of a story that treats a corpse with a lack of respect verging on insolence. But folk humor is full of the comic misadventures of the "remains" and, anyhow, Harry is obviously a healthy young actor playing 'possum. He could hardly keep his face straight.

I thought Hitchcock's experiment with farce was passably amusing. A little too pleased with its own cuteness and not as witty as the actors imply by their arch way of swallowing their mots, but still not bad entertainment. It adds nothing to Hitchcock's reputation, but it has been a long time since a Hitchcock movie did that.

Music

B. H. Haggin

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the synthetic lyricism for the soloists; and the failure extends to the florid writing that is contrived to characterize Pandarus. And it is a mastery which—to judge from the audience's enthusiasm in City Center—succeeds with the public though it fails with me.

The production offered scenery and costumes by John Boyt that I thought ineptly designed; competent stage direction by Margaret Webster; good dramatic performances by Jon Crain (Troilus) and Norman Kelley (Pandarus) but not by Phyllis Curtin (Cressida), who exhibited the same distracting awkwardness in movement and pose on the stage as in last year's "Salome"; excellent singing by these principals and the rest of the cast; and playing by the orchestra which Rosenstock as usual made too loud for the singing and for the English words that were often indistinguishable even in quiet moments.

The resourcefulness one is aware of in Walton is even more striking in Britten; but in Britten it operates with his own resources or with none. In the first case it produces real music; in the second a pretense of saying something that really says absolutely nothing, like the opera "The Turn of the Screw," which is on London XLL-1207/8, performed by Jennifer Vyvyan, Peter Pears (his voice quavering and exhibiting other losses), and other soloists with a chamber orchestra under Britten.

On the other hand Britten's "Saint Nicolas," a cantata written for a centenary celebration at an English school, is real music that is engaging and at times moving. London LL-1254 offers the performance at the Aldeburgh Festival of 1955, in which Pears, several boy soloists, and various choruses sing with the orchestra under Britten's direction.

And the Britten songs on London LL-1204—"Seven Sonnets of Michelangelo" and "Winter Words" to poems of Hardy—are adequate rather than musically impressive adaptations of his resources to the purposes of the texts, sung by Pears with Britten at the piano.

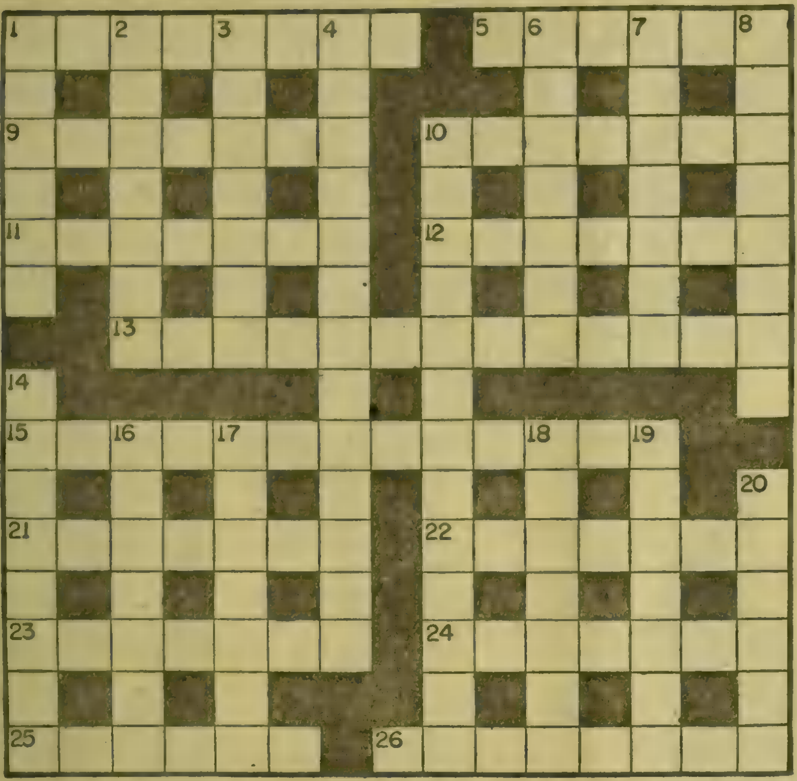
Mozart's incidental music for the play "Thamos, King of Egypt" K.345, on Epic LC-3158, is pleasantly unimpressive except for two dramatic passages concerned with the "general confusion" at the end of Act 4 and "Pheron's desperation, blaspheming, and death" at the end of Act 5.

Vanguard 469 offers excellent singing by Schoeffler with the Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Prohaska in an excerpt from "L'Africaine," *O tu Palerma* from "I Vespri Siciliani," *M'ardon le tempia* from Simon Boccanegra," and *Wie duftet doch der Flieder* from "Die Meistersinger." The final scene from "Die Walkuere" and Amfortas's Monologue from Act 1 of "Parsifal" are also on the record.

The visiting Philharmonia Orchestra of London opened its first concert in Carnegie Hall with a performance of four movements of Mozart's Divertimento K.287—a small-scale performance using a reduced group of strings that had the suavity and finish of von Karajan's style with Mozart, and that exhibited the beautiful playing of the orchestra's strings and its great solo horn, Dennis Brain. Then came a performance of Debussy's "La Mer" which also was low-keyed in sonority and color and exhibited in its delicate sonorities the refinement of execution and tone of the entire orchestra, and in particular the superb brass section. The delicacy and refinement continued in the first three movements of Berlioz's "Symphonie fantastique"; and it was only in the climaxes of the last two movements that von Karajan produced tuttis of maximum orchestral power. In these I didn't hear anything like the sumptuousness and splendor of our great orchestras; but I think this was because most of the strings, including the first violins, were so placed on the stage as to direct their sound to other parts of the hall than halfway down the extreme left aisle where I sat, so that in the big tuttis I couldn't hear them; and I think that if I had heard the strings I would have heard tuttis like those of our orchestras. At this concert, then, which gave me my first experience of the living performances of an orchestra and conductor I had known only from records, the orchestra revealed itself as one of the finest of instruments, and the conductor as someone able to use it well—someone, also, who treated these pieces by Mozart, Debussy, and Berlioz well, operating with a continence and taste that had been conspicuously absent in his recorded performance of Tchaikovsky's Fifth.

Crossword Puzzle No. 645

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 20 down Thumbs, side by side, gradually appear- (6,2,6)
5 Sometimes in the groove, but [redacted] dog might give it! (6)
9 One would be practically impossible to dock. (4,3)
10 Makes dry humor in association with a form of possession. (7)
11 Never tossed about in a soothing way. (7)
12 There's no stopping at times unless one does this, but it doesn't imply one rules again. (7)
13 Broken down farm hotel, occupied by one who has obviously traveled. (3,2,3,5)
15 Iron and heat (along with board) urgently required! (8,5)
21 One pip is evidently harsh. (This is somewhat of a distortion.) (7)
22 5 across of Zanzibar. (7)
23 If they were loud at first, they'd be some parties, though they reputedly speak louder. (7)
24 Influence a sort of tart performance. (7)
25 It's sad, and certainly unpleasant. (6)
26 Has this turned the lathe yet? (8)

DOWN

1 Mental disturbance which could lead to grief. (6)
2 And [redacted] disturbance caused by so much French liquor. (7)
3 A variation in the text. (7)
4 Grease pointers, perhaps, which should indicate more than an occasional drop. (13)
6 Efflux. (7)
7 One of Millet's people short of ran with glee. (7)
8 Is seated opposite to where the setting it. (4,4)
10 Provides a measure of personal value on the last row. (5,4,4)
14 On which an agent might well reflect. (8)
16 Turned out. (7)
17 Haydn's are not exactly piquant. (7)
18 Just. (7)
19 This variety of pear is [redacted] rather pretty sort. (7)
20 See 1 across.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE 644

ACROSS: 5 REDRUTH; 9 CARACUL; 10 SIFTING; 11 FINISHING SCHOOL; 12 LESIONS; 13 SKIMMED; 14 ARRAYED; 20 CORRESPONDINGLY. 21 PADRONE; 22 ANIMATO; 23 SYSTEMS; 24 EUGENIE. DOWN: 1 TACTFUL; 2 ERRANDS; 3 and 1 across ACCESSORY BEFORE THE FACT; 4 TALLIES; 5 RESIGNS; 6 DEFECTIVE WIRING; 7 UNIFORM; HAGGLED; 14 ACCEPTS; 15 REREDOS; 16 DEPRESS; 17 PINNACE; 18 INGRAIN; 19 GUY ROPE.

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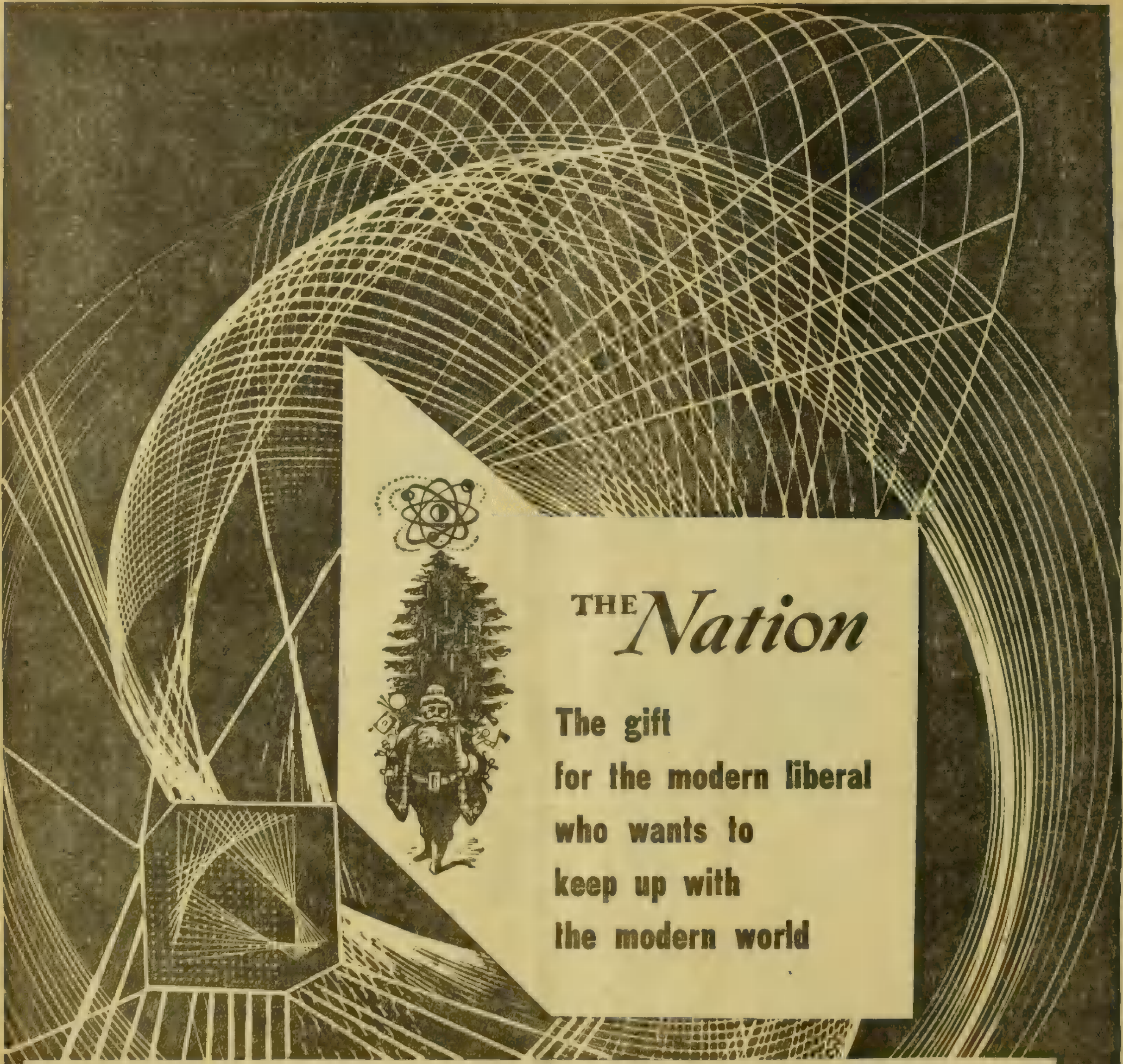
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Kafka, U.S. Army Style

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The Westinghouse Strike

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

The Unforgettable Mayor of the Bayou City

Houston, Texas

NOT TOO long ago a political opponent of the incumbent mayor of Houston quipped rhetorically to reporters' questions concerning his adversary: "Hofheinz, who's he?" Indeed, who is this man who wears speckled silk suits without lapels, and blinds his councilmanic foes with cuff links the size of half-dollars while slugging them with oratory in the name of good city government?

Ask voting Houstonians among the city's approximately 700,000 souls, who sometimes prefer City Hall reading to the funnies, and they will say he is everything from a "dictatorial egotist" to "one of the most honest mayors we've ever had."

If Roy Mark Hofheinz is the dictator of the Bayou City, his rule for nearly three years now (one and one-half terms thus far) has not been one which is characteristic of an unchallenged leader. Since five minutes after he took office for the first time in 1953 the City Hall has been the scene of continuous struggle between him and the eight members of the city council. In fact the councilmen almost unseated him last summer in an ill-fated impeachment attempt. They charged him with permitting and ordering city property to be illegally disposed of, ordering the director of public utilities not to collect and dispose of garbage, failing to furnish the city controller with the necessary information for a determination of the financial needs of Houston, and a list of other malfeasances of comparable weight. Their knowledge of the law, however, was not as great as their venom against the mayor and a series of court hearings upset their plans.

Persuasive in his speech, determined and obstinate in his quest for obedience, the forty-three-year-old son of a laundry truck driver is untiring in his struggle for power at the City Hall. To indicate to his councilmen that he means business, he will not always employ the subtle approach. Last year he ordered his chief of police to arrest four councilmen and bring them to the council chambers when it appeared they were not willing to listen to him that day.

If Hofheinz is reputed to be one of the most honest mayors the people have ever known, the reputation has been created largely through the silver tongue of hizzoner himself, who has never missed an opportunity to don the halo of incorruptibility, especially when the breath of scandal touches his administration. In addition to the turbulent times of his near impeachment, Hofheinz has survived a narcotics scandal in his police department which brought the federal men to town, a major upheaval involving illegal city-land sales in which several of his employees were indicted, and several lesser exposures of irregular dealings from within the City Hall. Through all this, however, the mayor's personal escutcheon has remained unbesmirched.

His opponents can search his record, as they have so frequently been doing with his subordinates, and find that their mayor is a millionaire. But they are unable to prove that he made his money in other endeavors than radio and real estate.

His not-so-unique status as a millionaire in this city of wealth was realized in 1953, fulfilling a promise to friends that by the time he was forty he would make a million and then return to politics. He made that promise in 1944, when he quit the job as county judge which he had won at the age of twenty-four. Five years earlier young Hofheinz had received his law degree from the University of Houston. His precocity in public affairs made itself apparent in 1934 when, at the age of twenty-two, he was elected to the Texas legislature and soon became known as the "boy orator from Buffalo Bayou." He has since become known in some press quarters in Houston as "the boy Mayor."

As a county judge Hofheinz was an efficient administrator, presiding over four courts and five administrative boards. As a legislator he was ambitious and competent, authoring the resolution that later led to the old-age-pension amendment to the Texas constitution.

As the mayor of the largest city below the Mason-Dixon line, he attacks his job with the ferocity of the tiger and the endurance of a marathon runner.

But campaigns (he is now in his third as a result of a public vote for a new mayor and city council last summer) and special appearances are his specialty. Last August, at the plush City Music Hall, Hofheinz appeared with his wife and two of his three children to stage one of his most extravagant extravaganzas. With a battery of TV cameras and newsmen looking on and surrounded by displays of blown-up photostats of documents and an array of city-bought items such as car batteries, pens, parking meters, and the like, he barked back at his councilman who had been charging him with trying to seek control of the city. He presented his stock-in-trade list of accomplishments such as freeway building and the administration of an honest purchasing program.

On November 19 the people of Houston will decide whether to keep Hofheinz, elect a man who has been Houston's mayor ten times before, or gamble on the third candidate, a newcomer. Whatever the outcome, they'll be talking about Roy Mark Hofheinz for a long time to come.

VICTOR JUNGER

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VOLUME 181, NUMBER 21

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

No Balm in Gilead

Discounting the influence of local issues and intramural plots and intrigues, the Democrats fared much better than the Republicans in the November 8 election. Hard pressed to find any solace in the returns, Republican soothsayers point to isolated successes as in San Francisco and Faixfax County, Virginia. But the vote in Virginia was more a slap at the Byrd machine than a vote of confidence in the G. O. P. And in San Francisco, most of the local Democratic leaders supported the Republican, George Christopher.

While the Philadelphia election was largely determined by local factors, the Republicans had committed to it the prestige of their top leaders, including the President. Despite this powerful intervention, Richardson Dilworth won the majority by a plurality of 131,453 and Victor H. Blanc swamped his Republican opponent in the race for district attorney. Down the years the Republicans have enjoyed a big edge in registrations in Pennsylvania but since 1954 the Democrats have been gaining; this year the Democrats made a net gain in registrations of approximately 50,000 since the May primary.

In Indiana, the Democrats made a sweep in mayoralty elections across the state despite the fact that Indiana has a Republican governor, two Republican Senators, and was in the Republican column in 1952. The Democratic nominee for district attorney carried New York's Queens County, which Governor Dewey had carried in 1950, which gave President Eisenhower a margin of 119,193 votes in 1952, and which the Republican nominee carried against Mayor Wagner in 1953. When the returns in New Jersey, Connecticut, and Kentucky are also taken into account, it is apparent that the Democrats have a great deal more reason for satisfaction than do the Republicans.

The principal immediate effect of the election has been to give new impetus to the movement to draft Chief Justice Warren as the Republican nominee. The Chief Justice has been saying "no" with increasing emphasis and frequency but one may remark, without questioning Mr. Warren's sincerity, that so experienced and skilful a politician must be aware that the very frequency and vehemence with which he makes these disclaimers has the effect of enhancing his potential value as a nominee. And who was it that said that sincerity, like virtue, is one of the arts?

Lifting the Ford Hood

The decision to sell Ford stock to the public marks a new stage in the company's amazing postwar challenge to General Motors. It is true that the Ford Foundation has felt for some years that it would be prudent to diversify its holdings. But the company management and the Ford family would never have agreed to the sale unless they saw something in it for themselves. They have finally accepted that the days of personalized capitalism are over and that there are real advantages in spreading ownerhip among the public. For one thing, stockholders tend to buy the company's product. For another, a public corporation is in a much better position to raise new capital. It is also possible that Ford officials are not displeased to have the company disassociated with the Ford Foundation in view of the numerous political controversies in which the latter has found itself in recent months.

Although the Ford family has agreed to relinquish to the public at least 60 per cent of their voting rights, their remaining 40 per cent is more than enough to ensure their continued control of the company, assuming that the shares sold are widely distributed as planned. Thus the main sacrifice the family is making is that of becoming accountable in public, both through annual stockholders meetings and the required registration with the Security and Exchange Commission. The initial statement the company is now preparing to file should make old Henry Ford turn in his grave. For the first time the company's earnings, assets, and dividends will be revealed. The chairman of the board of directors, Ernest R. Breech, has already revealed that the company's profits will surpass in 1955 its aggregate earnings for the entire twenty-one years prior to World War II. These calculations point to a net profit after taxes this year of between $325 and $350 millions—equivalent to between $6 and $7 a share on each of the 53,500,000 shares outstanding when the foundation's shares are split fifteen for one and the Ford family's share twenty for one.

If the stock is valued by the underwriters at the conventional ten times net earnings, its initial price would be between $60 and $70 a share. The entire initial offer of nearly 7,000,000 shares may thus yield a record $500,000,000. The price may be set somewhat lower, however, in the hope of ensuring a steady upward movement of the market value. Some market analysts believe that Ford has delayed this first sale beyond the most advantageous point. The market seems to have reached its peak and the new Ford stock may be bucking the trend in the months ahead. But the floods of inquiries already received by brokers indicate that the initial issue, at any rate, will be heavily oversubscribed.

The King Is Dead

The trouble with our economy, according to Robert A. Whitney, president of the National Sales executives (*Advertising Age*, November 7), is that the people who like it have little relish for the name that history has given it. In Europe particularly "capitalism is a dirty word"; the people just won't buy it. Indeed, Mr. Whitney goes so far as to suggest that "capitalism is dead"—as a name, that is—and that it should be replaced with a new term, "consumerism." "The consumer is king in our economy—not capital. Everything is done to interest the consumer and the standard of living of the country is measured by what the consumer has, not by how much we produce." On the other hand, Theodore S. Repplier, president of the Advertising Council, while agreeing that we "produce a great product which is nameless," rejects consumerism in favor of "people's capitalism." The long-suffering American taxpayer, he feels, would never consent to underwrite a world-wide propaganda effort to popularize "consumerism." But doesn't "people's capitalism" carry an unfortunate echo of Henry Wallace's heresy of 1948, "progressive capitalism"? And should the word "people's" be used as long as the satellite regimes in Eastern Europe are known as "peoples' democracies"? Apart from these quibbles, do we really want to the judged exclusively upon the basis of how much we produce or consume? Is it really a weakness that, as Edgar Snow pointed out in last week's *Nation*, we have nothing in the way of an "ideology" except a faith in human equality and democratic processes based on the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution with its Bill of Rights? Aren't they enough? Besides, even if we were to rechristen capitalism, wouldn't the Communists insist that it was merely a case of our saying the king is dead, long live the king?

The "Economic Subconscious"

Whatever reasons prompted the Soviet Union to dismiss Alexander V. Vlasov as president of the Soviet Academy of Architecture, it is highly unlikely that they were so pressing as to have called for action while Mr. Vlasov was still in this country as part of a Soviet housing delegation. Russia's professed desire to encourage Soviet-American cultural and technical exchanges will not be advanced by chopping off heads in full view of the American public. But this reflection on inept Soviet public relations calls to mind some lamentable failures of our own in connection with this same housing group, which has had an unfavorable press here in contrast to its predecessor, the Soviet agricultural delegation. In Washington, a newsman persisted in baiting I. K. Kouzilia, chief of the visiting group, with the childish question: "Name one building material used in the United States that is better than what you use in Russia." Non-diplomacy on an even grander scale was practiced by *Business Week* in a lengthy article on the delegation's visit to Boston. Here is a sample:

> At the Massachusetts Institute of Technology the Russians were intensely interested in exchanging information, brought along thirteen new Russian books as a gift. But the M. I. T. professors seemed bored with what the Russians were ready to tell them about Soviet techniques. The Reds said they had digested most United States textbooks and monographs, asked whether Americans had done the same with Russian literature. One professor replied, "We receive your publications but we don't bother to translate them."

In reporting this exchange in the context of a generally snide article, *Business Week* proved itself as boorish as the professor (if he was accurately quoted).

Perhaps the divergence in treatment accorded Russia's agriculturists and its housing experts stems from what may be termed our "economic subconcious." Both agriculture and housing are public enterprises in the Soviet Union, but no one here fears that Washington is planning to collectivize the nation's farms. Public housing, however, is obviously a clear and present danger to the realty lobby and the newspapers which support it. It is interesting that Mr. Kuzilia had occasion to remark that his delegation has been given little opportunity to visit public-housing developments in this country. Apparently we are as afraid to display the virtues of liberal capitalism as the M. I. T. professor was to search for possible virtues in Russian's communism.

The End of Golf

The Supreme Court's ruling that racial segregation in public parks, playgrounds, and golf courses is unconstitutional has provoked the usual chorus of silly protests and confused predictions from below the Mason-Dixon line. "It means the end of most public golf courses," is the doleful comment of Georgia's former governor, Herman Talmadge. In Birmingham an official has announced that swimming pools and parks will be closed since "intermingling" would lead to bloodshed. On the other hand, Georgia's attorney general is frightened at the prospect that intermingling might lead to intermarriage! Southern states and communities may be able to stop all publicly-financed education and recreation; there is, after all, nothing in the Constitution that prevents a community from commiting cultural suicide. But it is hard to believe that the South, which just might sacrifice public education to preserve its prejudices, would ever give up golf, even to prevent a catastrope worse than bloodshed, namely, the intermingling which leads to intermarriage.

Watch December 3 issue of The Nation *for special coverage of the American labor movement.*

WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

Herewith are presented two analyses—one American, one British—of the Middle East crisis and its profound implications for world peace and the present direction of Western foreign policy. Lillie Shultz, for eleven years the director of the Nation Associates, has written extensively on the Middle East and has covered for *The Nation* all U. N. debates on Palestine since 1947. Jon Kimche, a British journalist, spent many years as a correspondent in the Middle East and is the author of "Seven Fallen Pillars: The Middle East."

I. Russia's Lethal Giveaway . . *by Lillie Shultz*

RUSSIA'S lethal giveaway program in the Middle East, with its disastrous effect on Western hegemony there and its implicit threat of war, is of American design and manufacture.

The design stolen by the Russians and malevolently embellished by them was the successful American appeal to the vanity of the Arabs by the offer, accepted by Iraq in the spring of 1954, to supply arms without political strings. This shallow maneuver succeeded, as intended, in inducing Iraq to participate in a mutual-assistance treaty with Turkey and Pakistan, allied to NATO. Participation of any Arab state in an Allied Middle East defense agreement had until then been strenuously opposed by Egypt and other members of the Arab League. As important as the assurance of United States arms to Iraq was Iraq's displacement of Egypt as the center of the Arab world and of Allied wooing. The agreement split the Arab League—a split which the United States hoped ultimately would lead to Arab adherence, one by one, to a military alliance with Turkey and the West. The anticipated benefits have not materialized. Instead of sealing off the Soviet Union, against whom the pact was directed, the agreement opened the doors of the Middle East barred to Russia since time immemorial.

Today, in every Arab country, where communism is prohibited and punishable by imprisonment or death, the Arab governments themselves have become the principal admirers and defenders of the Soviet Union. How was this anomaly produced?

The catalyst was the so-called "northern tier" defense pact, based on Turkey and Pakistan, since joined by Iraq, Britain, and Iran. Instead of containing the Soviet Union, it pushed the "neutralism" of Asia and the Arab bloc, hitherto passive, into an "activism" of which the present Czechoslovak-Egyptian arms deal is only one startling result.

Egypt was not the only country caught unaware and wounded in its national pride by the United States-Iraq arms deal and the subsequent Middle East pact. The inclusion of Pakistan, foe of India, as a keystone in the arrangement profoundly offended the sensibilities of Nehru. This common resentment in 1954 forged the loose *ad hoc* relationship between India and Egypt into a hard bloc against the United States. The leader of the great democratic experiment in India, whose strongest claim to world imagination has been his morality, became the sponsor and ally of Nasser, head of Egypt's military dictatorship.

SEEKING a way to express independence of the West, to promote peace and to improve Asian-Arab conditions, Nehru conceived the Bandung conference, held in the spring of 1954 with the participation of sixteen countries, including Communist China. It was at Bandung that India sold morality short when it refused to invite Israel under the threat of Arab withdrawal. It was at Bandung that India permitted passage, without a dissenting vote, of an Arab resolution condemning Israel. It was at Bandung that Nasser, cosseted by Nehru, met Chou En-lai and received his first V. I. P. treatment from top Communist officialdom.

The turning point was Bandung, which produced the shower of invitations to Nasser by Russia and its satellites leading to the consummation of the Czech arms deal with Egypt. But Bandung was by no means the starting point. Russia has always coveted a warm-water port and a role in the Middle East. Since the end of World War II, it has served repeated notice to the West of its intention to push Britain out of the Middle East and itself to fill the vacuum. Russian support of Palestine partition in 1947 was part of this overall purpose. The Jews seeking a state were breaking Britain's hold on the Middle East. So Russia supported them. As upsurging Arab nationalism created further pressure on Britain's entrenched position, Russian support shifted to the Arab side—a shift made easier by Israel's abandonment of its neutralist policy in favor of identification with the West.

Since 1950 Russia's tactics in the U. N. on successive occasions "saved" the Arab states from resolutions requiring direct negotiation with Israel on peace in general or on settlement of specific conflicts. Each such "victory" has been widely publicized in the Arab press and appropriate thanks given to the Russians.

In 1952 the Russians made a bold bid to establish consanguinity with the Arabs by launching their domestic campaign against the Jews. It was not, however, until the United States set the example in Iraq that the Russians found the key which unlocked the door to the Middle East—the appeal to vanity through arms.

The Egyptians are now to receive planes, tanks, submarines, and other heavy weapons from Czechoslovakia. The bill comes to between seventy-five and one hundred million dollars—a hundred times the amount of arms received by Egypt from the United States in the last five years. The arms are said to include 200 MIG jet fighters, among them surplus MIG 15's as well as the later MIG 17's, 100 Russian tanks, and six submarines. Thus Egypt becomes the most strongly armed state in the area.

Egypt claims it accepted the Czechoslovak offer only after it failed last June to obtain $27,000,000 worth of weapons from the United States. According to reports, Egypt offered to pay either in local currency or in cotton instead of dollars (neither was acceptable under United States law) and also was unwilling to sign a stipulation that the arms would not be used for aggression.

Ten shipments have already arrived in Egypt and with them about twenty Communist military technicians. These technicians are in addition to Egyptians sent to Czechoslovakia to be trained in the use of the new arms.

Not to be overlooked are the terms of the arrangement. The weapons are priced at one-fifth to one-tenth of what they would cost in the West. The arms deal is primarily a barter arrangement—Egyptian cotton and rice for arms—sealed by a small cash payment of one million pounds sterling. It is this barter aspect which is making a strong appeal to other countries, Middle Eastern and Asian, who have no hard currency and to whom the Communists have now made similar offers. Syria is reported to be contemplating such a deal, as are Saudia Arabia, Yemen, and Afghanistan.

Economic Aid, Too

The arms offers have been buttressed by proffers of economic aid, based largely on barter or on low-rate long-term loans. Russia has offered Egypt help in building the high dam at Aswam on a barter deal plus a 3 per cent long-term loan, as against a more exigent financial arrangement offered by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which estimates the cost at between $1,250,000,000 and $1,500,000,000. Syria is being lured by Russian offers to purchase its surplus products on long-term loans. In Afghanistan the Russians have built oil-storage tanks at Kabul and are building a sixty-mile oil pipeline from the Uzbeck, Soviet Socialist Republic, to the Afghan city of Mozar-sherf. They are paving the streets of Kabul and they are financing a five-million dollar cement factory, as well as tannery and glass factories. Afghan amenability to Russia reflects its animosity to Pakistan, with whom it is quarreling these days over 7,000,000 Pathan tribesmen, as well as its resistance to unofficial pressure by Western powers. It is seeking also to secure arms on a barter arrangement for defense against Pakistan. The impending visit to Afghanistan of Bulganin and Khrushchev is expected to further strengthen Soviet-Afghan ties.

For the first time in history a Soviet legation will be posted in Yemen. Negotiations to this end are now going forward.

Indonesia is being wooed with a Soviet offer to purchase its tin and rubber, bolstered by a loan to restore its sugar mills. Burma is being offered heavy equipment in exchange for surplus rice; India, technical assistance in addition to a large steel mill which the Russians are now building.

Soviet economic penetration of Egypt has already begun and does not await the scheduled visit of Nasser to Russia in the spring. Cairo has concluded a series of barter arrangements with the Soviet bloc for the exchange of Egyptian cotton for Russian petroleum products, Hungarian locomotive and consumer goods, Polish coal, East German construction equipment and consumer goods.

Under a three-year arrangement with China, Egypt will sell thirty million dollars worth of cotton and will buy only six million dollars worth of Chinese products. China will pay cash in pound sterling for twenty-four million dollars worth of Egyptian cotton.

Good-will missions are carrying the Soviet message forward in all the Arab countries.

NONE of the Russian offers is made conditional on military or political alliances. It is the lack of such formal conditions, the reverse of the American tactic, which is allaying the principal Arab fear—that of foreign domination. In the space of two months, the Russians have reversed the course of centuries in the Middle East and present the most formidable direct challenge to Western holdings and power in the area.

As a result the effectiveness of the "northern tier" defense pact is lessened, if not destroyed; French Morocco is subject to an incursion of Soviet arms via Egypt, the principal supporter of the Moroccan nationalists; the Suez Canal zone is threatened with immobilization, the outbreak of an Arab-Israel war is possible which may involve the West.

How to resolve these problems and how to stop the further Russian penetration of a continent rich in oil, minerals, strategic communications, and ripe for Communist persuasion by reason of the appalling social and economic conditions of life in all the Arab countries—that is the dilemma of the West.

Will It Be War?

Russian arming of the Arabs carries with it the implicit threat of a war against Israel. For eight years all the Arab states have been fulminating against Israel, threatening a second round. They have been deterred primarily by lack of arms.

To be sure, Nasser has stated that he does not plan aggression against Israel; that he needs the arms in order to assuage the vanity of the army on whose support he is dependent and which has been resentful over its lack of modern equipment.

One may believe that for the moment, at least, Nasser would not deliberately engage in such a war for two obvious reasons: (1) Israel is at present superior in fighting discipline, and spirit; (2) Nasser has more to gain from the mere threat of war than by putting to the test his army's ability to win it. He now has both Russia and the United States bidding for his favor; Israel is nervous, if not intimidated, and the U. N. is pleading for pacification. But when Soviet arms will give him vast military strength, how can one predict with certainty that *amour propre* will not take the form of full-scale attack on Israel by an army seeking to destroy the memory of defeat?

In Israel there is talk of a "preventive" war. Harrassed by increasing border violence, there are strong elements in the country who demand that the Arabs be taught a lesson now, before Israel's military strength is outdistanced by Egypt's Russian bonanza. There are three deterrents. Israel does not want a war; it neither wants an additional Arab population, nor could it absorb it. It would be certain to be condemned by the U. N., and possibly forced to retreat. And, most important of all, such a war would further alienate it from the Arab-Asian world of which it wishes to be an integral part.

Still, if border violence continues,

and no guarantees of Israel's security are given, radical elements could win out before Arab arms superiority immobilizes Israel. Moreover, it is conceivable that Israel, seeking to develop South Asian and East African trade, will refuse to submit any longer to the blockade imposed by Egypt in the Gulf of Aqaba. Egyptian guns on the approaches to the gulf can prevent, and have prevented, the passage of ships bound for Israel, as well as British ships. Israel may oppose force with force.

Nor is Russian likely to be plotting a military war. Moscow has already been successful in upsetting the Western applecart in the Middle East without firing a shot. But it seems perfectly willing to run the risk of provoking an Arab-Israel war through its lavish arming of Egypt and any other Arab state which will accept its arms.

As long as a state of Arab-Israel belligerency exists, the danger of war exists in an area of inflamed passions. Nasser, it should be underscored, has consistently told the Security Council that a state of belligerency does exist. Moreover, in an area of abysmal poverty, a war against Israel could be used by unscrupulous governments as a kind of lightning rod to deflect the anger of the masses. One incident could cause a conflagration, given Israel's new and justified apprehensions and the new military strength and arrogance of the Arabs.

Can the big powers stay clear of an Arab-Israel war? With the West's huge stakes in the Middle East, this seems almost impossible—particularly since Russia's entry into that area—even if the 1950 declaration of the United States, Britain and France guaranteeing the borders of Israel and the Arab states did not automatically involve them.

Apprehensive of the future, there are voices in NATO today counseling Britain to return to the Suez Canal *now* before it is too late. Loss of the zone to the Western alliance would be a stupendous one. Fears concerning it have been stimulated by reports that Nasser, once the last British soldier has left the zone by the end of 1956, will denounce that section of the agreement with Britain permitting the latter's return to it in the event of aggression against Turkey or an Arab state. Nasser has denied the rumor. Can one count on the word of an Egyptian dictator who in September, 1953, stated that he preferred funds for development to arms; who, on August 15, 1955, told Cyrus Sulzburger of the New York *Times* that he was afraid communism was trying to subvert his army; who, in the fall of 1955, gave the greatest stimulus to Communist penetration through his purchase of $100,000,000 worth of arms from Communist Czechoslovakia? And if the present Egyptian-Soviet alliance progresses, is there likelihood that the agreement would ever be honored except in the breach?

The American Dilemma

The resulting overwhelming American dilemma is largely of our own making, deriving from a policy of deliberate blindness to the revolution against colonialism in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, and to the wishes and needs of its peoples. To the securing of military bases every consideration of logic, decency, practicality, and democracy involved in true security had been subordinated.

The Russians have now demonstrated that they cannot be contained by Allied military pacts, and the Arab governments have demonstrated, as one observer wittily put it, that they cannot be bought but only rented to the highest bidder.

This situation we ourselves helped to create by shoring up unstable and unworthy governments through a policy of appeasement which began with the Palestine question in 1947. The United States vote for partition was a reluctant one, put through by President Truman against the machinations of his own State Department, which was concerned lest American oil rights in Saudi Arabia be jeopardized and which was also being prodded by the British. Since that time the State Department diehards have tried to live down that vote by repeatedly yielding to Arab intransigence. It is true that the United States has been generous in its economic support of Israel. That support can be attributed less to the State Department than to the broader understanding shown by Congress.

Although obviously preferring an Arab-Israel peace, yet not wishing to offend the Arabs, the State Department has never made any real attempt to consummate peace. On more than one occasion it has been an undercover ally of the Arabs in preventing the passage of U. N. resolutions which would have brought the issue to a head. Although the United States is the source of the principal funds that have kept alive the Arab refugees, and although it has acknowledged that these refugees cannot go back to Israel and would not be happy there, it has made only desultory attempts to seek a permanent solution and has permitted the Arab governments to continue to use the refugee issue as a political football for eight successive years, while refugee demoralization grew apace and with it Communist penetration.

When Egypt seized and prevented the passage of ships bound for Israel through Suez, the United States voted against the Egyptian action but made no genuine effort to enforce the Security Council resolution. It forced U. N. action designed to hold up Israel self-development schemes—on Arab complaint—only to appease the Arabs. When border incidents assumed new heights of violence, particularly in the past two years, it contented itself with apportioning blame, usually to Israel.

In pursuit of that illusive military pact, the State Department taught the Arabs that they had only to increase their demands and the demands would be met. If this appeasement policy had been successful, it could perhaps be justified. But it has only brought the Arabs to the precipice of chaos and it has brought defeat to American long-term plans. This country's greatest *faux pas* was to conclude the arms agreement with Iraq before establishing peace in the area, and without any attempt to build support among the Arab peoples by concentrating on their basic needs.

Can the Crisis Be Resolved?

What hope there exists of stopping the Russians effectively is through the immediate settlement of the Palestine war; the abandonment, for the moment at least, of the American obsession with military pacts as the first step in the road to security; and the concentration on large-scale development for the area.

The settlement of the Palestine war would have the effect of ending the intense rivalry among the Arab states for allegedly "defensive" weapagainst Israel on which the Russians have played so successfully.

Precisely because this is a moment of intense crisis, the U. N. should be brought into special session for the sole purpose of bringing about direct Arab-Israel peace talks. This is the primary function of the U. N. which has not dealt seriously with the threat to Middle-East peace since the armistice agreements of 1949—primarily because neither Britain nor the United States wished to offend the Arabs.

The Arab states will, of course, resist the effort, but Arab intransigence can no longer be allowed to be decisive. Today it is the Western alliance which needs peace, even more profoundly than Israel. Nor can any member of the U. N. afford to oppose a serious effort to produce peace negotiations. This includes the Soviet Union. Here is as good an issue as any with which to test the Soviet "new look." At the same time the challenge should put to India, principal advocate of peace within the U. N., to rally Asia behind such a move.

Both special effort and special machinery are needed to produce a genuine attempt to bring about peace discussions. Such an attempt presupposes the end of a policy of appeasement by both Britain and the United States. The United States has a number of very strong cards to play. Nasser has asserted he wants no war in Israel. Nor can he or his allies afford an enlarged war. He has also stated that he wants United States economic aid and technical assistance.

In exchange for peace the United States should be prepared to offer through the U. N.: (1) large-scale technical assistance, with no strings attached, to Egypt and the whole area; (2) a large reconstruction and development fund for under-developed territories; (3) the assurance of the revision of American economic policy, taking into account the needs of the underdeveloped territories and their inability to pay in dollars. Encompassed within the concept of a peace settlement must be the *a priori* assurance of the permanent rehabilitation in Arab lands of the Arab refugees, compensated for their lost possessions in Israel.

And if the Arabs refuse, what then? The Arabs cannot afford to be isolated and made the *de facto* satellites of the Soviet bloc. The United States could insure that isolation by utilizing both its influence with the members of the U. N. and the machinery provided in the Charter to prevent a threat to the peace. It could also refuse to continue to support 900,000 Arab refugees through a program which successive reports of the United Nations Works and Relief Agency have indicated is inadequate and demoralizing unless the refugees are permanently resettled.

The Necessary Steps

The time has come for Washington to state openly that the Arabs must recognize that Israel is here to stay and that the Arab demands that Israel adhere to the partition resolution of 1947 is a two-way street, and a phantom one at that. If Israel is to be required to adhere to the 1947 resolution, then the Arab states must restore the *status quo ante* which existed before they launched the Palestine war. This of course is a manifest absurdity. No power can turn the clock back.

Today the question of Arab-Israel peace far transcends the needs of Israel. It has become a dynamic necessity to the Western World. For it is quite clear that a war between the Arab states and Israel could not be localized. It threatens the involvment not only of the Western world with the Arabs and Israel, but of the Western world with the Russians.

But will the United States follow the course of decent practicality? There are no signs yet that it is ready to abandon its policy of appeasement. In the meantime Israel, surrounded by hostile neighbors, is fearful of the effects of the disturbance of the balance of arms in the Middle East. It is seeking a guarantee of its borders against aggression and sufficient arms to restore the military balance. The theory behind the latter demand is both the actual need of heavy arms for defense purposes and the fact that in the future, as in the past, Arab knowledge of Israel's capacity for defense may act as a deterrent against a full-scale offensive. As a holding action, both requests should be met promptly, even though they do not resolve the central situation.

Recent indications are that some heavy arms may be sold to Israel by the United States. Britain, it is reported, is trying to put a brake on this. Anxious lest its tenuous hold on the Middle East will be further weakened—it is urging full-scale appeasement if not of Egypt at least of the remainder of the Arab world—at the sacrifice of Israel, if necessary. Eden's offer to have Britain negotiate, a role for which its partisanship hardly commends it, was intended perhaps to fend off American rivalry for the same role.

Numerous feelers are now being extended to test reaction to the imposition of a Middle-East arms embargo by the U. N. Assuming that the Russians do not veto such a move, would such an embargo act as a pacifier at this stage?

The arms balance has already been upset by the speed with which Communist arms deliveries are being made to Egypt. So Israel is still vulnerable and all the inherent dangers already described remain. With such an embargo presumably Britain, France, and the United States would thus be restored as the balance wheels in the Middle East.

But if there is no peace—and an Arab-Israel war should nonetheless break out—their direct involvement is certain. Would Russia then stay out? An arms embargo is a halfway measure full of the most dangerous pitfalls. It is no substitute for peace.

Despite the statements of President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Eden calling for peace, there is little evidence that practical plans are being explored to bring it about. The British are thinking of an occupation force of some 10,000 men to be sent to the area under U. N. auspices and to which they would contribute. In the State Department there is talk of persuading Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon to join the "northern tier" defense pact with Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, and Britain. The inducement? Arms in plentitude to offset the arms offer of the Russians. Thus in United States thinking, the *cordon sanitaire* against Russia would be enlarged—and most of the Arab world would split from Egypt. Further, Arab fears concerning Israel would be assuaged by arms, so the department reasons. If the pact was concluded—and then only—the United States would be prepared to give Israel certain security guarantees. But meanwhile Israel would be surrounded by its own *cordon sanitaire*—created by the arms of its sworn enemies!

Concerning Egypt, American counsel is divided. One school argues for quiet economic isolation, withdrawal of Point 4 aid and withholding of financial and other assistance in building the Aswam dam. Another school is for pressuring Israel into giving Egypt a land route through the Negev to Jordan. This, too, was in Eden's mind when he counselled Israel to compromise on territory.

Israel is not likely to grant Mr. Dulles this concession. And Mr. Dulles, if he continues to pursue the old policy of ever-larger appeasement, may awaken one day very soon to ever larger disaster.

II. Bulganin's Arabia . . *by Jon Kimche*

London

SECRETARY DULLES told Israel's Foreign Minister Sharett in Paris on October 26 that he rated the present Middle East situation to be more serious than that in Korea just before the outbreak of the Korean War. Five days later Britain's Foreign Secretary Macmillan told Dulles in Geneva that the stability of Britain's shaky balance of payments depended on the uninterrupted flow of Middle Eastern "sterling" oil. On the previous day, also in Geneva, Molotov had asked Foreign Secretary Macmillan and then Dulles "where it was written" that the Middle East had to be a purely Western preserve; why should the Russians not be able to buy influence there in the same way as the West—with arms?

Now consider these further facets of the present relationship of the Middle East to the two power blocs.

The Middle East supplies Western Europe, including the United Kingdom, with virtually its entire requirements of crude oil—90 per cent of continental Western Europe's needs and a slightly smaller proportion of Great Britain's. Its market value was around three billion dollars last year.

Strategically, the Middle East has become a kind of two-way springboard: the gateway for attacks on the "soft underbelly" of Greater Russia and the Soviet Union (as Molotov explained to Hitler and Ribbentrop at some length when they met in Berlin in November, 1940) and, in Western eyes, the one open flank of NATO.

What the Russians want, Britain's Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Field Marshal Slim, explained to the Egyptian Premier in Cairo five years ago, "is Egypt. Anyone who wants to hold the Middle East must hold Egypt. Egypt is the key to the Middle East." Since then the British and Americans have not stopped producing new schemes for the organized defense of the region against a Soviet attack until, two years ago, the Americans gave up hope of the British ever producing anything based on their traditional defensive thinking centered on the Suez Canal zone and the Arab alliances. In their place Secretary Dulles evolved the "northern tier" conception of a chain of alliances along the Soviet border—Pakistan, Iraq, and Turkey linked with Britain and the United States.

ALL EYES are now fixed on this "northern tier." It is said to be the real target of present day Soviet diplomacy. But militarily, to be honest, the "northern tier" today is more of a liability to the West than an asset. Except for Turkey, which is already in NATO, none of the other countries would delay a Soviet attack for even an hour.

Strategically, therefore, all the fuss about the importance of the "northern tier," or the supposed Soviet anxiety about its offensive potentialities, are quite unreal. The one real strategic Western force in the Middle East is the United States Sixth Fleet in the eastern Mediterranean. Officially, the United States cautiously goes no further than admitting that the fleet "exceeds thirty warships"; unofficially the number is said to vary between sixty and eighty, almost three times the size of the British Mediterranean Fleet. The naval force, with the most modern carriers, is probably the most powerful striking arm that the West has at its disposal anywhere on the Soviet periphery. Between it and the Soviet industrial heartland of the Ukraine and the Donetz basin there lies, as the main obstacle, the Dardanelles.

For centuries the Russians, Czars and Bolsheviks alike, have charged at the Straits like a bull in a china shop, both in diplomacy and in war. We have had to wait for Lawrence's colleague, Bulganin of Arabia, to demonstrate the unfailing efficacy of the strategy of indirect approach—in 1955 no less than in 1915.

Bulganin is in fact organizing the Arab revolt against the West much in the same way as Lawrence did against the Turks; only Bulganin's effort looks the more dangerous because, paradoxically, he is operating in peacetime while Lawrence was hampered by the pressures and demands of a world war. It is to the failure of the British and, to a lesser extent, the Americans to recognize since the end of second World War that they were in greater danger of losing the Middle East under conditions of peace than as a result of a war with the Soviet Union, that so many evident errors of policy can be traced. While the West was preoccupied with devising means to defend the Middle East against an attack from outside, the countries they sought to defend were disintegrating from within. Bulganin apparently understood the Lawrence strategy: if you cannot make headway in the Dardanelles, then try the Suez Canal.

Inside this "bigger Korea" there is also the Arab-Israel conflict. This has, however, changed qualitatively during the last two months, since the Russian entry into active Middle-Eastern politics. Here again is revealed the extent to which the Arab-Israel dispute has ceased to be a purely local affair capable of a local solution. For the "legalization" of Israel at the United Nations from November, 1947, until the end of 1948 was due largely to the bi-partisan Soviet-United States policy toward the establishment of the state and toward the subsequent Arab attack upon it. This common outlook kept the Middle East out of the cold war for some seven years, until the cold war itself was called off throughout the rest of the world—and transferred to the Middle East.

In other words, whereas the Arab-Israel war in 1948 was in effect a local war between Palestine Jews and the Arab states, or, in another sense, a revolt of the Palestine Jews against the British Mandatory, it was certainly not part of the worldwide East-West conflict. But today this is no longer true. With the Soviet Union backing Egypt, and seeking to enroll also Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Lebanon on its side, it is not possible for either the United States or Great Britain to allow a war to take place which would extend the Soviet-Arab axis in the Middle East. However much it may go against the grain of many British and American friends of the Arabs, they will be compelled by Russia's intervention to side against Arab interests.

THIS is not necessarily a favorable development for Israel, except possibly in the very short run. Ultimately it means a setback for perhaps a generation to hopes for an Israel-Arab settlement. For now that the Arabs believe (whether it is true or not) that they have the backing of the mighty Soviet Empire against Israel and its supporters in the West, they have thrown aside caution and have proclaimed their intention of forcing a settlement upon Israel. Thus a considerable change has come in Arab thinking, and especially that of the Egyptian Premier Colonel Nasser, who as late as the beginning of this year was still saying privately that a settlement with Israel would be possible as soon as his regime was firmly in the saddle. Today he and his fellow Arab rulers are openly and honestly proclaiming their intention to erase Israel from the Middle East map at the first suitable opportunity.

Is this just big talk? Who can say? Colonel Nasser was described by one of his friends who was in Geneva during the foreign ministers' consultations on the Middle East as a man who was being driven into a corner. He has already antagonized large sections of the Egyptian public: the middle class, the working class, the Moslem Brotherhood, the supporters of Naguib, the Sudanese. But he has the army behind him, and the Czech arms deal provides him with the means to keep the army happy.

Egypt's domestic problems are not solved as simply as that. The material conditions of the mass of the people have hardly changed; in some ways the last figures produced by the Food and Agricultural Organization show an alarming decline in their living standards. But the Egyptians have indubitably enjoyed a psychological uplift as a result of Cairo's success in forcing the British out of Suez. This sort of morale boost does not maintain itself indefinitely, however; it requires constant feeding with new successes. These the army might provide once it is equipped with its new Czech equipment.

As one of the advisors who attended the Geneva conference on the Middle East informed the foreign ministers, Colonel Nasser is showing tendencies, not toward a Communist regime, but toward a "Peronista" rule which the Communists might tolerate and support. On the other hand, these same advisors believe that there may be "a 10 per cent chance" that Nasser may still show common sense and save Egypt and the Middle East from becoming the stage for a Great Power conflict. They have therefore counseled against precipitate action. They prefer to wait for a few more weeks to see what happens.

Western governments and the oil interests are understandably eager to win the Arabs back from the arms—the pun is intentional—of the Soviet Union. Naturally, they will look at Israel to see whether there is anything there that would buy off the Arabs from their Soviet course. As things stand there is little there they can still offer since the Arabs have made it clear that they will be satisfied with nothing less than Israel's unconditional surrender, its national suicide. And since this is a contribution that Israel is unlikely to make to the Western cause, the way out has to be looked for elsewhere. In fact, it might be advisable for Western statesmen—and for the oil companies—to have a closer look at the state of affairs in the Arab countries concerned.

Anyone who is in touch with the younger Arab generation, especially the students in London and Paris who provide so large a proportion of the future leaders at home, cannot help noticing that Bulganin's Arabia is not confined to the geographic limits of the Middle East. His "revolt" has made far more headway among the younger Arabs of today than Freya Stark ever did among the young *effendis*. Already a new Arab demand is making itself heard: the nationalization of oil.

The fact is that between them the Russians and the West have virtually deprived the moderate socialistic elements in the Middle East, which had a common platform of reform for the entire region, of all political influence. These elements have been ground between extremist militarism and extremist communism, and without them the West is doomed in the Middle East. The British Labor government, when in power, had an opportunity to support them and failed to do so; the opportunity has not recurred. The United States thought that "progressive" military regimes such as Shishekli's in Syria and Naguib's and Nasser's in Egypt would be an effective substitute; they were not. So now the West has again to seek to establish a framework acceptable to the people, that will advance the prosperity and peace of the region.

THE task will not be easy. Clearly the first objective must be to avoid the complete political disintegration of the region. All kinds of possibilities have been suggested. Constitutional difficulties and delays are involved in the proposed United States guarantee to Israel; yet for the moment the center of uncertainty is Israel's future. Will it be left alone to fend for itself? Such a course would put a premium on trouble. Or can Israel be integrated into the international community in a manner which would add stability to the region?

Now that the Russians in Geneva are looking upon NATO with friendlier eyes, there are many who suggest that Israel be taken into NATO, thus giving it a cover which it needs and, at the same time, demonstrating to the Russians that the West still has strength in the Middle East. For it seems that the Middle Eastern cold war will not be resolved from positions of weakness any more than it was in the West. And without question Israel is the West's strongest card in bringing about not another Korea, but a Middle Eastern Geneva.

WESTINGHOUSE STRIKE

Old Wounds, New Tensions . . *by William Jacobs*

Pittsburgh

ON OCTOBER 10, 1952, James B. Carey, president of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers-C. I. O., thought the folks at the Westinghouse Electric Corporation were a pretty nice bunch of fellows.

With Westinghouse President Gwilym A. Price by his side, he told the delegates at the I. U. E.'s international convention:

> What is important is that we've found a way to sit down, discuss, argue, and then resolve those differences in the truly American spirit of give and take. . . . That is the spirit and only justification for collective bargaining.
>
> We are looking forward to a better era, more productive relationship, as time goes on.

Three years later there is very little evidence that the "better era, more productive relationship" described by Mr. Carey is anywhere near at hand. In fact, it appears to be quite distant. What happened? To the 55,000 Westinghouse employees who are now on strike against the company in the current contract dispute, the reasons are not important. Their morale is shattered. Their wives are moody and angry. The workers long for the security of a stable peace between their union and their company.

The present walkout, which started on October 17 and includes both the I. U. E.-C. I. O. (44,000 members) and its rival union, the left-wing independent United Electrical Workers (10,500 members), has hit forty of the company's plants. Its origin was in a wildcat walkout that took place among 2,200 so-called "day workers" in the East Pittsburgh plant of the company last summer, when a crew of industrial engineers, with stop watches in their hands, proceeded to make time studies of such employees as janitors, watchmen, sweepers, and other "day workers" who have no incentive-pay inducement.

I. U. E. stewards immediately called protest meetings. The company, no pushover in such matters, meted out discipline to the employees who left their jobs in protest. Before anyone fully realized it, a full-blown strike was on, quickly spreading to twenty-seven other Westinghouse plants.

THE company's position was simply that it would not negotiate away its right to manage its plants. Nor would it submit those rights to interpretation by an arbitrator. The union took the position that it would arbitrate, but that it would continue the strike to protect the 2,200 day workers from the "wage-cutting and speedups" that it claimed would result if the company was permitted to take time studies of their jobs. Ultimately pressure from the union members, especially production workers who were innocent third parties to the dispute, broke the strike. On September 16 the employees voted to go back to work. The company agreed only that the time-study issue could be brought up during the national contract negotiations scheduled for the following month.

The walkout cost an estimated $9,000,000 in wages; whether the union made any real gain by projecting the day-worker issue into the national negotiations is open to serious doubt.

Early last month Westinghouse negotiators, headed by Vice-President Robert D. Blasier, sat down at the bargaining table with representatives of various unions representing its employees, including the I. U. E., the U. E., and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers-A. F. of L. Little or no progress resulted, and on October 17, the I. U. E. walked out across the nation. The U. E. joined them on October 26.

But an independent union representing some 17,000 white-collar employees, the National Federation of Independent Westinghouse Salaried Unions, broke the labor front on October 29, signing a five-year package proposal which the company offered all its workers. Immediately, Westinghouse announced similar benefits for all employees not represented by a union.

Thus today the burden of the situation rests on the shoulders of the fiery Mr. Carey, and the question most frequently asked of him is: "Why did you reject the Westinghouse offer when you accepted a similar proposal from their chief competitor, General Electric?"

The Westinghouse offer spurned by both the I. U. E. and the U. E. contains the following major proposals:

1. Pay raises for all employees of 3 per cent in 1955, 1956, and 1957; 3.5 per cent in 1958 and again in 1959. G. E. had settled for 3 per cent the first three years, 3.48 per cent the next year, and 3.46 in 1959. But the G. E. raises are cumulative; the Westinghouse raises are based on 1955 rates. "But," Westinghouse adds hastily, "present average Westinghouse wages are higher."
2. Additional raises for skilled hourly and salaried employees of ½ cent to 12 cents starting at the $1.78½ rate.
3. The minimum increase would be 4½ cents in 1955, 1956, 1957, and 5 cents in 1958 and 1959.
4. A cost of living increase averaging about 1 cent for each half-point increase in the cost of living index.

In addition, the Westinghouse offer included pension improvements, better social insurance, longer vacations in the eleven- to fifteen-year service group, and three days off with pay in the event of a death in the immediate family. The contract was to run for five years, and could be opened for "employment security" after three years.

WILLIAM JACOBS was a labor reporter and is now assistant city editor of the Pittsburgh Press.

Other matters covered in the G. E. proposal have already been in effect at Westinghouse—the union shop (in effect the last four years), supplementary pay for jury duty, and double time for work in excess of twelve hours.

Mr. Carey had termed the G. E. settlement "splendid." Why is he rejecting the similar Westinghouse offer? "The truth is," said Mr. Carey, "that Westinghouse is launching a wage-cutting and speed-up program . . . and is using time studies for non-incentive workers for this purpose. G. E. has no such program." The company, he adds, is trying to conceal the fact that it is violating the existing agreement, which still has a year to run. "Violation of the contract by the company has become, particularly during the past three years, all too common." For this reason. Carey told United States mediators to tell Westinghouse that "I absolutely will not negotiate a five-year contract."

FURTHERMORE, Mr. Carey points out, the Westinghouse offer is not as good as the G. E. settlement in a number of respects. For example: G. E. pensions for employees retiring after thirty-years service are nearly $20 per month better than Westinghouse's, and $45 per month better for employees quitting at the age of sixty after twenty-five years of service. The G. E. disability-retirement pension, after fifteen years of service, is $100 per month, while the Westinghouse figure is $63.75. G. E. life insurance is for $8,400, Westinghouse for $6,750; nevertheless G. E. employees pay $1.35 less per month in premium.

The company has a different answer as to why Mr. Carey liked the G. E. offer but refuses that made by Westinghouse. Some of its spokesmen insist that Mr. Carey disliked the G. E. contract, which was negotiated by the union's G. E. conference board while he was in Europe—and signed it on his return only because he knew he could not control the board. It is the Westinghouse theory that Mr. Carey, in order to demonstrate to the board that it could have obtained a better settlement, has determined that he will get at least a little more from Westinghouse.

Whether or not this is so, many involved in the walkout want some answers from Mr. Carey. A group of strikers' wives at the Sharon, Pennsylvania, plant recently asked him whether the strike was caused "by a fight for leadership within the I. U. E., the initial friction being caused by the signing of the five-year contract with the G. E. corporation without your full consent or blessing?" So far, Mr. Carey has not replied.

The basic issue, a spokesman for the union leader said the other day, is the time-study plan for the day workers. He asserts that the company refuses to establish any contract machinery, such as arbitration, which might arise from the instalation of an incentive system for these workers. On the other hand, the company has consistently maintained that it will not arbitrate its right to make such time studies, and it adds, "there are some questions, like wage and salary rates, which no company in a highly competitive business can rightfully delegate to an arbitrator or any other outside third party who doesn't have to live with and be responsible for the decisions he makes."

The trouble at Westinghouse goes back to World War II days, when Westinghouse employees were mostly covered by a contract between the company and the left-wing U. E. Westinghouse, like a great many other companies at that time, permitted the union certain unwonted privileges in the interest of obtaining uninterrupted production of war material. When the war ended, two things happened. The anti-Communist element in the U. E., led by Mr. Carey and Harry Block, Philadelphia C. I. O. leader, launched a determined bid either to win control of the union or to lead a majority of its members into a new union under the C. I. O. banner. Both Carey and Block made determined bids at U. E. conventions to defeat the incumbent officers. Time after time they were thrown back in disorder by the forces of Albert J. Fitzgerald, Julius Emspak, and James Matles. Finally, in 1948, C. I. O. President Philip Murray took a hand in the fight after the U. E. had flaunted C. I. O. policy and supported Henry Wallace, the Progressive Party's candidate for President. Along with a number of other left-wing C. I. O. unions, the U. E. was thrown out of the C. I. O. and the new International Union of Electrical Workers chartered to provide a home for the many anti-Communist members in the U. E.

MEANWHILE Westinghouse had to continue to do business with the old union exclusively until National Labor Relations Board machinery could be set in motion to certify the new group as bargaining agent. This meant long and bitter inter-union battles, a situation hardly conducive to stable labor relations in the Westinghouse chain. In due time, however, the I. U. E. was certified to bargain for the Westinghouse employees at East Pittsburgh. The company chose just this moment, when the new union hardly had time to consolidate its newly won ground and was still battling the U. E. desperately at other Westinghouse plants, to begin a drive to eliminate some of the privileges that the U. E. had been allowed to enjoy during the war. Immediately local union politicians, seeking to use the company's untimely "get tough" policy as a means for strengthening their own positions, claimed that the company was trying to destroy the infant I. U. E. The squabbling went on for two years or more, until the company finally countered with a move designed to stabilize the I. U. E. situation by granting it the union shop while withholding the same privilege from the U. E.

This brought peace for a time, but when the stop watches appeared in East Pittsburgh last summer, the old fights exploded. One company spokesman called the whole thing a blunder in communications. He believes that if some pains had been taken to inform the union stewards of the company's plans, the time studies might have proceeded without difficulty.

KAFKA, ARMY STYLE

Trapping the Heretic G.I. . . *by Dan Wakefield*

A FEDERAL courtroom in New York City's Foley Square turned out to be the scene, on October 18, of the greatest suspense in the army careers of eight draftees. They have seen no battlefields, and wouldn't, even if their country were engaged in a "shooting war," for the army feels that these eight soldiers can serve it best not by risking their lives but by losing their reputations.

They are eight of the many "security-risk" inductees who face the deprivation of an honorable discharge because of associations, kinships, reading, writing, and oral expressions in civilian life before being called into service. The army doesn't want them—but it waits until they are in and cannot get out without a lifetime stigma of undesirability before it dismisses them. The eight men whose case is pending in federal court had all completed basic training and put in at least six months of service when they received letters this summer listing the army's allegations against them, which ranged from Communist membership to activities of relatives.

These eight men are challenging the constitutionality of the army security program, and unless the court upholds them they face the official black marks of an "undesirable discharge," or, at best, a "general discharge, under honorable conditions." The army has cross-petitioned to dismiss the case from the federal courts, the arguments are in, and both sides are waiting. It is rumored that the army is holding up "security" proceedings on some forty other soldiers at Fort Dix until Judge David N. Edelstein announces his decision.

Outside of official spheres, thousands of civilians whose lives could eventually be affected by the current army security program are waiting, and some will meet at a rally for the eight soldiers November 22 at Carnegie Hall to hear Professor Mark DeWolf Howe of the Harvard Law School discuss the case.

It is a case that clearly tests the power of the army to invade the realm of civil rights, for it is not based on a denial of the army allegations. It is based on the rights of men to have the beliefs and associations charged in the allegations without being punished for them. None of the eight men involved filled out the army loyalty form (DD form 98). They all pleaded either the First or the Fifth Amendment, or both. Under the present army security program, which had its origin in 1950 and has been only slightly altered since, they were allowed to be inducted, although there was no possibility that any could receive an honorable discharge, no matter what his service to the army might be.

AS A matter of fact, all eight have service ratings of a least "excellent," but the form of discharge is not determined by this—even though the Universal Military Training and Service Act declares that the draftee's discharge should be based on "the character of the service he has rendered while in the armed forces."

This is one of the major points that Stanley Faulkner, an attorney for the eight plaintiffs, emphasized in his argument before Judge Edelstein. Two other key Faulkner arguments are that if the eight draftees receive anything less than an honorable discharge it will be a violation of the due-process clause of the Fifth Amendment, due to the loss of honorable-discharge property rights, and a violation of the First Amendment (freedom of speech and press) due to the army's allegations in some of the cases referring to speech and reading matter.

Assistant United States Attorney Harold Raby did not dispute these points in his argument for the army. He stuck to procedural and technical matters, reasoning that "the [plaintiff's] whole case is prematurely drawn," since the eight soldiers had not "exhausted the administrative remedies" by going through the army field-board hearing that officially determines their type of discharge. But once this determination is made, the army admits that in its judgment it cannot be legally changed. In an earlier and still pending case, that is what the army told John Harmon, who "exhausted the administrative remedies" before taking his case to a civil court and then was informed that he had already passed the point of no return. The eight soldiers are asked to wait until the brand is officially on them to complain, and then they can complain all they want and the army will be undisturbed, for by its own rule the brand is indelible.

Those who bear the brand know what it means when they try to find a job. The property right of an honorable discharge—including mustering-out pay, accumulated leave pay, and veterans benefits—is most significant in its use as an "employment passport." The standards for an honorable discharge are remarkably flexible in all cases except those that deal with security. You don't have to be Audie Murphy to qualify, and there is little likelihood that in ordinary times anyone ever got a job solely because he had an honorable discharge. But there are countless cases of men who didn't get jobs solely because they didn't have one.

THE LACK of it especially hurts the men who aspire to professions and "respectable" business positions. Of the eight men who face undesirable discharges in the case now pending, four are trained to be lawyers; one is an engineer; another holds a master's degree in English.

An "undesirable discharge," and even a "general discharge" pushes its bearer outside the bounds of "respectability." The best type of discharge the army provides for these

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Robert Leydenfrost

cases—"general"—means that the man who has it is either a homosexual, a security risk, or perhaps of such a mental caliber that he can't properly execute the manual of arms.

Thus the "security-risk" category imposed by the army carries over into civilian life. The assignation begins the moment the inductee fails to complete the loyalty form, or indicates on it what is judged to be "significant derogatory information." From that moment he becomes a character in a Kafka-like script, awaiting the inevitable "trial" of the field board hearing but not knowing when it will be or what additional allegations and questions it may involve. He may go through the motions of defense, summon his lawyers, and hope for the best, but all along everyone knows that there is no way out to an honorable discharge.

Before the hearing they wait, usually in part-time "household" jobs such as the eight draftees at Fort Dix were assigned after basic training—barracks firemen, orderly, clerk. The jobs of these eight men were suddenly switched, however, after a column by Murray Kempton discussing their case and the useless type of service they were assigned to appeared in the New York *Post*. November 1 they got new assignments as "operating personnel."

According to Army Regulation 604-10, men in the category of the eight at Dix "will be retained on specially controlled duties in the lowest enlisted pay grade permitted by law" and "not be reassigned outside the major command in whose area the training station is located."

They now have jobs in the army, but whether they will leave it with the possibility of getting jobs outside is still undetermined. The oldest among them is twenty-eight; the youngest is twenty-two. What national interest can be served by dismissing them with the stigma of undesirability is a difficult question to answer. No matter what beliefs or associations they have had in civilian life, they will carry their own rewards and punishments irrespective of scars inflicted by the army. An official "wound" is quite unnecessary, and, as these eight men hope their case will prove, unconstitutional.

BETRAYAL IN BRAZIL

A Legacy of Disorder . . *by Paulo Duarte*

[*An "anti-coup" by the Brazilian army was put through last week designed to prevent, so its leaders said, a revolt opposed to the inauguration on January 31 of President-elect Kubitschek.*]

Sao Paolo, Brazil

THE PRESIDENTIAL elections are over but the situation in Brazil remains unsettled. The country is still suffering from the betrayal of the 1930 revolution which swept Getulio Vargas into power. Vargas was elected then because of the liberal program which he espoused, and because he won to his side all those elements opposed to the corruption of the old oligarchy, in which all power was concentrated in the hands of a few patriarchal families. But Vargas was not long in office before he showed his own bent for another form of anti-democratic government—*caudillismo*, the Spanish-American version of the Franco dictatorship.

Caudillismo was typical enough elsewhere in Latin America, but Brazil, thanks to the centralizing force of the monarchy and its deep roots in the European tradition, had kept fairly clear of it. Even after the republic was proclaimed in 1889, *caudillismo* was confined more or less to Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil's southernmost state, which is strongly under the influence of neighboring Spanish-culture countries. The southern border was Getulio Vargas's birthplace, and in that climate he received his political education. So it was not surprising that, once in power, he contrived with the help of the young "lieutenants" of the 1930 revolution to subvert developments to his own ends.

The liberal movement thus would have come to an abrupt end had it not been for two important events: the 1932 revolution and the rise of Armando de Salles Oliveira to public prominence.

The 1932 uprising was not "Brazil's War of Secession," as some have claimed. It represented the effort of the state of Sao Paolo to preserve the constitutional principles of 1930 that were being betrayed by Vargas. Although the revolt was crushed by force of arms, the movement had so great an influence upon the country that Vargas felt impelled to call a constitutional assembly made up of representatives from all the states—including Sao Paolo.

Vargas was further obliged to ap-

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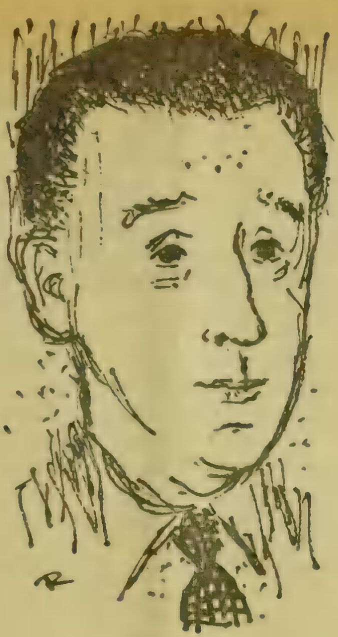
point Salles Oliveira as interim governor of Sao Paolo. Salles Oliveira was on the staff of the big daily newspaper *"O Estado de S. Paulo"* which had espoused the revolution of 1932. He displayed such statesmanly skill in office that he was elected to a regular term after the new constitution had been promulgated. His reputation continued to grow and soon he was in high esteem over the country as the logical successor to Vargas, whose term was to expire in 1938.

But Vargas had no intention of yielding power. In November, 1937, on the eve of the presidential elections, he conspired with a group of totalitarian generals to stage a *coup d'etat,* on the pretense of saving the country from a Communist plot. Salles Oliveira and several of his leading followers were exiled; a special police network was established that soon became notorious for torture and murder. *Caudillismo* had come to Brazil.

After eight years of one-man rule, Vargas was himself overthrown by the army. But he had had time to corrupt the country. He had convinced the illiterate masses that he was the "father of the poor"—but he espoused no program that would greatly benefit either peasant or worker. As long as it suited his purposes he posed as the subservient ally of the United States. When the masses became intoxicated by Communist propaganda, he reversed himself and shouted the slogan "Brazilian oil for Brazilians." He congratulated Hitler on his successes in 1940 while at the same time declaring himself the faithful friend of President Roosevelt.

This demagogic skill returned Vargas to office in 1950, and back with him came his corrupt and ruthless cronies. Four years of misrule ensued until the assassination of a young air-force officer gave a spark to growing discontent in the armed forces. When the shooting occurred in August, 1954, the air force conducted an investigation. It was learned that the real target of the killers was a journalist, Carlos Lucerda, who had refused to be intimidated by the police in his criticism of the Vargas regime. Furthermore, the killers were members of Vargas's personal guard. Air-force officers entered the presidential palace and arrested the guilty men. Vargas was forced to resign. And, after declaring that he had never suspected there was so much mud underneath his own house, he committed suicide.



Kubitschek Oliveira

A period of confused struggle for power followed between the armed forces and the cronies of Vargas. Finally, the military combined in the effort to rally the country around a single candidate who would launch a program of moral and financial restoration. But the Vargas forces—soon called "Vargas's widows" and "the eaters of the corpse"—came up with a typewritten letter they claimed their chief had written a few moments before his suicide. In it, Vargas is quoted as saying he fell a victim to foreign imperialism. Vargas could not type, nor did his family permit scrutiny of the document. Nevertheless, it served as a crowd-dazzler for the slate of candidates backed by the old gang.

The presidential candidate of the "widows" was Juscelino Kubitschek de Oliveira, the former governor of the state of Minas Gerais, whose administration had been characterized by profiteering on a large scale. Jaoa "Jango" Goulart was picked to run for vice-president. Goulart, a young adventurer from Rio Grande do Sul, was one of Vargas's favorites and held the post of secretary of labor at the time of his death. One incident in his public career indicates Goulart's character: Vargas prodded the Bank of Brazil into lending Goulart some 20,000,000 cruzeiros with which to purchase a large estate from one Gregorio Fortunato. Fortunato was Vargas's chief bodyguard and the man who later organized the assassination plot that misfired. Fortunato had, shortly before the loan, "purchased" the estate from Vargas. Thus Goulart served as a "front" in a thinly veneered shakedown of the bank.

Both Oliveira and Goulart won the endorsement of the Brazilian Communist Party in exchange for about 10,000,000 cruzeiros, according to the newspapers. Their candidacy benefited also from another source: Adhemar de Barros, former governor of Sao Paolo, entered the race and divided the anti-Vargas supporters. He is said to hold one of the largest fortunes in the country—much of it accrued while in office. Three suits against him for misappropriation of public funds were filed shortly after he announced he was going to run.

FACED with the double threat of Communist-backed candidates on the one hand and a suspected corruptionist on the other, many democratic leaders joined with the military in planning a *coup d'etat* that might save the country. However, another candidate appeared, a conservative and honest soldier named General Juarez Tavora, and the new hope he offered led to the shelving of the schemes for revolt.

Now the elections are over. Although the tabulation is not completed at this writing, the choices of the old Vargas gang, Oliveira and Goulart, appear to be the victors. General Tavora trails by about 200,000 votes in a total of 10,000,000 cast. Adhemar de Barros is a badly beaten third. But the situation hardly promises any lasting quiet in Brazil. Once Oliveira's shady past, his dalliance with the Communists, and his ties with the Vargas family become more generally known, trouble will come. Clear-sighted, democratic-minded Brazilians have already evinced their willingness to join with the armed forces in an attempt to destroy the insidious and alien weeds of *caudillismo* and gross corruption that the late Getulio Vargas implanted in their country.

BOOKS

Fiction Or Fabulous Fact?

NOTES FOR A JOURNAL. By Maxim Litvinov. Introduction by E. H. Carr and a Prefatory Note by General Walter Bedell Smith. William Morrow and Company. $3.75.

By Ernest J. Simmons

IF THE late Maxim Litvinov's "Notes for a Journal" is authentic, then it is perhaps the most sensational and significant document to emerge from behind the iron curtain in the whole thirty-eight years of the existence of the Soviet Union. Its significance rests on the claim that it contains detailed accounts of the internal and foreign policies of the Communist Party as they originated in meetings of the Politburo, as well as many revelations of the activities of the secret police, military intelligence, and of the conversations and intimate relations and actions of Stalin and the top leaders of the party, all set down by an Old Bolshevik who remained faithful to the party in deed if not always in spirit, and whose high position as People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs would most certainly have given him access to the kind of information he relates in this book.

The case for and against authenticity is well argued in the introduction by the distinguished British expert on Russia, Mr. E. H. Carr. The evidence he presents on both sides cannot be fully considered within the scope of a review. Without dismissing the possibility that the manuscript is a complete forgery or fiction, Mr. Carr cautiously concludes: "My present belief is that it contains a substratum of genuine material emanating in some form or other from Litvinov himself. But parts of it are certainly accretions added later by another hand or hands; and, while some of the accretions may be the authentic recollections of someone closely associated with Litvinov, others appear to be pure fiction."

Unfortunately, however, Mr. Carr does not specifically single out any of the entries which he believes to be "pure fiction," except "the farcical account of events in the Paris Embassy in 1930" and the early references "to an alleged Russian proclivity for stealing watches" which, he seems to believe, reflect "gossip current all over Europe in 1945." (The present reviewer can attest to the fact from his own experience that a watch was a very precious object in the Soviet Union, and the rare owners in the early days had to guard them carefully.)

FURTHER, it is not easy to agree with Mr. Carr's theory that passages of personal petty scandal, especially from 1937 on, reveal an alien second hand. There appears to be no apparent change of tone in the entries after 1937, though they are more sketchy in content and less frequent. Passages dealing with the scandalous behavior of party officials persist throughout the whole journal. Although there may have been some editing, there seems to be no conclusive evidence for doubting the authenticity of any passages or parts; either the whole is authentic or the whole is spurious.

In so far as he could obtain the facts, Mr. Carr gives the history of the manuscript. While abroad, either in the late 1930's or early 1940's, Litvinov dictated the journal from notes that he had made earlier. Two typescripts, along with a manuscript of additional entries which he dictated in the Soviet Union after his return from Washington in 1943, were entrusted to Madame Kollontai, then on a visit to Moscow from her diplomatic post in Sweden. She is supposed to have destroyed parts of the later typescript because she found there entries so compromising that she feared to carry them across the frontier (a detail of the history hard to credit, for the extant part of the manuscript as we now have it would appear to have been most compromising to anyone connected with it in the climate of terror that existed in Moscow over those years.) On her retirement in 1945 and return to Moscow, Mme. Kollontai left the manuscript in the hands of another person, presumably abroad, with the injunction that it was not to be published until after Litvinov's death (another worrisome detail in the account, for she is pretty plainly referred to in the manuscript as the recipient of it, and hence might easily have been implicated if it had been published before her death). Both Litvinov and Madame Kollontai died in 1952, after which the manuscript seems to have found its way to Russians in Paris who submitted it for publication.

The frankness, independence of judgment, and something of Litvinov's point of view on Soviet policy as revealed in the journal find support in interviews which he gave to our former Moscow ambassador, Walter Bedell Smith, and to Mr. Richard Hottelet, an American correspondent in Moscow, in 1946. If the journal is a forgery, Mr. Carr believes that the only motive for publishing it would be a commercial and not a political one for, he asserts, "the document as a whole serves no apparent propaganda purpose. . . ." Readers will differ on this latter judgment, for it will seem to some of them that the total picture presented by the journal represents a sweeping indictment of many of the policies and actions of Soviet leaders, to say nothing of their personal lives. However this may be, the bulk of material in the journal has the ring of truth. Many of the facts recorded check with what we know. If the journal is a forgery, then it is an extraordinarily skilful one and could have been perpetrated only by someone who was extremely intimate with Litvinov.

The journal covers the years from 1926 to 1939, although there are many gaps and omissions which Litvinov may have intended to fill in but never did; then there are a few brief and broken entries for later years down to 1950. Naturally the main subject is Soviet foreign policy, especially concerning the Far East and the problem of Germany. The broad lines of this policy are familiar enough, but we observe it

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ERNEST J. SIMMONS, chairman of the Department of Slavic Languages at Columbia University, is the author of various books and articles in the Russian field. He has just edited, with an introduction, "Continuity and Change in Russian and Soviet Thought."

developing in meetings of the Politburo to which Litvinov was invited, in private conversations with party leaders, or in his own comments or self-searchings in the journal. Surprising information comes to light, such as a reported visit of Mao Tse-tung to Moscow as early as 1926; the "Hunan fox," says Litvinov, was craftier than the "Georgian fox"; an early attempt of Stalin to promote peaceful "coexistence" with capitalist countries by leasing the mineral exploitation of Kamchatka to a group of New York bankers; and the amazing conspiracy, initiated by Stalin in 1928, to prevent Stresemann from entering into a bloc with the Western Powers against the Soviet Union. To this end Stalin used his own military leaders in a "plot" with the German General Staff to set up eventually a military dictatorship in Russia. If true, the effort indicates that even this early the Soviet fear of a German-Western combination had begun to dominate the country's foreign policy. Further, the "plot" sheds new light on the reasons for the execution of these same military chieftains in the purges of the 1930's; it was not the only time that prominent leaders were killed for carrying out "treasonable acts" on orders from Stalin.

THE ENTRIES indicate Litvinov's wisdom in foreign policy. "It is surprising," he remarks, "how our people regard all foreigners as fools." As early as 1929 he saw clearly that "another world war is inevitable," and that "the danger now is not in the least from countries whose capitalism is long established, but from such countries as Germany and Japan which need both markets and raw material." And in 1950 he predicts that the policy of the newly allied China and Russia, if persisted in, will lead to war. "It is said that the first step will be taken in Korea," he comments.

Though considerations of foreign policy predominate in the journal, its interest is heightened by many entries on a variety of other themes. We learn much of the bewildering ramifications of the activities of the domestic and foreign members of the secret police and military intelligence. These agents are in every nook and cranny of the world, and they seem able to produce the intimate conversations of the bedroom as easily as a precise copy of a secret agreement between nations. Manipulated by such sadistic psychopaths as Yagoda and Ezhov, they committed endless horrors many of which are recorded by Litvinov in commenting on the extermination of the opposition after the expulsion of Trotsky in 1928 through the executions of the great purges up to 1938. Conscience-stricken himself, Litvinov remarks: "I have always been opposed but, after all, I didn't do much to fight it." On more than one occasion he feared for his own life. When he left to take up his ambassadorship in the United States in 1941, he enters in the journal that Beria brutally told him that if he defected, his wife and children back in Moscow would pay with their lives.

NUMEROUS entries on the widespread prevalence of immorality among party officials and the whole foreign service suggest the evil-begetting power of evil in this nightmarish existence of constant fear. The old propaganda of the strict Puritan morality of the party was hardly subscribed to in practice by the leaders if we may believe the accounts of Litvinov, for hardly a single member of the Politburo was above reproach. Stalin himself was a leading sinner and his infidelities certainly contributed to the suicide of his wife. It is not the incidental debauchery of the great and powerful that is recorded, but the wholesale debauchery of a fear-ridden officialdom.

One of the solid contributions of the journal is Litvinov's brief but incisive and sometimes humorous portrayals of prominent Bolsheviks. His reactions, of course, are colored by his own prejudices, and especially by his sometimes justifiable conviction of the real or latent anti-Semitism of his colleagues, not excluding Stalin. Molotov and Vishinsky he obviously detested. Litvinov regarded Molotov as the party's "evil genius," a humorless, conceited, pedantic man who "understands nothing about foreign policy."

The numerous entries on Stalin add significantly to our knowledge of the man. Litvinov was plainly ambivalent in his reaction to Stalin. He regarded him as an unquestioned leader and astute in matters of policy. Stalin is cautious, he writes, "but his is the caution of a statesman. He does not want to begin anything without being 100 per cent certain of success." Yet he deplored Stalin's excessive Machiavellian tactics and his countenancing of the horrors of the secret police. With apparent disapprobation he quotes Stalin as saying: "Our party has always held formal democracy in contempt, even in its own internal affairs." And on another occasion he says of Stalin: "One can expect anything from him: he is capable of declaring himself military dictator, of disbanding the *Instantsia* (Politburo), of having the majority of its members shot. . . . Koba's (Stalin's) genuine ambition is to become the leader of world communism. . . ."

The journal reveals Litvinov himself as a clever, hardworking diplomat and a patriotic Soviet official who had won the respect of Stalin which may well account for the fact that Litvinov died a natural death. Yet he was a captive of the regime for which he worked, and in the end one gets the impression that he

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had lost all of his initial idealism. He complains that Stalin's socialism "is actually assuming a Genghis Khan character." Then in a moment of illumination he writes: "I sometimes regret that I left England. . . . It is true there was no other road and the Revolution appeared so luminous and so full of promise. . . ."

Ciardi's New Poems

AS IF. Poems New and Selected. By John Ciardi. Rutgers University Press. $3.50.

By F. Cudworth Flint

TO POEMS selected from three previous books, "Other Skies," "Live Another Day," and "From Time to Time," Mr. Ciardi has added a number of hitherto uncollected poems to make up "As If," a book which, of those I have seen by this poet, best performs for him the role he assigns to poetry when, as quoted on the dust-jacket, he says: "Poetry is AS IF's reality. When one has imagined ('lived as if') all his possibilities he may begin to guess who he is and what world this is." Even if *all* Mr. Ciardi's "possibilities" are not manifested in this book (and who could know this, except God!), the reader can at least begin to "guess" who Mr. Ciardi "is."

For one thing, he is, as the poems grouped in the sections labeled Tribal Poems and Fragments from Italy (and some of those in Some Scenes) attest, an American-born son of parents born in Italy, himself later a pilgrim to Italy, but remembering a boyhood in Medford, Massachusetts, beside

> The dirty river by religious explorers
> Named Mysticke and recorded forever into its future
> Civilization of silt and sewerage . . .

It is in poems of family reminiscence that Mr. Ciardi is least an excogitator of symbols—and how many poets, after Rimbaud, have dared refrain?—and most a *person,* affectionately detached ("having survived a theology and a war"), and warmly, appreciatively amused. The Evil Eye, recounting the efforts of worried female relatives to avert from him at his birth the curse indicated by the title, renders delightfully a scene of primitive flurry. In such poems, Mr. Ciardi does not try for dialect, or artificially limit his own point of view; he does not forget what he has learned as student of poetry. But his style is at its simplest. Any reader will find these poems immediately accessible.

The eight poems grouped under the rubric War Poems occasionally show a side of Mr. Ciardi presumably fostered by his years as a B-29 gunner in the Pacific—the now tight-lipped, now sardonic, and determinedly tough warrior who will not allow any situation or feeling to carry him overboard. No doubt, this attitude possesses a very great survival value in the actual circumstances of modern combat. What its survival value in letters may be is an open question: the future verdict on Hemingway will perhaps be the classical decision.

Poems Looking Out are about as various as one's surroundings can well be. Newsreel is an adroit and pungent imaging of the speeding up of "progress" to a climax (would a further step be conceivable?) in the instantaneity of a nuclear explosion:

> . . . we must learn
> How to take gulls apart so thoroughly
> There's only rain left, how to make eyes fingers mouth
> Of the invisible event a man is
> Behind his distance.

In other pieces (the word must have been suggested by the quotation) in this group, Mr. Ciardi's considerable gift of satire finds expression, as in Childe Horvald to the Dark Tower Came, in which he spoofs, deflatingly rather than crushingly, the chivalric-romantic-impetuous stance:

> And what would you
> Do if you were the magician hearing
> His boy-murderous blast shaking your phials and silences,
> Watching him come shouting St. Poobah and the dragon!
> Into your library and uncertainty!
> It takes
> More than civility to civilize
> The very young.

Critics in quarterlies and other places where they pontificate may be inclined to rate Mr. Ciardi by his poems in the more difficult modern manner—a hop-skip-and-jump from one fragment of imagery to another, across bottomless gulfs of implication; by such poems as Two Egrets in the section labelled Prayers, with its three fine concluding lines and its six distracting lines just preceding; or The Size of a Universe in the section Poems Looking In, where the gyrations of relativistic galaxies, super-added to the saltations of a symbolist presentation, left one reader both macrocosmically and microcosmically astray. Similarly confusing was some of the imagery in the sequence of poems To Judith with which the book opens, though here, on a second and third reading, some of the phrases presenting the body of the beloved lying beneath a wavering moonlight attained a precarious rightness. To my taste, Mr. Ciardi is most successful in this manner when the scheme of a particular poem allows him to reiterate his images. The chiming, heard and unheard, in Home Revisited: Midnight and Thursday is effective. Where the theme of a poem is embodied in ever new images, the reader comes to feel too much like a man hunting for a dozen different objects in a large and crowded Woolworth's with which he is imperfectly acquainted.

I end, rather than conclude, with a random query: Does the fact that I have, frequently enough to be remarkable, been able to understand one of Mr. Ciardi's poems up to the last two or three lines, but not to the finish, have any connection with the fact that Mr. Ciardi has "survived a theology?" It often seems to me that people who have done this do not quite succeed in confronting or evading or resolving death—and one of these strategies is almost forced upon the imagination of man. The unfulfilment of this challenge to the imagination introduces an unknown variable into every major pronouncement about life. But if this be Mr. Ciardi's predicament, it is not special to him; he is no more involved in it than many, perhaps most, of his articulate contemporaries. Moreover, his "as if's" add up, if not to a conclusion that can be asserted, at least to a humanity that can be felt.

F. CUDWORTH FLINT is chairman of the Department of English at Dartmouth College.

Emanations from Bloomsbury

THE MOTH AND THE STAR. A Biography of Virginia Woolf. By Aileen Pippett. Little, Brown and Company. $5.

By John R. Willingham

TRIAL balloons to assess the achievements of Bloomsbury and its "Bloomsberries" are sent up from time to time by the little, fashionable journals and the even smaller, would-be fashionable quarterlies. And ordinarily, before their cant runs out, Bloomsbury and its outstanding citizen, Virginia Woolf, have come in for either unqualified praise or supercilious dismissal.

Mrs. Pippett restores some of the dislocated, wrenched perspective for Mrs. Woolf and her associates, who have been under one kind of attack or another since the 1920's. This book makes it quite clear that the "Bloomsberries," early and late, were seriously concerned with the resuscitation of English thought generally and English art specifically. Without doubt, they formed a group as productive and as consecrated as England had produced since the pre-Raphaelites. The Hogarth Press, which Virginia and Leonard Woolf together operated, her interest in young writers, and her astute forays into literary criticism are revealing gauges of Bloomsbury's sense of esthetic and social responsibility. Roger Fry's labors on behalf of post-Impressionism find their nearest American counterpart in the roughly simultaneous crusading of Alfred Stieglitz. The ivory tower into which the Woolfs and their associates have been so often and so rudely forced by critical cliche hardly squares with the widely liberal political, social, and artistic interests of Bloomsbury.

It was Virginia Woolf's peculiar role, however, to transform something of Victorian earnestness into the vital shape of the modern novel and literary criticism. No small boon (and handicap, as well), as she recognized, it was to have been born the daughter of the formidable Leslie Stephen, to have spent her formative years within his aura, and to have absorbed so very much of his sincerity, his wide knowledge of literature, and his remarkable concentration. Throughout her literary career, she had to cope with the shade of this father and what he would have had to say about her work. If he had lived on, she admitted once, she probably would have done no writing at all.

She had the same sense of devotion to her craft—whether she was operating at any given moment as novelist, short-story writer, critic, or essayist—that eminent Victorians like her father and the Stephen family's friend, Henry James, had held. How seriously she took her work is revealed by the hell of doubt in which she suffered from the time she finished a piece of work until her husband and her public had passed a favorable judgment on it. And her physical and mental sufferings during the writing of her later books have been reported in some detail by her biographers and critics, whose reports are eloquently sustained by entries in her diary and her letters to Vita Sackville-West (both generously plumbed by Mrs. Pippett). But her work found favor with a larger audience during her lifetime than either her father or James had enjoyed (she even made the American best-seller lists with "The Years" in 1937). And of course her essays and reviews appeared frequently in British and American newspapers and periodicals of fairly general circulation.

Fourteen years after her suicide her real importance lies in the technical innovations her work suggested or in those upon which she fashioned refinements toward the exciting evolution of the twentieth-century English novel. No one in recent English fiction has been able to evoke as sharply as she the essence of the "moment," with all its intensity of awareness and its rich poetic imagery. The character of her work undeniably changed after she read and absorbed the meaning and lessons of Joyce's "Ulysses" and Dorothy Richardson's "Pilgrimage." And she profited by the exchange of ideas with her good friends, Vita Sackville-West, the poet, and Elizabeth Bowen, the novelist. But her work is never weakly derivative; her impressions, her ability to "make figures," the necessity of following her own bent were all too strong.

Once she asked in a letter to a friend, "Do we then know nobody?" And she immediately supplied the answer herself: "Only our own versions of them, which, as likely as not, are emanations from ourselves." Among the numerous biographers and critics of Virginia Woolf who have produced studies during the past few years, Mrs. Pippett encourages considerably greater faith in her "emanations." Her book is the product of a faithful storing and careful collation of "reverberations" to houses, neighborhoods, personalities, letters, journals, and events intimately associated with Virginia Woolf. As should be the case with a deliberate artist like Virginia Woolf, Mrs. Pippett's book makes no tiresome distinction between her subject's esthetic aims and accomplishments and the other compartments of her life. With Virginia Woolf, they were all peculiarly one and are so considered in this book. The result is the most revealing and certainly the most readable account so far of Virginia Woolf and her work.

JOHN R. WILLINGHAM is assistant professor of English at Centenary College of Louisiana.

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The Age of Palmerston

VICTORIAN PEOPLE. By Asa Briggs. The University of Chicago Press. $5.

By George Dangerfield

ALTHOUGH one may read this book with interest, and often with delight, it is clear that, somewhere in the course of it, Mr. Briggs has lost sight of his objectives. These are quite explicit. "The method I have adopted in his book," he writes, "is to try to discover the unity of society through a study of selected people who were alive and active in the 1850's and 1860's." This unity, we learn, may be expressed in terms of its refusal to become a "business society"; and this refusal was achieved through the resistance of small country gentry, the rise of a new civil service with a code of duty and self-restraint, the faithfulness of the world of labor to class solidarity, and the conformist attitudes of the business community itself.

This is a very interesting thesis, and it is a happy substitute for the more traditional explanation of this era in terms of a great trade boom. If Mr. Briggs loses sight of it, or fails to develop all its implications, it is because he is too willing to take his mid-Victorians at their own valuation. The Stracheyan method of turning their more characteristic utterances against them is no doubt old-fashioned; but the new anxiety to lend them a rather more than friendly ear is equally so. Critical no less than historical sense would seem to indicate that the past should be housed in some edifice that is neither a blackened sepulchre nor a whited one.

THUS Mr. Briggs's portrait of Robert Applegarth is a fascinating portrait of a high-minded, intelligent, and courageous labor leader; and Applegarth was all of these things. But the author's insistence upon an uncritical approach leads us to suspect that he sometimes interprets Applegarth more in terms of what he wished to be than of what he was. The man who said that the unions should be as much creatures of law as "all corporations and every club among the upper classes in Pall Mall and St. James'" betrays, by his similes, a kind of thinking which Briggs simply ignores. In the same way, by making Trollope's "The Way We Live Now" an exception to Trollope's canon, he misses the point that Trollope in novel after novel made the upper classes not only imitable but (in their terrible anxiety about money) *purchasable* also. In this way he acquiesced in the triumph of that plutocracy which, as we learn from "The Way We Live Now," he sincerely detested; and one of the notes of his peculiar genius is the endless combinations he can get out of suffusing a traditional society with the new money values that are destined to engulf it. Almost any novel of Trollope's, from "Doctor Thorne" to "Mr. Scarborough's Family," contains a faint prevision of the appalling vulgarity of the Edwardian era.

Indeed, the unity of the Age of Palmerston must sometimes be interpreted as a subliminal gift for denying what it seems to mean and for heralding what it appears to hate. John Bright's great battle for reform was also a great battle for the negative state. The radical assault upon the old public-school system ended in the emergence of the new middle-class public schools, with their emphasis on gentility, "good form," and conservatism. In short, the conformity to tradition in the Age of Palmerston was both a unifying and a corroding factor. There are only transient traces of this is Briggs's book. I feel after reading it that, charming and instructive as its portraits certainly are, the author has succeeded in illuminating, not the unity of mid-Victorian society, but one of the dilemmas of contemporary England. Such are the odd effects of taking the past at its own word.

GEORGE DANGERFIELD is the author of "The Era of Good Feelings" and other books.

Selected New Books

Fiction

THE CALL FROM CALLE MORENO. By Maria Flores. Doubleday. $3.95. An expose novel of Peron's government in Argentina. Miss Flores, long familiar with the Peron regime, forcefully brings home the fact that dictatorship, no matter what the verbiage involved, exists by brutality. Her indictment, however, is seldom tempered by motivation; there is little depth to her portrait of police sadism and neuroticism.

THE YEARS OF THE CITY. By George R. Stewart. Houghton Mifflin. $4.50. The life and death of a Greek city-state, in a fine historical novel by the author of "Storm" and "Fire." Mr. Stewart wastes no effort on literary pyrotechnics; his book is scholarly, capable, and authentic.

THE LAST SUPPER and Other Stories. By Howard Fast. Blue Heron. $3. Powerful short stories of anger and despair in this new volume by Howard Fast. Unfortunately, Mr. Fast's range has narrowed past the point of diminishing returns; he seems preoccupied with his target rather than his fiction.

LORD OF THE FLIES. By William Golding. Coward-McCann. $3.50. A haunting story of savagery and fear, as English schoolboys find themselves isolated on a Pacific atoll. Mr. Golding, despite a deceptively casual manner, makes a slight tale into a symbol of instinct, the dark undersurface of the civilized mind. This is a "sleeper" in the best sense—readable and provocative fiction.

PARTISANS. By Peter Matthiessen. Viking. $3. The ideological Odyssey of a young man in postwar Paris. Some fine handling of scene and neat, controlled narrative. The difficulty with ideological touring, however, is the fact that the author must give some indication that he knows where he is going; Mr. Matthiessen is rather vague on this score, and ultimately the reader is left in the same condition.

NOT THE GLORY. By Pierre Boulle. Translated from the French by Xan Fielding. Vanguard. $3.50. Pierre Boulle, a novelist of clarity and wit, seems to have repeated himself in this story of a spy who is so much the technician he becomes a hero to the enemy. In "The Bridge Over the River Kwai" Mr. Boulle told of a Colonel Blimp working for the Japanese; in his new novel he writes of a Nazi doing the same thing for the British. The situation is still amusing, but now rather familiar.

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Music

B. H. Haggin

REVIEWERS continue to praise Thomas Scherman, conductor of the Little Orchestra Society, for his interesting programs of unfamiliar and new music, in the face of the actual programs that continue on the one hand to demonstrate Mr. Scherman's inability to judge what unfamiliar and new music is worth playing and what is not, and that on the other hand include works as familiar as Beethoven's Violin Concerto. The society's first concert of the season demonstrated Mr. Scherman's lack of every kind of judgment involved in the making of programs—in deciding, that is, what is worth playing, what to play with what else, how much to give the audience at one sitting. It was right to play Mozart's unfamiliar Piano Concerto K.451—right, that is, to give the public a hearing of one of the less interesting major specimens of that great genre; and similarly it was right also to play one of the less impressive works of one of the impressive figures of the twentieth century, the Concertino for piano and seven instruments by Janacek. But it was right to play them only if the other works on the program were of first quality; and it was wrong to offer them with the "first performances in New York" of a lengthy piece of inconsequential manipulation, the Argentine composer Ginastera's "Variaciones Concertantes," and the Symphony No. 2 of Gounod, whose inanity drove me out of the hall after two movements. Firkusny, who was the piano soloist, played more effectively in the Janacek piece with its dynamic sonorities and rhythms, than in the Mozart, in which he produced melodic phrases as mere insipid successions of notes without cohesive tension or contour.

As it happened K.451 was played again a few days later by Serkin and the New York Philharmonic under Mitropoulos; and the Sunday afternoon broadcast I heard offered also the Concerto K.503, which is the least played and least known of the great examples of the form (the only previous performances in New York being Schnabel's with the Philharmonic in 1944), possibly because it makes its effect not by the profusion of immediately appealing melodies of the other examples, but by grandeur of style and by the now dramatic, now subtle play with tonality, which the eighteenth-century ear was more sensitized to than ours. This calls for skillful articulation in performance, which the work did not get in the broadcast performance. Serkin's fingers too produced no cohesive tension in melody even when they sentimentalized it; and the only thing they did with passage-work was to execute it with the utmost in speed, in a performance which Mitropoulos paced too fast for the first movement to achieve its effect of grandeur.

James Fassett's performances in the intermissions of the Philharmonic broadcasts are inept and annoying intrusions I avoid; this time, however, I was interested in what Serkin might have to say about the two concertos in a conversation Fassett had taped in Serkin's home in Vermont; but he turned out to have very little that he could or would say. Fassett began by talking about a cadenza used in the performance of K.451 that had just been broadcast: In place of the one printed in the score, he said, Serkin had used another that Mozart sent his sister in a letter; and he asked Serkin to play "first the printed cadenza" and then "the one he wrote in a letter to his sister Nannerl." Serkin obligingly played the two requested passages without saying anything about their being not two cadenzas but two versions of a melodic episode in the Andante movement—the first the passage in its bare essentials as printed in the score, the second these essentials filled in with the ornamentation which the eighteenth-century pianist was expected to supply in performance. Moving on to K.503 Fassett asked whether this concerto was "the one with the finale in rondo form [that is a sort of] perpetuum mobile"; to which the audibly flustered Serkin refrained from replying that it was one of a number with such finales. And he was understandably inarticulate even when Fassett asked a sensible question—why K.503 hadn't been played as often as the other concertos: "No explanation," was Serkin's answer, which he could amplify only with the repeated exclamation "A marvelous work!"

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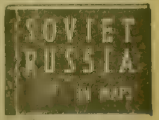

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Slippers" is mediocre and feeble; and while this may be because it is an early work or because it was written for a prize competition, it may also be because nothing better was elicited by a libretto which the New York City Opera Company would have done better not to make understandable by translation. All of which amounts to saying the work wasn't worth producing; and the musical shortcomings were not gilded over by the coarse-grained performance conducted by Rosenstock, with tremulously shrill singing by Jean Fenn that increased the unpleasantness of the character of Oxana; nor was the effect of the libretto improved by the tasteless and amateurish production designed by Remisoff and staged by Rosing, in which for example one saw young Vakula in snow-covered winter clothing in a scene with girls in summer dresses. But I should add that Richard Cassilly exhibited a fine tenor voice, and that there was good singing by others in the cast.

Refreshing after all this was a final appearance by Escudero and a supporting company, which offered memorable last experiences of the contained outline, the elegance and distinction, of his silhouette; of his now quietly intricate, now spectacularly brilliant and powerful footwork; and of the controlled suppleness of Carmita Garcia.

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Letters

Student Strikebreakers

Dear Sirs: It is with great interest that I read Mr. Youngdahl's perceptive discussion of student-strikebreakers in the October 15 issue. This is a subject which has been ignored for the most part by the collegiate press and student groups.

However, unions themselves must share part of the blame because of the apathy, if not hostility, most unions show toward campus programs in areas where student groups and unions have common goals, such as the abolition of discrimination in employment, federal aid to education, election of liberal candidates, etc. Also, most unions have shown a conspicuous lack of interest in the civil liberties and academic-freedom problems which have in the last few years been of primary concern to liberal students. How many labor leaders have communicated any desire for their assistance to students?

PAUL BRESLOW
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sirs: Mr. Youngdahl might like to know that all is not lost: One of my friends here at the University of Chicago figures that he took an $800 beating this summer because he refused to "scab" on a lake boat. Also, last year a flying picket squad was organized by acquaintances of mine and went out once at 4:00 a. m.

RICHARD HELLIE
Chicago, Ill.

Wrong Alma Mater

Dear Sirs: We would like to call your attention to an error that appeared in your issue of October 22, 1955. In an article entitled Respectable Racism, Mr. Dan Wakefield states that W. J. Simmons, secretary for one of the units of the Citizens Councils, "prepared for the task ahead with a B. A. at Millsaps College. . . ." Mr. Simmons does not hold any degree from Millsaps College. He transferred to our school after one year at Mississippi College, and withdrew from Millsaps College after one year's study here.

PAUL D. HARDIN, Registrar
Jackson, Miss.

A Matter of Figures

Dear Sirs: I have just finished reading an article in your September 17 issue by Nathan Perlmutter called Liberalism Cum Sex, in which he makes the statement that the circulation of the New York World Telegram and Sun "has fallen sharply from 541,000 to 519,000." The fact is that the newspaper's circulation was 570,000 at the September Audit Bureau of Circulation reckoning. The March 1955 figure was 560,000.

RALPH A. BROOKS
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Perlmutter's Reply

Dear Sirs: My figures are the Audit Bureau of Circulation figures for 1952-1954. Whereas they are annual figures, the ones quoted by Mr. Brooks are monthly. The annual circulation figure is seemingly a more accurate indication of a state of affairs than is a particular month's account. It does appear, in the hindsight of October, that the 1955 W. T. and S. circulation will rise—in no small measure due to the death of the Brooklyn Eagle, also an afternoon paper. At the time I wrote my article, however, the final circulation figure for 1955 was elusive—and will remain so until the end of the year

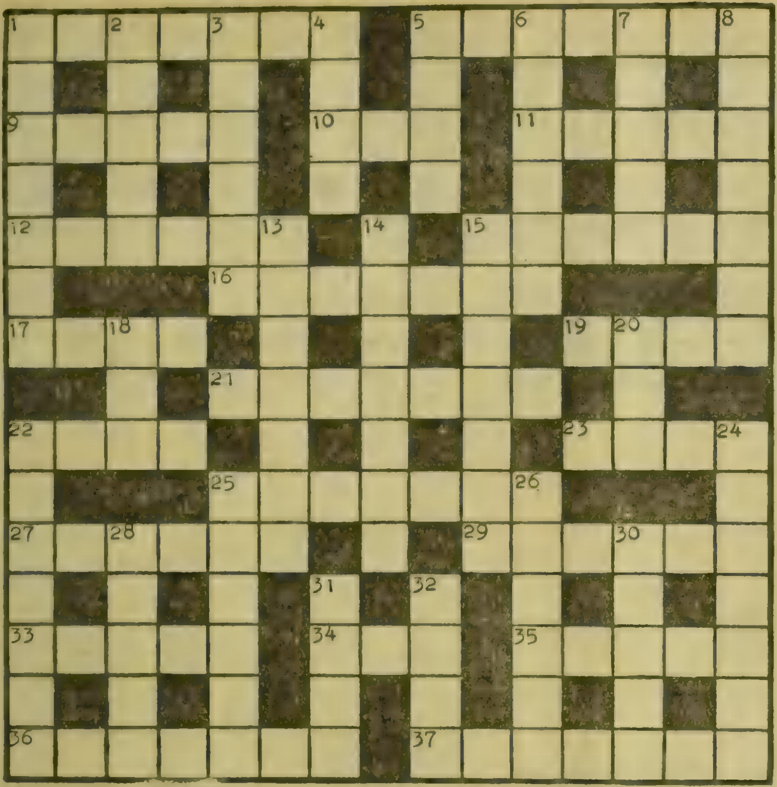
NATHAN PERLMUTTER
Montclair, N. J.

CORRECTION

Edgar Snow's editorial in the O
ber 29 issue of The Nation should
referred to "50,000,000 inhabit
(not 5,000,000) of French Africa
to "2,000 square miles" (not acr
Kikuyu lands.

Crossword Puzzle No. 646

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1, 12, 5 across, 36, 20 and 37 Some DC horsemen entered [illegible] low place in Southern California. (4,3,6,2,5, 4,3,3,7)
9 Crushed stone. (5)
10 Sounds like the alternative might cause a row. (3)
11 See 1 down.
12 See 1 across.
15 Not quite so nice for a songbird. (6)
16 They 34. (7)
17 See 35 across.
19 This is the way things stand. (2,2)
22 and 21 The last word in women's costume, descriptive of an aster. (4,7)
23 Hewers of wood. (4)
25 Doesn't follow the straight and narrow. (7)
27 Subject to the payment of what 16 might leave. (6)
28 Outside, if I can't get it inside. (6)
33 He gets around everything to create a well-known orchestra. (5)
34 16 probably do, but it's nothing to us. (3)
35 and 17 Save us from such horror! (Unless it's [illegible] obviously side dish!) (5,4)
36 and 37 See 1 across.

DOWN

1, 11, 18 and 14 It implies one might associate cats and dogs with the consequences of even [illegible] small come-down. (2,5,5,3,2,5)
2 One and five do 20 down. (5)
[illegible] and 28 It doesn't imply the greens are kept in order. (6,5)
4 Turned back collar of 9. (4)
5 14 with the pit removed could be sour. (4)
6 Constraint. (6)
7 Excuse. (5)
8 The loss is welcome to travelers. (7)
13 Chrome, as an exampple of them. (Park with [illegible] sort of 4.) (7)
14 See 1 down.
15 Arranged and rearranged 36 without the added color. (7)
18 See 1 down.
20 See 1 across.
22 Hide the old king around it. (7)
24 Attain the desired object and come next into the office. (7)
25 The way of the setter? (6)
26 Time that goes into dressing for 28? (6)
28 See 3 down.
30 Bent. (5)
31 Look to be usually marked off by fissure. (4)
32 The net result of keeping me quiet? (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 645

ACROSS: 1 and 20 down LITTLE BY LITTLE; 5 TONGUE; 9 MANX CAT; 10; WITHERS; 11 NERVINE; 12 RELINES; 13 MAN OF THE WORLD; 15 PRESSING NEEDS; 21 GRIMACE; 22 SWAHILI; 23 ACTIONS; 24 ATTRACT; 25 SADIST; 26 ETHYLATE. DOWN: 1 LAMENT; 2 TANTRUM; 3 LECTION; [illegible] BUTTERFINGERS; 6 OUTFLOW; 7 GLEANER; 8 EAST SIDE; 10 WORTH ONE'S SALT; 14 SPYGLASS; 16 EVICTED; 17 SEASONS; 18 EXACTLY; 19 SPIRAEA.

Readers [illegible] invited to send for [illegible] free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address r[illegible] to Puzzle Dept., The Nation. 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, New York

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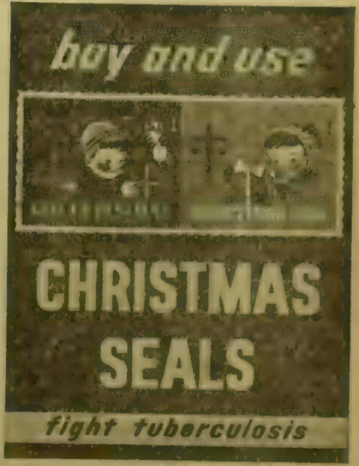

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THE Nation

NOVEMBER 26, 1955
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SEQUEL TO GENEVA

by Terence Prittie

THE ISSUE: FREEDOM

Place: The Supreme Court

by David L. Weissman

THE RUSTED GATE

McCarran-Walter Politics

by J. Campbell Bruce

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Letters

Peace Proposal

Dear Sirs: Everybody wants peace. Nobody wants war. We all—the people on both sides of the cold war—know that outright war would be disastrous to all. Yet governments continue with competitive armaments, with irreconcilable declarations in regard to objectives, and with dangerous maneuvers along the precipice of war.

Our relentless military strategists recognize that we must avoid war, but insist that we must keep on maintaining and developing our "defensive" might so as to hold off attack from the other side, which is pursuing exactly the same "defensive" strategy. This so-called "balance-of-power" system is conceived as the "practical" way to prevent war; that it will gradually lead to settlement of disputes, and so will bring about "realistic" conditions of peace.

History furnishes little support for the balance-of-power approach to peace. It shows quite definitely the contrary. Competitive armaments and warlike stances lead almost inevitably to war. Furthermore, balance-of-power groups are notoriously unstable; then group break-ups create extra incitements to war. History—and common sense—both show that the continued cold-war course will probably lead to actual war and world disaster.

Well then, what can and should we do for safe achievement of peace? In general the answer is simple, if only governments could be induced to use sense, and to formulate policies and programs accordingly. What is needed, first, is a definite two-sided agreement on a clear-cut peace program, and, second, effective enforcement of the agreement.

First, the agreement. This must provide at the outset for complete military disarmament by the key nations in the competitive power groups, and finally must apply to all nations with military potentials. The agreed-to disarmament must include all kinds of bombs and the means of carrying or projecting them, all air, naval, and land forces and their equipment, and all instrumentalities that can be used for military aggression and war. Only police forces with limited armaments would be retained by individual nations to provide against internal disorders; but strict control would be necessary to prevent conversion of internal-police forces into military contingents that might be used for aggression and war.

Second, effective enforcement. The agreement must provide explicitly for an appropriate administrative agency which, through its own inspection and military forces, would carry out the terms of the agreement. The agency must furnish assurance, first, that all nations will actually disarm; second, that none will clandestinely rearm; third, that no nation can or will attack another. It must have appropriate organization—with full responsibility and power—to enforce the peace agreement. Each nation must be able to rely safely on enforcement; otherwise it must be left free to decide on internal affairs and dealings with other nations.

The best available enforcement agency would be the United Nations, through the Security Council. This body, however, would have to be transformed into a positive administrative organ, without being subject to veto by any nation, also without policy-making power except on enforcement decisions. It would have the full duty and power to maintain peace in accordance with the international agreement.

Such an administrative body is essential to a reliable and enforcable peace program. Mere agreement for disarmament is no good, nor are agreed-to partial steps toward disarmament. Outright full-disarmament, with effective enforcement, is essential. Here has been the dual lack of the present United Nations and of the past League of Nations; neither provided squarely for disarmament and reliable enforcement.

TO ESTABLISH the necessary enforcement agency will be a fundamental and essential part of the outright peace agreement. Until we have such an overall agreement, with reliable enforcement, we cannot have peace; we shall continue constantly on the brink of war, shall have to bear the enormous burdens of military preparedness, and shall remain in dubious position as to our world objectives.

I shall make three procedural suggestions. First and foremost, that the United States government submit the proposed peace plan to our main allies and then to Russia. There is, of course, the possibility that Russia would agree; if so, peace would be on the way. If not, we should certainly gain enormously in prestige as honest-to-goodness supporters of peace.

Second, since there is little probability of our government submitting a clean-cut peace plan unless strongly pressed to do so, clear-seeing individuals might write to the President, the Secretary of State, and to their Senators and Congressmen, and urge adoption and submission of the plan. Local peace groups could be organized, and peace resolutions forwarded to the responsible government officials. Grass-roots pressure is important.

Third, that The Nation espouse the plan and furnish much needed leadership for discussion and promotion of peace essentials. There are many aspects of the plan that reasonably involve detailed explanation and consideration, which naturally had to be by-passed here; questions and letters to The Nation would help toward fruitful discusion of what is needed for a peaceful and decent world.

JOHN BAUER

Chatham, N. J.

Determining Factor?

Dear Sirs: It seems to me that in his article on the White Citizens Councils, in the October 22 issue, Mr. Wakefield omitted one pertinent fact: Mississippi's present attorney general and governor-elect, J. P. Coleman, drew up the state charter for this group, and spoke before every local chapter immediately prior to his formal announcement of his candidacy for governor. Many people consider this a determining factor during the August primaries; Coleman is the first person since 1923 to win the governorship in his first campaign for that office.

PAUL C. WARD

Philadelphia, Miss.

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THE *Nation*
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Geneva: The Second Round

The American political impulse to blow hot and cold, to swing from one extreme to another, is much in evidence in editorial post-mortems on the Geneva conference. On all sides—or nearly so—one is told that "the Geneva spirit" has vanished into thin air; that "the cold war is on again"; that "the glowing sunlight of July" has given way to "the chill of an Alpine November." Oddly enough these bursts of gloom-and-doom have emanated from much the same sources that were so lyrical about "the Geneva spirit" last summer. Perhaps because we did not share the exuberance of July we cannot accept the gloom of November.

There was little justification for the belief that agreement might be reached at Geneva on the issues of German unification and European security. Neither side went to the "second round" with new constructive proposals; not enough time had elapsed for new attitudes to emerge. Both sides were captives of the past, caught in a tangle of policies, positions, and pronouncements which could not be modified or abandoned. Nevertheless, as Edmund Stevens notes in the *Christian Science Monitor*, "the shadow of fear which hung over the Berlin session" was notably missing at Geneva. For a tacit accord was reached at the summit conference not to engage in mutual nuclear extermination. This accord has not been rescinded nor is it likely to be. Hence there is no more reason to believe that "the cold war is on again" than that the conditions for peaceful coexistence have been established. What we have at the moment, as one correspondent puts it, is "an interval of coattrition," a period in which both sides can, if they will, prepare to retreat from some of their fixed positions. Even Russia's curt refusal to encourage increased cultural contacts—the most disappointing aspect of the conference—should not obscure the fact that contacts have increased this last year and will evidently continue to increase.

The public's disappointment is due more to the false hopes raised by Mr. Dulles that the Soviets might accept Western terms on Germany, just to demonstrate that they are good fellows, than to the results of the conference, which were clearly foreseeable. More disturbing is the fact that the Administration seems to be of two minds about them. Charles E. Wilson, back from Geneva, is confident that the results do not imply "an intensification of the cold war" but the *Journal of Commerce* (November 17) quotes an unnamed "high policy-maker . . . an Eisenhower official" as saying that "there is no doubt in high Administration circles that the cold war is being renewed." Fortunately Mr. Wilson, not his unnamed colleague, is still Secretary of Defense.

Japan on the March

With the Japanese Ambassador assuring the National Foreign Trade Convention in New York that Japan's economic life, "her very being as a free, democratic nation," depends on her ability to sell to this country a volume of goods more nearly equal to that which it buys here; and with Representative Francis E. Walter (didn't the Democrats used to be free-traders?) assuring the National Association of Blouse Manufacturers on the same day that the sixteen-fold increase in the volume of imported Japanese blouses threatens the American cotton-blouse industry with "absolute destruction," an issue has been joined on what promises to be a major battle over trade policies.

Two aspects of this issue have not been widely noted. One is the sensational Japanese economic recovery. In two years, Japan's trade exports have nearly doubled; for the first time in the post-war period its trade balance is actually in the black. According to a dispatch by Keyes Beech which appeared in the Toronto *Star* of November 11, Japanese foreign-exchange reserves are three times more than West Germany's. Its trade boom, moreover, shows remarkable diversification: pajamas, oil tankers, cameras, fertilizers, shipbuilding, textiles. Its textile industry, rebuilt since the war with American aid, is thoroughly modern and highly competitive. The second neglected aspect of the issue is closely related to the first. Not long ago Japan's textile workers, the lowest paid in the world, went on strike—140,000 strong—against Japan's "big ten" manufacturers. The strike was called by the All-Japan Textile Workers Union, an affiliate of Zenro, a moderate, responsible federation. According to Gordon Walker in a report to the *Christian Science Monitor*, the average Japanese textile worker's wage before the strike was roughly $34 a month, of which about $10 is earmarked for taxes. The Japanese Seamen's Union and the British Trade Union Congress were prepared, at the outset, to give full support to the strike. But dissension developed within the union, some groups returned to work, and soon the strike was broken, leaving the workers' deplorable status virtually unchanged. It is apparent that Japan's "very being as a free, democratic nation" does not depend on the payment of a living wage to its textle workers, mostly young girls just out of high school who, pleased with the slight increase their strike won, passively toddled off to their straw-mat dormitories.

Civil Liberties Scoreboard

The composition of the twelve-man commission belatedly appointed by President Eisenhower, Vice-President Nixon, and House Speaker Rayburn, pursuant to a resolution which Congress adopted last summer, reflects a firm bipartisan determination to keep the loyalty-security issue in mothballs during the 1956 campaign. Not a single member named, notes Americans for Democratic Action, "has distinguished himself in the field of civil liberties." Were these the only individuals in the nation who could pass the special security-clearance tests which must have been improvised for this commission? Note, too, that the commission must file its final report on December 31, 1956—shortly after the votes have been counted.

Fortunately Senator Hennings's subcommittee, after backing away from the issue of religious freedom, has gotten off to a good start with its hearings on the First Amendment. Alexander Meiklejohn, Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Morris Ernst, and Dr. Thomas I. Cook testified in a forthright manner that has doubtless disqualified all of them from government employment under present security tests. Dr. Meiklejohn, in particular, demonstrated a Holmesian instinct for the jugular. "The question, 'Are you a Republican?' or 'Are you a Communist?' when accompanied by the threat of harmful or degrading consequences . . . is an intolerable invasion of the reserved powers of the governing people." There is a radical error, he said, in the theory that we must balance security against freedom; freedom is our security.

Freedom Minus Two

The death, within a few days of each other, of two such citizens as Bernard de Voto and Robert Sherwood leaves those of us who treasure freedom feeling unsupported and lonely. De Voto was a student of the American past and a critic of its present; he chided us to our advantage. Sherwood, more directly active in his country's affairs, was perhaps the most persuasive idealist of our time. The men were alike in that they understood the business of being free men in a free society. They worked hard at being useful citizens; it never occurred to them that this was a reason for praise, or that others might be doing less.

A special issue of The Nation on the status of the American labor movement, originally scheduled for December 3, will appear on December 10.

THE ISSUE: FREEDOM

Place: The Court . . *by David L. Weissman*

Washington

IN ITS COURTROOM, velvet-draped between massive Greek pillars and acoustically so wretched that the voices from the bench are almost still-born, the Supreme Court heard argument in the case brought by the Communist Party challenging the order of the Subversive Activities Control Board directing it to register under the McCarran Internal Security Act of 1950. The case, raising as it does issues that go to the very foundation of our democratic system, would be of first importance at any time. What lends it added importance is that it comes to the highest court at a time when a general reappraisal, in which the courts are participating, of the past decade's direction is taking place in the country.

Yet, though the Justices and counsel treated the issues with gravity, there was somehow lacking that air of momentousness which the case should have evoked. The courtroom was hardly more than half-full. Only a few lawyers were present as observers. And the press found the small section allotted to it more than ample. Whether this lack of attention was because Washington is now between Congressional sessions or because it has come to take such affairs, so important from the point of view of a provincial from New York, in stride, this observer cannot say.

The Internal Security Act of 1950 imposes a variety of registration, reporting, and labeling requirements, civil disabilities, and criminal sanctions on "Communist-action" and "Communist-front" organizations and their members. The act creates the Subversive Activities Control Board and provides that an organization found by it to be one of those mentioned in the act must register; must label its publications and literature as being disseminated and identify its radio and television broadcasts as being sponsored by a Communist organization; must file an itemized statement of all funds

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DAVID L. WEISSMAN is a New York lawyer who has written on constitutional and other legal issues.

received and their sources, as well as a vast amount of other information, including the printing machines, duplicating machines, etc., which they own or have an interest in, and must, in the case of a "Communist-action" organization, file a list of members along with their addresses.

In the case of a "Communist-front" organization, the same result is accomplished by regulations providing that a list containing the names and addresses of all donors, which includes all dues-paying members, must be filed. A member of a "Communist-action" organization must register if the organization fails to register or if it does but fails to list him. The standards of membership, especially as supplemented by the Communist Control Act of 1954, are very broad and vague. Some of the tests are whether the putative member has imparted any information to anyone in behalf of the organization, has indicated a willingness to carry out "any" of its purposes or has "in any other way" participated in its objectives.

THE CIVIL disabilities imposed by the act upon members, aside from the stigma attached to registration, include: denial of the right to apply for or use a passport; prohibition of holding any non-elective government position or office or employment in a labor organization, and, in the case of a member of a "Communist-action" organization, employment in any defense facility, whether related to classified material or not; denaturalization if recently naturalized; ineligibility for naturalization if an alien; and deportation. Violation is punishable by imprisonment or fine, the severity in some instances being very great. For example, in the event a member under a duty to register fails to do so he is punishable by imprisonment not exceeding five years or a fine not exceeding $10,000, each day of failure constituting a separate offense.

Immediately involved in the case before the Court is that portion of the act which relates to "Communist-action" organizations. The lower court, Judge Bazelon dissenting, had affirmed an order of the S. A. C. B. finding the Communist Party such an organization and directing it to register. In the Supreme Court briefs as friends of the court urging reversal were filed by the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Lawyers Guild, and 360 prominent citizens—three Nobel-prize winners, scientists, artists, clergymen, educators, doctors, lawyers, and one United States Senator (McNamara of Michigan). The American Bar Association filed a brief as friend of the court urging affirmance.

The government's brief defends the act on the basis that it is no more than a disclosure regulation and that such infringement as it imposes on the First Amendment guaranties of freedom of association and expression are indirect and justified by the needs of national security. The American Bar Association's brief argues in the familiar fashion of "Heresy, Yes—Conspiracy, No,", that no one's freedom of thought or speech is controlled by the act "unless they result from foreign domination of the Communist movement." It also argues that the act is only a statute for disclosure.

The Communist Party attacks the claim that the act is a mere disclosure regulation as a pose. It argues that the act was designed to outlaw the party and to punish its officers and members solely for their association, and provides a basis for similar treatment of other organizations. The briefs of the 360 citizens and the Lawyers Guild argue that, while the act was ostensibly framed as a disclosure measure, it operates in practice to destroy, or at least hopelessly cripple, all organizations found to come within it. The briefs of the friends of the court concern themselves especially with the impact the act, if sustained, will have on the freedom of the people generally. They urge that interference with the First Amendment freedoms of any group is bound to have a deleterious effect on the political health of the whole community. They urge further that the standards of what constitute "Communist front" and membership are so broad that any organization or person whose policies or views do not differ sharply from those of the Communist Party on any public issue has reason to fear possible application of the act. And the guild's brief warns that, if upheld, the precedent would furnish a basis for state power over Socialist, Zionist, Roman Catholic, scientific, and cultural organizations or any other groups with international affiliations and over organizations which support or are influenced by them although they have no international affiliation of their own. The brief of the 360 citizens argues that the act "legislates a new orthodoxy" and that it raises a real and present danger which "may cause us to lose sight of our own heritage and to destroy it in the name of defending it." Finally, all the briefs emphasize that the act is an effort to thwart normal, legitimate functioning, and not merely that which is illegitimate, and argue that, since the established test is *what* is done and said and not *who* does or says it, the act is too sweeping to be constitutional.

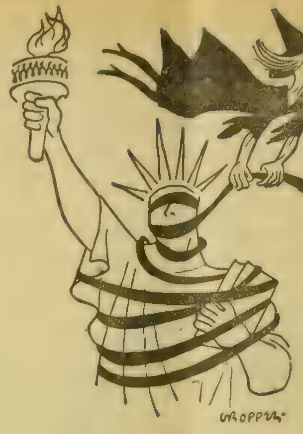
IN ADDITION to the First Amendment issues mentioned the case presents a number of others, among them the following: Whether the registration requirements violate the Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination (the ground on which Judge Bazelon dissented); whether the evidence before the S. A. C. B. supports its finding that the party is under foreign domination so as to constitute it a "Communist-action" organization within the definition of the act; and whether the lower court erred in denying the party's application for leave to adduce additional evidence in relation to Harvey Matusow and others who were witnesses against it in the proceeding.

Three hours were assigned for argument to both sides. The party's hour and a half was divided by John J. Abt of New York City and Joseph Forer of Washington, its two counsel. Solicitor General Simon E. Sobeloff alone argued for the government.

Most of the questions were addressed to the solicitor general and touched mainly on the First and Fifth Amendment aspects of the case. The Chief Justice wanted to know whether it was within Congressional power "to proscribe innocent, legal activities as well as illegal." Apparently not satisfied with Mr. Sobeloff's answer, he used a homely illustration: Could you, he asked, prevent a group from engaging in cattle-ranching simply because they also were cow-stealing? The solicitor general remarked that the party was using its legal activities as a base and cover for its illegal activities. The Chief Justice then asked, suppose running a cattle ranch is helpful to cattle-stealing, is there power to proscribe both? Mr. Sobeloff answered that we are not dealing here with a political party, but with a conspiracy—echoes of "Heresy, Yes—Conspiracy, No" again. A little later, Justice Black asked whether he justified the treatment the act metes out to its target on the ground that they are Communists. The solicitor general answered, "No, because they are conspirators."

WHEN Mr. Sobeloff mentioned the required registration of lobbyists as justifying the registration required under the present act, Justice Black observed that there was no similarity between the two in view of the areas in which they operate. The Chief Justice then pointed to another distinction. He said there is no sanction if one registers under the former whereas the very act of registration is what starts the sanctions under the latter. An amusing moment developed in this connection. Justice Reed looked surprised when, in answer to his question whether the party is disadvantaged by being required to register, the solicitor general said, "Oh, yes, this wasn't done to make the party comfortable."

On the Fifth Amendment, the Chief Justice asked what would happen to an officer of the party who failed to file a registration statement, could he plead the immunity of that Amendment? The solicitor general, taking Eugene Dennis as an example, answered that Mr. Dennis is so well known that he is not likely to want to avail himself of the plea and probably would not have the right to do so. Then, with a smile, the Chief Justice said, "Wasn't the act designed to disclose those not known?" Some discussion tangential to this developed, and Mr. Sobeloff remarked, "I don't have to stand here to defend every act of Congress." "That wouldn't be a fair burden to put on you," observed Justice Frankfurter, withdrawing into the depths of his chair. The courtroom responded with a burst of laughter.



Only one more incident of some possible meaning needs to be mentioned. When Justice Reed asked Mr. Forer whether the act did not permit members to escape the sanctions imposed on them by withdrawing, Mr. Forer replied, "Yes, at a sacrifice of their constitutional rights to remain members without sanctions." The solicitor general several times urged the possibility of a member's withdrawal to escape the sanctions. When he once said in response to a question by the Chief Justice that a member "can get out," the Chief Justice observed, again smiling affably, "Yes."

It will probably be several months before the court hands down its decision. What is it likely to be? Prophecy of a decision in a case based on oral argument is a foolish undertaking. And there is little in the rulings of the court during the past several years to give encouragement to those who hope for a reversal. Yet certain recent developments, taken together with the trend of the argument, give some promise that a majority may be found for such a ruling.

Many signs point to the setting in of a revulsion against the past decade's extravagances, and a national soul-searching seems to be taking place. The hearings before Senator Henning's Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, which opened here last week, is perhaps the most dramatic indication of this new mood. The more sensitive are filled with shame that the Junior Senator from Wisconsin and the former Senator from Nevada should have become symbols of a nation the world once admired for its love of freedom, and are determined to advance the efforts, launched by President Eisenhower at Geneva, to erase from the world's eye the false image of us as a frightened, belligerent people on the primrose path to authoritarianism. They are embarrassed by the gibe flung at them by even our best friends that for us democracy is, in Mr. Stevenson's phrase, "for export only."

There is a growing awareness that what is at stake is not the Communist Party or the Communists, but the American heritage of freedom. In 1954, Congress added "Communist-infiltrated" organizations to the two mentioned in the 1950 act. No one can tell, if the act is upheld, what group may be subjected to similar treatment if not tomorrow, sometime after tomorrow. Those who at the moment regard themselves as safe would do well to remember that so did once Ladejinsky and Lattimore, Dr. Gordon and Dr. Peters, the Monmouth group, and a host of others. And as Justice Jackson remarked in the Dennis case: "It is true that Communists are the current phobia in Washington. But always, since I can remember, some group is being investigated and castigated." Like peace, freedom is indivisible, and, like fashions, enemies change. Tom Paine's warning has special meaning for our day. "He that would make his own liberty secure must guard even his enemy from oppression; for if he violates his duty, he establishes a precedent that will reach to himself." The premise of our democratic system has been that constitutional guaranties must be accorded even those whose aims are anti-democratic.

THE PREMISE has been justified by our history. Many social gains, once deemed radical and harmful and now accepted as moderate and salutary, have been won by orderly and peaceful means because their advocates were accorded the freedom to espouse them. Had their advocacy been suppressed, not only would we have lost the gains but the advocates, given no alternative, might have been tempted to violent means to achieve them. Even ideas and projects ultimately proved false and wrong can be useful guides to true and right action. Freedom is then not only a precious good in itself, but has great social utility.

The new Chief Justice seems to share these attitudes. His opinion in the Quinn case contains reaffirmations that hold much promise of a restoration of some of our badly-tattered liberties to full vigor. The power to investigate, he wrote, "cannot be used to inquire into private affairs unrelated to a valid legislative purpose," does not "extend to an area in which Congress is forbidden to legislate," and "must not be confused with any of the powers of law enforcement." Since his advent, the Court's record in the area of civil liberties has improved somewhat, as witness the decisions in the Quinn and Emspack Fifth Amendment cases, in the spring of this year, and the decision in the Toth court-martial case, the denial of certiorari in the Wisconsin case striking down the Gwinn amendment to the Housing Act and the granting of certiorari to the defendants in the West Coast Smith Act prosecution (the first since the ruling in the Dennis case), in the term beginning this October.

It may therefore happen that the Court, under its present aegis, chastened like many of the rest of us by the hurts that the recent lapses have inflicted at home and the decline in moral standing and prestige they have brought us abroad, will make this case the occasion for calling a halt to the curtailment of rights and privileges which only a few years ago seemed well-established and secure and a revitalization of the Constitution. Its earlier rulings, retrogressive as they have been, are no bar to this consummation, for in none of them has infringement on First Amendment guaranties been so far-reaching. In any event, as Justice Hughes once observed, the Constitution means what the Supreme Court says it means. And what was it that Mr. Dooley said about the Supreme Court?

SEQUEL TO GENEVA

Priority for Bonn's Army . . *by Terence Prittie*

Bonn

THIS Geneva Conference has been the worst shock to the German people—both the 50,000,000 of the Federal Republic and the 18,000,000 of Communist East Germany—since the end of the war. A bare three weeks ago German hopes were set high, and for the following reasons. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer had returned from Moscow less than a month before with the promise that the German prisoners would be sent home from the Soviet Union. In return, direct diplomatic relations would be opened between Bonn and Moscow, giving the federal government a material chance of doing something to secure German reunification. The Soviet leaders had talked seriously of further reducing tension in Europe. Among the Western democracies there was a commendable unity of purpose and a new determination to press for German unity.

What, from the European and—more especially—the German points of view, has the Geneva Conference achieved? The answer, which is literally nothing, must seem incredible to Germans who have had such immense faith in Dr. Adenauer's policy of "negotiating from strength."

For Molotov refused to agree to the holding of free all-German elections. He asked for the creation of an all-German council instead and declared that none of the Communist "achievements" of Eastern Germany would be surrendered. He made it clear that the "lean kine" of the Soviet zone should swallow up the fat kine of the Federal Republic. Further, he refused to agree to the Western plans for the inspection of armaments. Nor would he discuss the ruble rate or the end of wireless jamming.

HOW do the chief European nations analyze the Geneva failure? Even more important, what will its effect be on Germany?

The British Foreign Minister, Harold Macmillan, has evinced a certain amount of righteous indignation over Molotov's blunt rejection of Western proposals on both German reunification and disarmament. This indignation does not strike a chord in the people of Britain. As they see it, the division of Germany is merely the unfortunate result of a war waged by Hitler. Disarmament touches them far more nearly, for the burden of defense is considerable and is felt more than ever precisely at this moment, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer is planning feverishly to avert a price-wage spiral and a serious inflation. It was not surprising that, on the day when Mr. Macmillan was bitterly reproaching Molotov, a British peer, Lord Coleraine, told a Manchester audience that the best hope for the future lay in twenty years of peaceful coexistence, based on existing boundaries in Europe, and the continued division of Germany.

The French interest in German reunification is remote and many Frenchmen still argue that European peace can be best maintained if Germany stays divided. French interest on progressive disarmament, on the other hand, is very great. With the festering sore of North Africa, the lack of manpower for French economy, and the desperate struggle for existence of the Faure government, France has drifted into an uncertain political backwater. Its hold on the Saar has been weak-

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ened; it has been quite unable to put its four divisions stationed on German soil on a war footing. The thinning out of Russian and Western garrisons in Germany would have been a tremendous boon. At Geneva, French Foreign Minister Antoine Pinay was able to register appropriate wrath over the ruin of the conference. But his wrath had little to do with German reunification.

Both the British and French explanations of the Geneva failure follow conventional lines. There seems to be a wide measure of agreement on two points. The first is that Molotov came to Geneva in order to reassert Soviet sponsorship and control of the Communist satellite countries. Eastern Germany is one of these, and one which plays a big role in Soviet strategic thinking. It does not merely bring the Red Army within sixty miles of the Rhine and make the Baltic—in the absence of a worthwhile Swedish navy—into a Russian lake; its continued existence as a People's Republic offers a guarantee of security to Poland and Czechoslovakia. Soviet leaders have taken note of such organizations as the Crusade for European Freedom and Radio Free Europe, and they must believe that the surrender and democratization, in the Western sense, of Eastern Germany would be followed by Western ideological pressure on other important links in their girdle of satellite states.

THE second point which emerges immediately from Geneva is that Molotov found it necessary to redefine the Russian interpretation of "peaceful coexistence." From the Russian point of view, the cold war does not need to be revived in its toughest aspects. But the ideological conflict between East and West must go on. Indeed, it is hard now to visualize what else could have been expected. Any faltering in the ideological war would loosen the Soviet hold on the satellites, perhaps bringing spontaneous upsurges of the type of the June 17, 1953, rising in Eastern Germany; or it could bring Titoism and the relapse of the satellites into the role of neutrals between East and West.

The Russian redefinition of the "Geneva spirit," as the London *Sunday Observer* pointed out, meant the ratification of the military and ideological stalemate between the two world powers, the United States and the U. S. S. R.

The sufferers in this case are the Germans, whose extreme disappointment has been matched by their equally extreme muddlement over developments. Here, for instance, are some of the first German reactions to the failure of a conference which primarily concerned them:

Foreign Minister Heinrich von Brentano—whose voice is the most authoritative on such subjects as long as Adenauer is tied to his home by illness—said that there was an acute danger of the resumption of the cold war. Federal Vice-Chancellor Franz Bluecher urged that no sign of weakness should be shown, for this would only encourage the Russians to apply yet more relentless pressure. The great task for the Federal Republic was still to convince the Russians that a peaceful, united Germany would offer greater security to the Soviet Union than a continuation of the hectic game of power politics in central Europe.

The Social Democratic leaders, Erich Ollenhauer and Wilhelm Mellies, called for a further relaxation of European tension. They believed that the Western powers still held far more cards in their hand than they evidently realized. Concessions could be made to the Russians over Germany—even to the point of opening "technical" talks between East and West Germans and excluding a reunified Germany from NATO.

The B. H. E. Refugee Party, which recently has left the federal government coalition, added a significant footnote of its own. Both the Soviets and the Western powers, it maintained, had been too interested in their own tactics and their own selfish motives. The B. H. E. proposed internationally supervised elections, to be conducted separately in both parts of Germany. The two German administrations thus created could settle down to the task of "equalizing" conditions, social and economic, between East and West Germany. This would meet two Russian objections. The Soviet Union would not be committed to withdrawing its troops from German soil and leave a unified Germany in the Western camp. Nor would a democratically elected German Parliament—as envisaged by the "Eden Plan" and furiously rejected by Molotov—simply obliterate the Communist trademarks from Eastern German life—the radical land reform, the state socialized industries, the "working-class front" of the Socialist Unity Party, even the People's Police.

The B. H. E. reaction is significant because it represents the one concrete German idea which has evolved from the Geneva failure. Thus the independent Hamburg paper, *Die Welt,* at once wrote demanding a "German initiative" in order to break the deadlock. The Federal Republic should, if necessary, withdraw from NATO and the military status of a reunified Germany should be defined in advance. It should in effect be neutral and should be guaranteed by the Great Powers. To do justice to both the B. H. E. and *Die Welt,* it must be pointed out that this demand for greater German independence is actuated by the haunting specter of endlessly continuing German division and the consequent ruthless Bolshevization of East German youth.

BUT THE reaction of B. H. E. and *Die Welt* has not been shared by the general public. Both Dr. Adenauer and Herr von Brentano at once declared that the Russian attitude should be countered by securing closer European cooperation and rearming more quickly in the Western cause. Certainly the federal government showed what was in its mind. Arms legislation was speeded up, it was agreed to take over the 20,000-strong Federal Frontier Police Force in order to help build the new NATO cadres, the first barracks were at once put in order at Andernach, and the first 101 officers and men of the new army were quietly commissioned by Defense Minister Blank in Bonn on November 12.

Individual Germans to whom I have spoken have been oppressed by Geneva. One newspaperman told me that quicker rearmament was now inevitable, but that there was no occasion for rejoicing. Soldiers were a "necessary evil." Thoughts have turned—as letters to the German newspapers show—to the two sick statesmen, Eisenhower and Adenauer. Was the Soviet "get tough" offensive in Geneva due to their absence from the political stage? Germans have noted that, while President Eisenhower's illness in no way prevents American government from functioning, Mr. Dulles was strangely unobtrusive at Geneva. They have noted, with far greater awareness, that Adenauer's illness brought a state of semi-paralysis to German administration which is only now beginning to wear off.

Germans are in an unassertive frame of mind at this moment in history. They are not, with the exception of some ex-soldiers, anxious to rearm. They have not entered NATO in company with other free nations but have only been accepted into it with some reservations. They may talk in fits and starts about the need for an independent German initiative, but they have learned the lessons of Moscow and Geneva. At Moscow the Russian leaders promised the speedy return of the prisoners, and named a figure of 9,626. About four thousand of these have still not arrived and there has been a lapse of four weeks since the last transport reached Western Germany. Chancellor Adenauer advanced to Moscow from outside the wing of the State Department for the first time. It has not been a gainful experience. He had to go back on the two promises which he made before he left—that he would insist on progress toward reunification before agreeing to the resumption of diplomatic contact between Bonn and Moscow, and that he would not allow the question of the prisoners to be made into a political issue.

The next stretch in the roadway of German history is already fully in sight. West German rearmament will be pushed ahead; Germany will stay divided, as part of the Russian plan for peaceful coexistence; the consolidation of Eastern Germany into a fully-fledged satellite will continue. All this will, of itself, contribute nothing toward the solution of the German problem and Germans maintain that there can be no lasting peace in Europe until it is solved.

FARMERS DEFY G.O.P.

Bad News for Benson . . *by Charles F. Ransom*

Des Moines, Iowa

LAST SUMMER'S drought burned pastures and shriveled corn yields in southwestern Iowa and northwestern Missouri. Ever since 1952, farm prices and farm incomes of prosperous commercial farmers (3,000,000 in the nation) have been falling despite recent full employment and rising wages in the rest of the economy. Add to that the chronic poverty—in good times and bad—of small farmers and those on marginal land (2,000,000 in the nation). Pile on low cattle prices and the lowest hog prices in thirteen years coinciding with the biggest seasonal marketing of livestock—the market which must provide the year's major cash income for corn-belt farmers.

Things were ripe for an explosion.

Jay Loghry of Corning, Iowa, who went about the area selling mineral feed supplements to farmers, felt it. At his invitation, sixteen farmers met with him last September 5 and planned a further meeting eight days later in a livestock-sales barn in Greenfield. It is hard to get farmers out to a meeting, but 500 showed up, representing every one of the sixteen townships of Adair county. Loghry told them how he had lost everything as a farmer in 1932, and proposed that they meet again a week later and choose a county representative for a delegation to go to Washington to call for high support prices for hogs and cattle. (As perishables, pork and beef had not been supported at all under the farm program, and the usual sealed storage methods would not work.) Loghry's idea at the time was for a delegation from all 99 counties of Iowa.

On September 15, Loghry held another meeting in a stock-sales barn in his own town of Corning. In subsequent weeks he held further meetings in Bedford, Clarinda, Creston, and Red Oak—all within thirty-five miles of Corning. The crowds were large and enthusiastic. There were over 600 at Bedford and an astounding 1,200 at Creston (later topped at Maryville, Missouri, with 1,500).

A second meeting at Corning adopted a constitution as a county organization:

> We the farmers of Adams county, in order to get our fair share of the national income, do band together in an organization to be known as the National Farmers Organization. . . . We band together to exercise our right to petition our government . . . for 100 per cent of parity for all farm products in view of the fact that hogs and cattle are now being marketed for less than the cost of the product.
>
> As an emergency measure, we petition the Department of Agriculture to install an immediate floor of $20 per hundredweight for butcher hogs and $30 per hundredweight for good to choice cattle.

During the discussion, the formation of a national organization was projected.

Richard Bruner, young program coordinator from the Des Moines district office of the United Packinghouse Workers of America-C. I. O., showed up at the Corning and Bedford meetings. The farmers asked him to speak. Bruner told them that while the C. I. O. could not organize a farmers' union, it offered warm sympathy. They asked him many practical organization questions.

Many of the farmers were weary of relying on legislation, thoroughly burned up at both political parties, and anxious for direct action: tough, labor-style bargaining with the packers, maybe a farm strike. Loghry suggested that the Packinghouse Workers might even go so far as to refuse to handle livestock not from a "union farm."

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Dan Turner, Republican governor of Iowa back in 1931-33, lives in the area. He spoke at Bedford and other meetings, strongly opposing farm strikes and recalling how unsuccessful they had proved in the 1930's, and how packed with violence. "If farmers want quick action," he told the Bedford gathering, "they should get in touch with their Congressmen. The right to petition is as old as this government."

Nevertheless, at Clarinda the next day Loghry told the 350 farmers who turned out that if they were properly organized, they could refuse to market livestock until the public was willing to pay a fair price. But "no rough stuff," he insisted. Later on he was to say, "A strike is absolutely out."

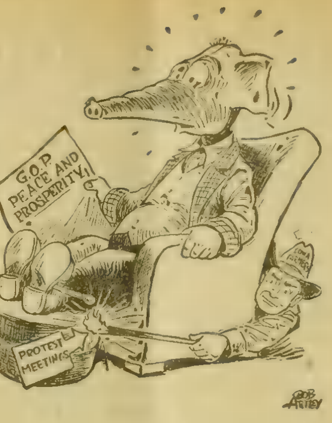
By this time the problem of organizing the state or the nation was beginning to appear more formidable to these enthusiastic amateurs. They began to collect dollar dues and to pass the hat for an "emergency fund" to finance organization. Loghry had lost his job in September ("My talks were getting the company in trouble"), and money was needed to keep him in the field.

N. F. O. SPEAKERS began going into new counties only on invitation of someone who thought he could get out a crowd. They began moving into new areas: Missouri, western Iowa, the three-state area where South Dakota, Minnesota, and Iowa meet (they did not do so well in Worthington, Minnesota); then to the Northeast.

Other leaders began to emerge: Duane Orton and Ed Chappell, both Iowans, and Nels Kraschel, who had been Democratic governor of Iowa in 1937-39.

A regional meeting was held at Corning in October at which officers were elected, by-laws adopted, and Corning designated as headquarters. The president, Harry Grundman, lives nearby, and Secretary Ed Chappell and Organization Director Jay Loghry are Corning men. The treasurer, Duane Orton, lives thirty-eight miles away at Atlantic; and the vice-president, Oren Lee Staley, sixty-five miles south in Rea, Missouri. Some ninety delegates from sixteen Iowa counties and eight Missouri counties took part.

The organization's leaders were anxious to avoid either party tag, but inevitably Republicans suspected a Democratic plot. The Republican Dan Turner continues to do his best to keep the group nonpartisan, though he talks as loudly as anyone for Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson's resignation. Senator Bourke Hickenlooper (Republican, Iowa) flatly charges that the new organization is "led and fostered by Democrats" and counsels against "unsound action" or "foolish promises."



Des Moines Register

"Is that smoke we smell?"

The N. F. O. cherishes the hope that it could become a major national farm organization without treading on the toes of the established ones. So far it has been encroaching chiefly on Farm Bureau territory in Iowa and Missouri, and National Farmers Union territory in the Dakotas.

THE FARM BUREAU, by far the strongest general farm organization in Iowa, is now working hard for the "soil-fertility bank" idea—the leasing of land by the government to take it out of production during surplus years. It has been claiming credit for the small-scale pork-purchase program for school-lunch purposes which Secretary Benson reluctantly started under pressure of his Republican colleagues.

The Iowa Farmers Union, long stymied by a president who denounced United States germ warfare in Korea, was deprived of its national charter in 1954 for lacking the 3,500 members necessary to qualify, and will lose the right to the name if the national office has its way in the federal courts. Meanwhile, it has given moral support to the new southwest Iowa organization, while the National Farmers Union is getting ready to move in to do some fast organizing on its own behalf.

Perhaps the chief effect of the new National Farmers Organization will be to help galvanize the established farm, political, and agricultural organizations into new activity, and perhaps even into thinking of something better than high, rigid supports which have "already failed," as Republicans say. There is a real case for imaginative and constructive farm aid, to ease farmers over the present price squeeze without freezing them into present production patterns which no longer match demand.

Time was when each new period of hard times brought forth a new major farm organization: the Grange in the 1870's, the Farmers' Alliance in the 1880's and early 90's, the Farmers Union before World War I, the Farm Bureau just after it. Each faded rapidly with returning farm prosperity, and two of them survived at all only by changing character and habitat: the hell-raising Midwestern Grangers gave way to the conservative Grangers now strongest in the Northeast and Pacific Northwest; the Farmers Union shifted its heartland from the Gulf Coast to the Plains States, and changed policies many times. Only the Farm Bureau has retained its homeland in the corn and cotton belts and managed to surpass its early maximum membership—and even the Farm Bureau now has doubts about "parity," which it has favored over the years.

Since the 1930's, the Big Three farm organizations have developed professional leaders and staffs with a vested interest in keeping their groups alive and adaptable. The Big Three survived the farm booms of the 1940's and the Korean War, and they show signs of being able to manage the easier job of outliving the present hard times. If they do, the real choice for the new Farmers Organization is whether to become just another regional pressure group or to achieve its purpose—uniting farmers for action in their own behalf—by stimulating the major existing groups into constructive militancy. In the latter case, the N. F. O., once its goal was achieved, could well fade out.

THE RUSTED GATE

Politics and Immigration . . *by J. Campbell Bruce*

FEW ACTS of Congress have been so little understood by the general public—or, for that matter, by most members of Congress—and yet have created so much controversy, as the McCarran-Walter Act, our basic immigration law. Since it went into effect on Christmas Eve of 1952, millions of words have been written and spoken against this "monstrous betrayal," as Oscar Handlin of Harvard characterizes it. Major religious, labor, civic, and other groups have voiced vigorous opposition. It passed over President Truman's veto, and was denounced by President Eisenhower. A President's commission, made up of nonpartisan distinguished Americans, held exhaustive hearings and called for a complete revision.

And yet, until this month, it all seemed sort of like shouting at the village water tank. The first break, after three years of Congressional silence, came November 21 with the start of public hearings by Senator Harley M. Kilgore, chairman of both the Senate Judiciary Committee and its subcommittee on immigration. The West Virginia Democrat announced his inquiry would be "concerned with fundamental national policies expressed in the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 [the McCarren-Walter Act], experience under the Act, and a consideration of several pending Senate bills to amend the Act."

Several questions naturally arise. Coming on the eve of a presidential election year, do the Kilgore hearings presage a hot campaign issue over revision of the act? Do they indicate a possibility the 84th Congress might change it?

That it is already an issue seems clear enough in the very timing and announced scope of the Kilgore sessions, which will hear witnesses representing "bar associations, churches, voluntary agencies, learned societies, and scientific, economic, agricultural, education, labor, women's, and other private and public interest groups." What makes a political motive evident is the fact that a wealth of similar testimony has been available since January 1, 1953, in the 2,000-page transcript of the hearings conducted by the President's commission.

Unmistakable political undertones also marked statements by Senator Kilgore prior to his current inquiry. Last July he informed the Senate of his unsuccessful efforts to ascertain the attitude of the Eisenhower Administration toward the law and explained the need to hear from authorized White House spokesmen because of "the widespread confusion existing over just what the Administration policy is." Again in a September 12 press statement, he said the Eisenhower Administration had "ducked every invitation to testify" because it had failed "to come to grips with this vital issue and formulate a policy." He offered a comparison: "In sharp contrast to the inaction of the Eisenhower Administration was the action by President Truman. President Truman vetoed the immigration bill and shortly thereafter appointed a nonpartisan commission to study basic policies."

By then the Senator had a reply from Secretary of State Dulles which seemed to forecast a struggle for position by the two parties next year. Mr. Dulles intimated the Administration *was* coming to grips with the issue and offered regrets he would not be able to testify "until the present study has been completed and the views of the Administration have been coordinated." And then Mr. Dulles adroitly took the offensive. He thought it was "unfortunate" that the first session of the 84th Congress had failed to adopt the "relatively simple" amendments to the Refugee Relief Act proposed by President Eisenhower, a liberalization that would "clearly and promptly indicate to the peoples of friendly nations the interest of the President and the Congress in this subject." He urged their adoption as quickly as possible.

The Congress was thus accused of inaction, but this did not dismay Senator Kilgore. Ignoring the gentle castigation, he stated that "regardless of action or inaction by the Eisenhower Administration," he was going ahead with his public hearings.

THE hearings, of course, will not be the only factor in making our immigration policy an issue in '56. The McCarran-Walter Act stirred a revolt among powerful national groups representing vast numbers of voters. Naturalized citizens, resentful over their second-class status under this act, must also be wooed. Party policy-makers can deal more freely with the subject now that the McCarthy-inspired hysteria has subsided to the point where one can oppose the act with less risk of being smeared as a Red. And the Geneva spirit generated by President Eisenhower has had its influence. All signs, then, indicate that next year each party will be striving to outdo the other in offering relief from the law. The 85th Congress will hardly have a choice in the matter.

There were promises in 1952, but only from the top candidates. Party leaders entrusted with the platforms, caucusing in an atmosphere of Red terror, apparently found it difficult to muster enough courage even to promise. The Republicans ignored the issue entirely. The Democrats did have a plank, but they shied

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from direct mention of the McCarran-Walter Act and indulged only in inoffensive generalities.

There seems little chance, however, that revision will take place so long as the present Congress is in office. For one thing, the chairman of the House subcommittee on immigration is Francis E. Walter, the Pennsylvania Democrat who shared authorship of the 1952 act. There is no dearth of bills seeking revision: thirty in the House, three in the Senate. Two major Senate bills, which the Kilgore committee may consider, are sponsored on the Republican side by Senators Saltonstall, Ives, and Case; on the Democratic side by Senator Lehman and seven colleagues, including Senator Kefauver. The Democratic bill is by far the more liberal. However, a Congressional observer criticized this bill, and most of the others, as too comprehensive. Some Congressmen, seeing no hope for major carpentry on the law, may concentrate next session on liberalizing the quota system; that is, in making the unused quotas applicable to countries with quotas far below 10,000.

Even if, by some miracle, a major bill should squeeze out of committee despite Mr. Walter's opposition, it would almost certainly be beaten on the floor of the present Congress, where a coalition of Southern Democrats and Midwestern Republicans is ready to deliver the final death blows. Strange bedfellows, these coalitionists? Not at all, Midwest Republicanism has long been the seat of isolationism. And the South, despite a tradition of gracious hospitality, has long clung to an anti-foreigner tradition—much to its own detriment. It is relevant to point out that the South, with the lowest percentage of foreign-born, has the lowest per capita income.

The attitude of the Southern Democrats toward liberalizing our immigration policy seems all the more incomprehensible in view of recent history. Thousands of displaced persons brought here during the Truman Administration settled in the South. Alexander F. Miller, director of the Southern office of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, tells how well they were assimilated:

> Almost uniformly these immigrants—these new Americans—have enriched the South through their industry, their culture, their scientific and technical knowledge, and above all, through their loyalty and devotion to their newly adopted land. Some of these immigrants, because of their special talents, have started unique industries which have provided employment and income for thousands of Southerners.

A clear conception of the McCarran-Walter Act, and thus its need for revision, is made all the more difficult by the mass of confusion, contradictions, and paradoxes the law has engendered. It is paradoxical, for example, that while the executive boards of so many national groups, representing better than half the population, are actively opposed to the law, a Gallup Poll last summer showed that only 5 per cent of the public could identify the McCarran-Walter Act as a piece of immigration legislation. Perhaps one-tenth of 1 per cent of the population is at all familiar with its intricate workings—roughly 160,000 people. Yet one opposing organization alone—the General Federation of Women's Clubs—has a membership of 11,000,000.

IT IS understandable, then, that so many people accepted the claim of Mr. Walter, and the late Senator McCarran, that only Communists and the dupes of Communists oppose the act. Is the claim justified? Is President Eisenhower a dupe of the Communists? Or Archbishop Richard J. Cushing of Boston? Or Walter Reuther of the C. I. O.? Or George Meany of the A. F. of L.? Or Rabbi Alvin I. Fine? They all oppose the act.

The law itself is a welter of contradictions. For example, one section sets aside 50 per cent of each quota to "skilled aliens," such as professors, but they must have the guarantee of a job. But another section bars an alien, skilled or unskilled, who has the promise of a job. And still another bars an alien likely to become a public charge.

But let us consider the particularly evil features of the law that should be amended to make our immigration policy conform to our historic concepts of fair play. One is the National Origins formula, which requires that our annual immigration quotas be based on the composition of our 1920 population as determined by countries of origin. Senator Reed, who tacked this tricky formula onto the 1924 immigration act, made no bones about its discriminatory intent. He told his colleagues: "I think most of us are reconciled to the idea of discrimination." The formula discriminates against the peoples of Eastern and Southern Europe on the spurious theory that they are racially inferior. We should scrap the so-called Asia-Pacific triangle, which is the McCarran-Walter Act's version of an Oriental Exclusion Act. Assigning only token quotas to countries in the vast area from Afghanistan to Japan, this section goes out of its way to be discriminatory by designating a would-be immigrant as Oriental, whatever his nationality, so long as one parent is Oriental.

Certainly the provision that sets up a second-class citizenry should be repealed. John Marshall, the great Chief Justice, said there should be no distinction between the native-born and the naturalized citizen, yet the McCarran-Walter Act, by subjecting the naturalized citizen to denaturalization and deportation on tenuous grounds rather than grounds of provable fraud, makes such a distinction.

Our consular officers should be stripped of their dictatorial powers. Under the law they can deny a visa without any announced reason, and their action is final. Equally reprehensible, they now have the sole power to accept or reject a claim of citizenship by a person living abroad. At the very least, their decisions should be subject to review.

The statute of limitations, rescinded by the McCarran-Walter Act, should be reinstated, and the *ex post facto* provisions, barred from criminal statutes by the Constitution, should be tossed out. It is unthinkable that men should be deported

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Illustrations from The Lamp and the Law, published by Southern California Branch of the American Civil Liberties Union (and they are) for long-forgotten offenses, even though they had fully atoned for their transgressions, and that they can be deported today for something they did forty years ago that was perfectly lawful at the time.

What can you, as a citizen, do about it? You can write to your Congressman and your Senators. I have done some lecturing on the subject, and on several occasions I was approached by a naturalized citizen afterward, who commented with some embarrassment: "I would like to write my Congressman, as you suggest, but—well, a person must be careful about such things." Needless to say, I was shocked. Such fear smacks of a totalitarian state, not a great democracy.

REVOLT AGAINST REASON

Reflection of Despair . . *by Abraham Edel*

IN THE THIRTIES we used to hear of the *retreat from reason;* now there is widespread talk of the *revolt against reason.* The verbal shift measures the growing intensity of the intellectual problem. Local sniping has flared into widespread rebellion, very much like an old-fashioned South American revolution: there is an army in every province, each fighting on its own, and often it is difficult to distinguish attackers from defenders. The rebels all proclaim that the sovereignty of reason is tottering, but they cannot form a new government because they cannot themselves agree on aims and interests.

"Reason," which is so beleaguered, is clearly not just any sort of reflection, nor is it even the use of scientific method in the physical sciences. It is that broad pattern of beliefs, attitudes, and assurances in the picture of the world, man, and society, which commonly goes by the name of the scientific outlook—a not wholly standardized but yet more or less recognizable product of Western culture in the last few centuries. But perhaps its configuration may be gathered, at least in part, from the varied goals upon which the rebels sight their guns.

In the province of history, the belief in a rational order of indefinite progress is already being surrendered. Its liberal supporters have been dejected by the extent of twentieth-century inroads upon liberalism. Its Socialist theoreticians have been branded as metaphysical advocates of inevitability in human affairs. The faith in the possibility of any large-scale rational planning in human affairs is the citadel now besieged. Some attackers marshall economic arguments to prove it mathematically impossible; others content themselves with pressing the threat of totalitarianism as an unavoidable outcome.

IN political and social theory fire centers on the traditional democratic view of all men as reasonable beings worthy of a share in determining social policy. The degradation of which twentieth-century man has shown himself capable—and the smell of the Nazi gas ovens hovers over the criticism—is offered as decisive evidence. The defender of man's reasonableness is dismissed as an eighteenth-century relic. He is told to catch up on Freud, the irrationality of the human spirit, the deep dark forces of hostility and aggression. If he insists that men's irrationality today may reflect the conflicts of institutional frameworks and social transformations, he will be told that it is out of date to think in terms of socio-economic causes, and sent to read Dostoevski's "Letters from the Underworld" and Orwell's "1984." Meanwhile, the junta forming the new intellectual government of this province is presided over by the spirit of Edmund Burke.

In philosophy the battle has been waged over the rationality of value judgments. Liberalism assumed widening rational agreement on a humane outlook; one attacking column undercuts this position with the slogan that reason gives us only means, not ends or ultimate values. Another brings up reinforcements with a theory that judgments of ends simply express emotion and arbitrary preference; there is no rational way of validating even the choice of a humane as against a racialist ethics. A third column moves up to the front under the banner of ultimate individual responsibility, proclaiming in its existentialist fervor that no law of God or reason, no knowledge of fact or science of man can diminish the unique creative responsible act of the lone individual in the moment of decision. A fourth column—and here the crossfire among the attackers becomes heavy—has insisted that since human values have to be objective and the scientific combination of reflection and experience has failed to provide such objectivity, rational justification must give way to religious validation. What is more, even some who speak in the name of reason direct their fire against the use of empirical science in building a knowledge of man, and call upon a metaphysical reason to replace a scientific reason.

Theology has witnessed the revolt against reason within its own domains. Instead of traditional arguments about the existence of God or evidences of spirit permeating the natural and historical order, there is considerable attempt today to ground religion on man's desperate need. In the ascendant are conceptions of an utterly transcendent divinity beyond the reach of men's rational knowledge, condemnations of man's arrogance if he attempts to determine his path in reliance on

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his own rational powers, and repeated emphasis on the intensity of man's aloneness. In brief, Kierkegaard's "fear and trembling" bids fair to triumph over Hegel's optimistic view of the world as a rational spiritual unfolding.

The very sciences are not exempt from the forward surge of the anti-rationalist front. Psychological warfare is waged on every sign of an internal problem. Every shift in an older conception, whether the abandonment of the old billiard-ball atom, or the use of statistical conceptions of law rather than a strict determination, or any indecision between particle and wave conceptions of ultimate energy units is seized upon as a confession of the basic bankruptcy in scientific reason. (A student of quantum mechanics once told me with respect to the indeterminacy principle, which states the theoretical impossibility of specifying both the position and momentum of a particle at any time, that he found it "philosophically intolerable" if only half of the world could be known at any one time!)

WHAT are we to make of this concerted attack upon reason on the contemporary scene? Is it a mood of despair occasioned by unusual historical events? Is it really a discovery after centuries of overconfidence, that man's powers of understanding and control are severely limited and precarious? Of is it just an up-to-date model of the traditional obscurantism that reaction tends to foster in any large-scale social upheaval? Or again, may it not be merely a kind of intellectual smog issuing on the popular scene from insufficiently consumed and not well-regulated intellectual production itself? An interesting attempt to raise the general question has recently been made in a special number of an English periodical, including papers by scholars in a variety of fields.* They agree generally that there is a changing mood in the social and political arena—a shift to conservatism and loss of interest in some of the older issues of reform, a turning to religion—but doubt whether it adds up to more than faltering confusion. Explanations touched on range over a wide field—weariness with old problems, reaction to the contemporary outcome of the Marxian dream, actual extent of social gains which make some of the older struggles obsolete, disappointment with the achievements of the Labor government, the plight of the intellectual between Big Business and Big Labor, the cataclysm of two world wars, and so on. Some think the extent of the swing in mood has been exaggerated, and the general opinion is that there are no valid grounds to despair of reason. No unified picture emerges, however, of the nature of the alleged revolt. And it is discussed as a European phenomenon, not a global one.

IT WOULD be tempting to explore the American counterpart of the picture, but it is more important to formulate it as a contemporary human problem, a basic issue in philosophical perspective. For in the long run it concerns not only European and American intellectuals, but also Indian and Chinese peasants and South African mineworkers. The unifying strand would seem to be a belief in the *failure of human knowledge, understanding, and control to help man achieve a tolerable home and worthwhile life on the face of the globe.* The specifically contemporary note—for such an attitude has occurred in the past, for example in what Gilbert Murray so aptly termed "the failure of nerve" in the ancient world—would be found in the scope of the mistrust coming after the extent of the promise of science, and in the feeling that *everything is ultimately more unknowable in the context of increasing danger.*

The mere spread of a mood is not, of course, sufficient ground for accepting its implicit doctrines, nor even evidence of a lasting basis for the mood itself. For it may be the ephemeral expression of temporary crisis conditions. Thus the mistrust of science during the Great Depression, with its demand for a moratorium on invention, transparently expressed prevalent fears of technological unemployment. Now too, large components of the present irrationalism may reflect large-scale disappointment and despair. The historian may well ask whether this intellectual climate would have been different if the Roosevelt international program had succeeded, or how much will vanish if a more pacific coexistence now replaces the cold war. Similarly, how much of the mood reflects unresolved technological problems—for example, will the Malthusian components of current irrationalism survive an effective harnessing of solar energy, or the tilling of ocean and desert for food supply?

There are also strong ideological elements in the irrationalist camp. When Mussolini in the early twenties told a Fascist convention that fascism offered no program because programs are static and reality is active and dynamic, the philosophical challenge could scarcely be regarded as authentic. The historical record showed that the divergent elements in the party had simply failed to reach an agreement on program. Professor Bronowski in his essay on The Logic of Nature similarly summarizes the character of the present counter-attack on science: "Science has admitted that the electron is not a billiard ball, and we must therefore return naked to a belief in papal infallibility, astrology, and the unfitness of the lower orders." Comparable comment could be made on the irrationalist use of Freud's speculations on inherent aggressiveness to justify a skeptical attitude to social reform, or again on the patchwork of theory that often finds it way into exposition of conservatism now popular in economics and politics.

ON THE other hand, strong legitimate interests may have been forced into the irrationalist camp because dominant interpretations of reason have ignored them. Their place in the current attack therefore constitutes no permanent threat, rather a stimulus to awakening. Some such role may be characteristic of existentialism today. Anti-rationalist and obscurantist it may indeed be. But when it attacks the way in which the individual has been reduced to a cog in a machine, or conceived of simply as a multiplicity of functions with a hollow center, helplessly irresponsible, there is a reasonableness in its criticism. But these are criticisms of shortcomings in prevailing policies and theories, not legitimate grounds for a revolt against reason.

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*The Political Quarterly, July-September 1955, volume XXVI, no. 3: Special Number—The Revolt Against Reason. It includes articles by Noel Annan, Leonard Woolf, H. R. G. Greaves, W. Pickles, Richard Wollheim, J. Bronowski, Donald MacRae, Dorothy Emmet, Ronald Bryden. Most fields of knowledge—psychology is a notable exception—are discussed.

The fact is that much of what is sound in the attacks on reason today has already been absorbed by many of the outlooks and fields under attack. A self-critical liberalism, for example, often recognizes that its older forms constituted a middle-class liberalism, that it aimed to extend benefits gradually and was not attuned to a rapid mass upsurge over the globe. This means a crisis in the specific liberal theory, not a crisis in the outlook of humane rationality or the trust in reason. Similarly, a self-critical philosophy of science, faced with the tumult about indeterminacy in physical theory, has itself recognized that the particular mechanical deterministic form in which the idea of a rational order had previously been cast needed reconsideration. The necessary reconstruction may not yet be wholly shaped, but its direction is to incorporate the procedures which made possible the new advances in physical theory, which thereby brought *greater* knowledge and tremendously *increased* control of natural processes. In short, reconstruction of theoretical ideas is the mark of a creative period and issues from the successful advances of rational scientific inquiry. It is paradox to use the advances themselves as evidence for the bankruptcy of rationality.

If the concept of a rational order is broadened, if sound criticisms of hypotheses that have hardened into rationalist dogma are incorporated, if ideological and obscurantist elements are set aside, if the expression of special crisis conditions is carefully discounted, and if the very arguments hurled against reason are seen to come from the armory of reason itself—is there then any basis left for philosophical challenge of reason? There are of course the specific theses challenging the outlook that had become consolidated in history and political theory, and these require careful analysis and reexamination. But these alone may call for at most a tempered realism and a sober view. To reject metaphysical inevitability in human history is not to deny that there are major forces operative on the human scene limiting the alternative paths on which we may move; it is as important to study these dispassionately as it is to realize the scope of human choice. For example, Professor Bronowski may very well be right in pointing out that while historians are still estimating the changes produced by the first scientific revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, "the second scientific revolution is already long on the move, and is making over both our lives and our thoughts as powerfully as did the first." If so, then rational inquiry is needed to show what is already settled and what is still open in the form of alternative paths along which self-consciousness may make choice possible. Clearly, industrialism is here to stay and medieval ruralism is on the way out, but the form of industrial society admits of many more shapes than the sprawling city that has been regarded as inevitable; the control consequences of automation and its social effects may be unforseeable, but the transition need not repeat the misery of the first industrial revolution. Rationality lies in the method of study and in the conscious or planned application of controls that are possible, not in the all-or-none decision between total planning and total let-anything-happen.

AGAIN, a sober faith in men's abilities to determine social policies is not incompatible with recognition of the depths to which they may sink under special conditions, nor with reasoned and seasoned efforts to avoid the recurrence of such conditions. In fact, what but rational inquiry can constantly refine the methods of coping with irrational behavior? Attention to mental health on a larger scale is as obvious a consequence of depth psycnology as any of the speculations about the depth of the depths. Interestingly enough, in spite of the role that some theological doctrines assign to the irrationality of man, practical religious work wisely hastens to apply what knowledge rational inquiry furnishes—for example, in the development of the field of pastoral psychology.

On the philosophical thesis—that values can be based only on arbitrary preference, that morality cannot constitute a stable "knowledge" to provide guidance in human relations—the picture looks less desperate when we examine it closely and from within. After the first careless rapture of glorying in arbitrariness, careful philosophical attention to the procedures men use in justifying their choices forces us to recognize that the notion that there are good reasons for doing one thing rather than another is not an empty one. Once more, reason thrust out of the front door returns through the service entrance. At the very least, the mere convergence of most men's arbitrary preference on a particular basic value—human survival—comes to provide a fundamental common goal, achieving the conditions which will make survival possible.

On one count, however, what is left of the revolt against reason does seem to score heavily—the reasoned judgment of increasing danger and precariousness in men's total life context. It is almost a commonplace that major decisions nowadays have global rather than limited effects, and this is likely to become more so. On the scientific side this is clearest. Suppose the study of genetics had not developed in the past half century—and given the unsystematic way in which ground was broken in many fields this is far from inconceivable. We might now be in the position in which the genetic effects of the wider use of atomic energy could not even have been raised as a question. In many ways man may unwittingly be the source of his own deterioration and even destruction. But such a situation involves fear of dangers—real dangers that rational inquiry can map with realism, and against which it may move with concerted caution. The outcome here too is not a revolt against reason but a need for a maximum of self-conscious rationality. In the evolution of man, such self-consciousness can no longer be a byproduct. If it was premature in the ancient view to define man as a rational animal, it is no longer premature to think of him as an animal that will have to be much more rational if he is to survive.

BOOKS

Tall Tales of the Cold War

THE FIFTEEN WEEKS. (February 21-June 5, 1947). By Joseph M. Jones. The Viking Press. $3.75.

By Frederick L. Schuman

"HEAVY Russian Columns Move East in Iran; Turkey or Iraq May Be Goal." So ran an eight-column scare headline in the New York *Times* of March 13, 1946, based on a State Department release. March 14: "Soviet Tanks Approach Teheran." March 16: "Russians Press On." On the same day Frederick Kuh reported in *PM:* "British authorities have admitted that there is no evidence whatever indicating that Red Army forces have moved beyond the Soviet area in Iran." On March 23 Premier Ghavam officially stated that no new Soviet troops had entered Iran and that some already there had been withdrawn.

Joseph M. Jones, publicist, erstwhile associate editor of *Fortune,* and State Department official during a hectic period, quotes the first headline as factual on page forty-nine of his curiously ambivalent and important book, with no comment save: "The situation was extremely dangerous." The passage is typical. How misinformed were our policy-makers? What were actual Soviet intentions in major crises as distinct from official Washington evaluations? To what degree were Truman, Byrnes, Acheson, Harriman, and Forrestal, as well as Stalin and Company, responsible for the tensions and tumults of a dangerous decade?

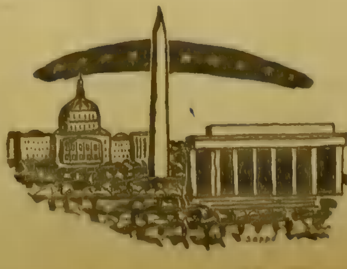
This dramatic blow-by-blow account of American policy from February 21 to June 5, 1947, offers no direct answers to such questions. The author had a hand in drafting the Truman Doctrine of March 12, Acheson's Cleveland, Mississippi, speech of May 8, and the Marshall Plan address at Harvard on June 5. His premises are the usual ones among America's more ardent cold warriors. His broader conclusions are therefore questionable. Moscow was bent on "world conquest." Britain "handed the job of world leadership to the United States." "The world stage was set for an inevitable war between two titans, the Soviet Union, astride Europe and Asia, and America standing alone." "Stalin himself formally launched the cold war (February 9, 1946) on capitalist countries." Russian efforts to secure oil concessions in Iran comparable to those already held by Britain and America were proof of ineffable wickedness. Turkey was threatened. "Greece, France, and Italy were in imminent danger of being taken over." Byrnes "bore the brunt of the cold-war assault of the Russians." "The Truman Doctrine instantly dealt a stunning blow to communism in Western Europe," etc,

The record, when fully known, will not, I believe, support such judgments. Walter Lippmann, Henry Wallace, and others said so then. On March 6 George F. Kennan, we here learn for the first time, strongly opposed any aid to Turkey and bitterly objected to the ideological slant of Truman's intended message. But "it was too late. The decision had already been taken." Even Jones later warned Acheson that we must "have something positive and attractive to offer, and not just anti-communism." A major difficulty was that "in 1947 there were many who failed to see that the Soviet Union was aggressive and expansionist." What better way to convince them than to pursue policies designed to frighten the Kremlin into aggressive reactions?

Jones's central argument, however, is that the emergencies of 1947 challenged the United States to assume its full global responsibilities, that the fifteen weeks marked a constructive revolution in national thinking, and that "American democracy worked with unexampled efficiency and inspiration to produce national agreement." In one of the most detailed and informative accounts ever written of how foreign policy is actually made, he reveals much of "inside Washington" and deserves warm thanks from citizens and scholars alike.

Much of what was done in 1947 and thereafter, particularly the European Recovery Program, had to be done if the European democracies were to be saved from economic collapse. The manner of the doing, i.e., bypassing the United Nations and depicting the enterprise as a crusade against Red sin, was deplorable and hazardous. Even this may have been a political necessity, since Congress, press, and public in such matters tended either to go to sleep or to go berserk. A larger measure of maturity and prudence among legislators and pressmen is now evident.

These virtues were abundant a decade ago among our diplomats. But since the Dulles dispensation. . .? Jones, naming no names but speaking from experience, somberly observes: "Foreign policy becomes paralyzed when the State Department officer must make each comment or decision with the Congressional investigator looking over his shoulder, with the security gumshoe listening at the door or on his wire, with the dissatisfied secretaries spying on him, with every opinion and idea stripped and searched by immature minds for evidence of 'disloyalty'. . . . The massacre that has been committed in recent years on the personnel, morale, and intellectual vigor of the Department of State is one of the greatest crimes of this generation and cannot fail to have dire consequences for the security and well-being of this country."



FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government at Williams College and author of "Germany Since 1918," "The Nazi Dictatorship," "Europe on the Eve," and "Night Over Europe," is a frequent contributor to The Nation.

Who Is Martha?

A CHARMED LIFE. By Mary McCarthy. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.95.

By Josephine Herbst

TOO MUCH of contemporary writing seems to be driving away from the center of things. If neither nuclear reactions nor the refining of oil can provide a stimulus for the artist, neither may the smoothest running novel satisfy by virtue of a perfected technique. You can't quarrel with Mary McCarthy's prose; it is extremely able. You can't complain that your attention isn't caught at once. But where Sherwood Anderson or Dreiser often fumbled painfully to reveal what was truly felt, this author in "A Charmed Life" seems most adept at concealment. Some code supplants the real thing; condescension is inherent in the prose itself.

Martha Sinnott, equipped with beauty and an agile mind, is married to John, whose genteel exterior, with a few minor traits thrown in, is all we shall ever know about him. The couple are in the crucial seventh year of their marriage and have inexplicably returned to New Leeds where Martha once lived as the wife of the outrageous Miles Murphy, still flourishing in the same place, remarried, and with a child. New Leeds is an arty village, given to too many accidents, too many alcoholics; people once in the news and now in limbo. Something happened once to all of them, and they appear to survive on stale recollections of past glories or lost hope. It is not even a doomed setup, merely the aftermath of something broken down. To this spot Martha and John come to find the "something more" their life needs. Martha desires a child; John pins his hopes on a play Martha is said to be writing.

It is hard to believe in Martha as a writer. For all the evidence she might as well be knitting. She has the brains and the sharp pencils but you never *feel* her as writer, anymore than you feel that she loves her husband even when she proclaims she does. Though she insists that she was devoted to poor Barrett, son of Miles by an earlier marriage, it doesn't mean a thing. If she was always a rebel, as her friend Dolly Lamb reminds her, where was it made manifest? You can't take Martha's persistence in wearing stockings in a village given over to barelegs as a sign of any nonconformity worth mentioning. In this village the bottle is the temptation, as it is doubtless bound to be where the inhabitants all seem nicely heeled with invisible incomes or easily won gratuities. Those not so fortunate make their appearance as riffraff. Martha of course wishes to rise above this, longs to live for something "worthwhile." Genuine as the impulse may be, it is strictly verbal.

What is convincing is the malign attraction which draws her to Miles Murphy and for which she hates herself. Being a supreme egotist, dominated by her demand to be a paragon of all the virtues or nothing, it is natural that in her analysis of herself in relation to Miles she identifies her predicament with immortal precedents; in this case, with characters out of Racine. Unfortunately, the reader cannot share Martha's conviction that the souls involved here are "as in an arena, full of sinuous savage beasts leaping at the whip." When Miles and Martha finally meet on the characteristically hard horsehair sofa in her house it is an affair between two magnetized powerhouses, not love, certainly not passion. Nor would this have much relevance except that shortly thereafter Martha finds herself pregnant.

BEING Martha, she must be sole captain of her fate and wreck the ship. Except that no stern situation actually impales her, one might believe it. But this is no Madam Bovary inexorably facing up to outrageous destiny. There are many outs for Martha, but the author contrives to let her have not a single one of them.

Though Martha tempts the reader to accept her own notion of the

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JOSEPHINE HERBST is the author of "Rope of Gold," "Somewhere the Tempest Fell," and other novels. She has also written "New Green World. John Bartram and the Early Naturalists."

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superior thing, it never quite comes off. One cannot quarrel with her, as she is represented, but only wish that she had not been confined so closely within her shell, guarded by the author rather than illuminated, without any arc of comprehension or criticism above or beyond by which we might truly see her. Actually, when you wipe off the literary chat, the clever discussion, and the occasional insight, what you get is simply a young woman whose major plight seems to be that she cannot love. The test of a nature that can love is not the lover but in intimations and delicate traces leading everywhere. Such evidence does not exist in Martha. This is terrible enough but it has nothing to do with sinuous beasts. This is a starfish ego, existing for its own sake, and it would be better if we got it straight. That she ends as she does, by a contrived coincidence, allows her to bypass genuine experience, leaving Martha, and the reader, nowhere.

Books in Brief

Out from Under

THE THAW. A Novel by Ilya Ehrenburg. With a Special Supplement "The Death of Art," by Russell Kirk. Regnery. $3.50.

Ehrenburg's latest novel has perhaps more importance as a document in the history of postwar Soviet literary controls than as an artistic performance. For when it first appeared in the Soviet periodical *Znamia* in the spring of 1954, it was violently attacked in the official reviews because of its unfaithfulness to Soviet life and the absence of any devotion to party spirit among its characters. Apparently Ehrenburg had elected to strike a blow at "Zhdanovism" in literature, the current name for dull postwar agricultural and industrial novels and plays with hopelessly stereotyped plots and positive heroes and heroines, who achieve stupendous successes because they always follow party guidance. This approach had been thrust upon writers by the party decree on literature in 1946 as interpreted in a subsequent speech by the late Andrei Zhdanov.

"The Thaw" concerns a rather nondescript group in a Volga town. There are no positive heroes or heroines among them, no startling achievements in overfulfilling work norms or rehabilitating a war-wrecked collective farm, and there is no helpful party secretary at the end to resolve crucial problems by virtue of his superior wisdom. Instead we have a series of sketches of the various characters and their relations with one another. Their lives are ordinary, even drab, and for the most part they seem unhappy. Three of them are artists who provide Ehrenburg with an opportunity to satirize what he obviously believes is wrong with the lot of the writer, dramatist, and painter in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Russell Kirk provides a supplement to the novel, in which, with unequal success, he attempts to tell why art has died in the Soviet Union. The burial will seem to some a bit premature, and Ehrenburg's own satire on the failure of Soviet art is more effective.

A Matter of Manner

HERITAGE. By Anthony West. Random House. $3.75.

The fine screen of Anthony West's sensibility is perhaps the most impressive quality of his new novel. Writing of illegitimacy, bohemianism, and seduction, West's control of emotion and clarity of statement render a potentially lurid situation into a conversation piece: mannered, exact, and rapier-quick.

Like the work of all stylists, "Heritage" must appear thin in paraphrase. The book, narrated by the bastard son of a famous actress and a celebrated writer, is a drama of discovery, and in this respect is reminiscent of Henry James. No one in the book *does* very much at all, and crises, when they occur, are usually part of the process of discovering the truth of relationships which already exist. Also like James, West is fascinated by the opposition of brilliant minds. Events are seen as situations perpetually recreated according to the minds filtering meaning.

The result is subtle and accurate prose, often sheathing the most poignant moments or acid commentary in quiet, civilized language. It is, furthermore, a prose with surprising versatility; West is able to evoke adolescent sensuality, adult love, even geographic setting and locale without straining for effects. His novel, despite a lack of surface intensity, recreates a spectrum of emotion. All colors are there if the reader will look closely enough; the canvas, however, is small and not physically imposing.

Origins of Antitrust

THE FEDERAL ANTITRUST POLICY. Origination of an American Tradition. By Hans B. Thorelli. Johns Hopkins. $8.

This treatise by the Swedish scholar Hans B. Thorelli is the definitive study of the origin and early development of federal anti-trust law and policy in the United States. The author traces in great detail the genesis of the Sherman Act from its common-law antecedents, and brings in the late nineteenth-century background of industrial development, social and political conflict, constitutional theory, and social and economic ideology. Even more valuable is the full summary and analysis of the administration and judicial interpretation of the act from 1890 to 1903, much of which is based on material uncovered by the author.

Thorelli performs a useful service in demonstrating that primary responsibility for early non-enforcement of the Sherman Act should be attributed to the attitudes and policies of the Administrations of Harrison, Cleveland, and McKinley, rather than to unfavorable court decisions. The author also shows that, while the law and general direction of anti-trust policy had been established by 1906, anti-trust procedure was fully institutionalized only with the emergence of executive leadership in this area during the Administration of Theodore Roosevelt.

Some of Thorelli's interpretations may be questioned (e.g., his attempt to show that Congress intended to maintain competition when it passed the Sherman Act, a conclusion resting excessively on Congressional debates rather than actions and affiliations), but he has written the outstanding work thus far published on the origin and early years of the federal anti-trust laws.

Theater and Films

Robert Hatch

ONE OF THE most widespread and least agreeable of human traits is the urge to gaze on anguish. Therefore accidents draw crowds, and "A Hatful of Rain" (Lyceum Theatre) can scarcely fail to be a hit. Those attending it will witness terror and violence, creeping horror and pain so intense that it blots out the mind. They will also see compassion and courage, stupidity and cruelty, but they will not see a play.

A play is a matter of conflict, but "A Hatful of Rain" is a matter of diagnosis. The hero is a drug addict, helplessly caught, beyond the appeals of his associates, compelled to make any sacrifice for his hunger, so disabled that he no longer qualifies as sane. He therefore presents an extreme medical problem, but no dramatic problem at all. The action can continue only until someone takes the obvious step of calling for professional help and his wife does this as soon as she discovers what is wrong. The fact that it takes her three acts to make the discovery does not constitute a plot; it is only an arbitrary—and in the circumstances a not very plausible—decision on the part of the playwright.

Curiously enough, the work contains allusions that could be made into a play if the author had wanted to develop them. The Pope household consists of Johnny, the addict; his wife, Celia; and his brother, Polo, who earns good money as a night-club bouncer and pays for Johnny's dope. John Pope, Sr., a shallow and selfish man who demands affection from the sons he has always ignored, is visiting at the time. Polo is jealous of his brother, in love with his sister-in-law. Is he perhaps trying to murder his brother under the guise of protecting his secret? This at least is subject-matter for a melodrama. But in that case the conflict is between the brother and the wife, there must be a showdown between them and Johnny is the object of their struggle. The action does not develop so. Similarly, the pseudo-paternalism of Pope, Sr., the sterile upbringing of the boys in public institutions are grounds for a play with a socio-psychological background and the father as villain. But Johnny is an addict, less because of an unloved childhood, than because irresponsible army hospital nurses dosed him too heavily with sedatives. The villain is neither Polo nor the father; dope is the villain and you might as well cast coronary thrombosis in the role.

But if Michael Gazzo has not written a play in his first produced work, he has written some very shrewd theater. His scenes are full of dreadful action, circumstantial homeliness, and knowing argot; they are couched in a halting, repetitious, gratingly banal style of conversation that Arthur Miller and Tennessee Williams have taught us is the authentic speech of the people. Gazzo's boss dope peddler is a fastidious sadist who wears dark glasses and giggles (a very fashionable type); his heroine is pregnant; he has written a virtuoso drunk scene for the brother; he stages an almost-seduction that shimmers with incest; he sets down the paroxysms of dope deprivation with clinical detail (and for all I know, perfect accuracy). Small wonder that the audience emerges from the theater looking as spent as voyeurs at a street disaster.

The leads in "A Hatful of Rain" are taken by Shelley Winters and Ben Gazzara. She plays with the admirable directness, the open and strong emotion that have made her one of Hollywood's really fine actresses. The play will do her no harm at all.

But I am less sure that it will not harm Gazzara. It is written too directly to the specifications of his reputation, gives him too much chance to exploit himself—the cold voice, the impotent hysteria, the frenzied athleticism. For Gazzara, "A Hatful of Rain" is an emotional sequel to "Cat on a Hot Tin Roof." He is an actor of power, but little experience, and is in danger of freezing into a type. What he needs is to play a few seasons in a first-rate repertory company. But where would he find one?

Frank Silvera and Anthony Franciosa, as the father and the brother, both create strongly modelled, thor-

do

you

like

FISH

PASTE?

Or would you prefer

fresh salmon?

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oughly worked out personalities that look capable at any moment of stepping into the thick of the drama that never develops. Frank Corsaro directs the production as though with a whip. He makes every shock hit you between the eyes.

ALTHOUGH it is a work of much finer grain, "Umberto D," the Vittorio de Sica film that has been four years reaching us, is related to "A Hatful of Rain." Again the villain is one that cannot be fought—in this case, however, it is old age, which **is** a less special affliction than narcotics.

The admirers of "Umberto D" keep boasting that it is terribly depressing, as though that were a virtue. I admire the picture for its many virtues, but the fact that it reduces me to a state of deep, if passing, depression does not seem to me one of them. The art of tragedy is to uplift the heart, but "Umberto D" is not really a tragedy. It is the spectacle of a brave, resourceful, cranky, impudent, and proud old man struggling helplessly and alone against the flood of his own years. He cannot swim up the stream, but he fights for every inch he loses. It is a heartbreaking diary of futile gallantry and de Sica, assisted by an old man named Carlo Battisti who is a professor of philosophy and has never acted before, display it with an understanding, a quiet humor, and a lack of sentimentality that are awe-inspiring. Until the very end—at the end it becomes sentimental and that, I believe, is because there is no valid way of ending a sad chronicle that has no tragic structure. The old man cannot be vanquished, but neither can he prevail—he just goes on down the stream. And that is indeed very depressing for us all.

Nevertheless, the picture is a personal triumph for the two men principally concerned and for those who assist them in lesser roles. They never make an irrelevant move, never strike a false note (until the end). Again and again, the picture chooses the supremely communicative detail, the piece of action that with perfect naturalness shows one more facet of the old man's soul. De Sica is said to be a neo-realist. I don't know that that means much, except to suggest that he is an artist in his medium. He is certainly that.

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Records

B. H. Haggin

LONDON XLLA-34 offers a performance of "Don Giovanni" with Siepi, Corena, Dermota, Suzanne Danco, della Casa, Gueden, and the chorus and orchestra of the Vienna State Opera conducted by Krips. A major weakness of the performance is the unsuitability of the lightness, smallness, and crystalline quality of Danco's voice to the part of Donna Anna whose expressive requirements can be fulfilled only with a voice and style of greater amplitude; a small blemish is the unattractive timbre of Gueden's voice at her first entrance. Otherwise the well-paced performance offers excellent singing in a context of fine playing by the orchestra which the recording allows to be heard clearly. And since the superb old Glyndebourne Festival performance is reproduced by Victor with occasional distortion that makes the end of side 1 impossible to listen to, it is good to have this new London performance that can take its place. I must mention however that it has the usual London recorded sound—which is to say that when I reproduced the recording through a Bozak speaker which falls off beyond 10,000 cycles, or through an R. C. A. LC-1A speaker with which I used a 10,000-cycle cut-off, or with a G. E. cartridge with similar limited range, the sound was clean, sweet, and lustrous; but when I reproduced it without any such limitation of range—with a Fairchild 220 cartridge and the LC-1A wide open—the sound was rough, lusterless, and sharp.

So with the sound of "The Magic Flute" on London XLLA-33, with Gueden, Wilma Lipp, Simoneau, Berry, Kurt Boehme, and the same chorus and orchestra conducted by Karl Boehm. Here it is Boehme who hasn't the weight of voice that Sarastro's part calls for; otherwise the music is sung beautifully with playing by the orchestra that is again fine. As for other available versions, in the prewar performance in which Beecham conducted the Berlin Philharmonic and a cast that included Lemnitz, Berger, and Roswaenge one hears a forceful shaping of the orchestral part around the singing, and a sharpness of phrase-contour, that one does not hear either in the new London performance or in the beautifully sung Vienna State Opera performance conducted by von Karajan that Columbia issued a few years ago; and the Beecham performance is reproduced by the Victor dubbing with sufficient clarity and brightness and only slight distortion that can be eliminated by a 10,000-cycle cut-off. My own choice would still be the Beecham performance; of the two Vienna State Opera performances I would choose London's new one.

AND finally London XLLA-35 offers a performance of one of the supreme wonders achieved by human powers, "The Marriage of Figaro," with Siepi, Gueden, della Casa, Danco, Poell, and the same chorus and orchestra conducted this time by Kleiber. Poell's voice has lost the rich sonority it used to have, and he chews the Italian words in a strange way; otherwise, though one questions the suitability of Danco's voice for the part of Cherubino, which is usually sung by a mezzo-soprano or at the very least by a soprano with greater weight of voice, the performance offers beautiful singing with the fine playing of the orchestra (the usual London recorded sound again). Kleiber's pacing gives it the right lightness and suavity, but is at times more leisurely, and less effective, than what we are accustomed to. I have in mind parts of the finales of Acts 2 and 4—above all the *Susanna, son morta* trio of Act 2, in which the chattered mock severity of Susanna's and the Countess's *Le vostre follie non mertan pieta* is much more effective in the usual faster tempo than in Kleiber's almost sluggish one. The Vienna State Opera performance issued by Columbia a few years ago not only has a cast of more brilliant singers (Kunz, Schwarzkopf, Jurinac, London) but is paced with more animation and brilliance by von Karajan. It has in fact been criticized as *too* fast—and this by writers who have praised the old Glyndebourne Festival performance conducted by Busch; when actually von Karajan's tempos are very much like Busch's—a hairsbreadth faster in the *Susanna, son morta* trio of Act 2, a little slower in the *Pace, pace* duet of Act 4. As against the more brilliant Columbia performance the London offers completeness: it connects the arias and ensembles with the recitative the Columbia performance omits, which gives the work dramatic continuity; and it includes also the unimportant arias of Marcellina and Basilio in the fourth act that one never hears even in the opera house. Choice is difficult; but I think I would choose Columbia's more brilliant performance.

MY RECENT reference to "the kind of recording that I think places the ear too close to the various instruments" brought a letter from a reader who thinks it is time to call a halt to this "realism" and insist on the greater importance of proportion and perspective in recorded performances. "Why," he asks, "should I want to hear the woodwinds at a distance of three feet, when I would never hear them that way in the concert hall?" Citing the example of a bassoon countermelody that outweighed the melody played by violas and cellos, he points out that "in the concert hall the bassoon could never be 'placed' *in front of* the strings, which is the way it sounds to me on the record." And "the worse examples thoroughly atomize, or fragment, the music (it is like looking at a ballet performance through opera glasses), thereby misrepresenting the composer's intention and also vulgarizing the conductor's intention. It is a sort of Cinerama with records." I listened recently to the Westminster recording of Haydn's "Military" Symphony, which I believe started Westminster and other companies on the falsification they call "realism." When the recording first appeared I wrote that the percussion in the second movement was too loud; when I listened it sounded to me as though a special microphone had been placed in front of the percussion; and by now some recordings sound as though a microphone had been placed in front of every instrument.

Art

A. L. Chanin

THE LARGEST exhibition ever assembled in this county of the work of Toulouse-Lautrec is on view at the Philadelphia Museum of Art (to December 11; thereafter, the Art Institute of Chicago, January 2 to February 15.) Some eighty paintings, a generous selection of drawings, lithographs, and posters, demonstrate a brilliant achievement compressed into a brief and bitter life.

Toulouse-Lautrec, his friend van Gogh, and van Gogh's friend, Gauguin, form a star-crossed trio whose world-wide fame is doubly secure, because their tormented lives have passed from the art bookshelf to popular novels and the glamour and inaccuracy of film biographies.

TO THE extent that these legends, however distorted and oversimplified, increase the public's desire to see their work, there can be no complaint. But this also involves the great danger that the emotional aura cast by the twice-told tales may get in the way of really seeing and evaluating the art itself—the main reason, after all, why their lives are of prime interest.

Shown are paintings from 1879, when the artist was fifteen—and already capable of oils tingling with extraordinary vigor, motion, and authoritative handling—to 1900, the year before his death at thirty-seven. Included are several of his finest performances: At the Moulin Rouge, and the biting, incisive La Goulue Entering the Moulin Rouge, both of 1892; and the keen, memorable composition of a brothel, The Salon in the Rue des Moulins, of 1894.

The early paintings deal with horses and hunters, echoes of his early desires and family traditions. They are quiet in color and orthodox in composition. But, by the age

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of twenty-eight, Lautrec mastered the audacious arrangement, the startling colors, the linear flow, and a novelist-like insight into people and places, in the extraordinary At the Moulin Rouge.

In this painting the keynote is set by two unorthodox devices; at the right, an enormous girl's face, like some idol or symbol of night life, bathed in green, with chrome-yellow hair, stares out of the canvas; at the left, an orange balustrade sweeps diagonally into the center. Like a huge screen close-up, these units leap over normal perspective and catapult the observer into the scene.

In the famous brothel interior Lautrec again contrives a seemingly casual grouping into an arresting composition. Here there is an even greater economy of means in probing the mood of a face, the individuality of a specific locale, and an atmosphere of dejection and boredom amid lush walls. Lautrec does not sentimentalize or moralize; yet it would be a mistake to view it as an objective, cold-eyed fragment of reality, devoid of insight and compassion.

These brothel interiors, and the portraits of inmates, are part and parcel of the nineteenth-century goal, of novelist and playwright as well as painter, to oppose artificiality and hypocrisy with a searching realism, and to use realism to interpret aspects of life hitherto rejected as out-of-bounds for art.

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For Lautrec worshipped truth. "Were I not a painter, I'd wish to be a doctor, a surgeon. . . . I have aimed at rendering the true, not the ideal," he wrote when he was seventeen. And years later, immersed in the glitter and sordidness of Montmarte dives, he told Vyette Guilbert: "Everywhere and always ugliness has its beautiful aspects; it is thrilling to discover them where nobody else has noticed them."

Besides such bold, massive compositions, there are deft, delicate, and equally brilliant paintings. Yvette Guilbert Making a Bow quivers with life, with gesture, with the sense of stage light and stage smile—a transient moment fixed forever. Equally memorable as characterization is the unflattering portrait of Oscar Wilde, pale, soft, with pink lips, and an imperial dignity in his pose.

TO itemize outstanding paintings would be almost duplicating the catalog. And after the paintings come the drawings—vivid, instantaneous, records of people. Lautrec's line is rich, supple, and vivid; now dark, now pale and delicate. And the lithographs are a world in themselves; the astonishing, almost abstract whirl of skirts of the dancer Miss Loie Fuller, the brilliant patterns in La Clownesse Assise, the bouncing legs of dancer Ida Heath—all is motion, delicacy, telling gesture, insight, and creative form.

The entire group—paintings, drawings, and lithographs—immortalize a teeming galaxy of colorful individuals. "Nothing exists but the figure," he declared. Landscape or still life left Lautrec cold.

As they had earlier with Daumier, many admired Lautrec as merely a caricaturist. Others, ready to admit his impressive ability, were repelled by the subjects. One English critic declared that he "typifies the most genuine phase of modern Franch art—the cult of vulgarity and ugliness. . . ." But Gustave Geffroy (who also defended the neglected Cezanne) put his finger on an important point: "There is in Lautrec an innate sense of caricature which it would be a great pity to repress, because it is rich in its exposure of social pretensions and moral blemishes."

MAURICE UTRILLO died on November 5, at the age of 71, A self-taught painter, he was the son of Suzanne Valadon, who posed for Lautrec and Renoir. She was also a notable self-taught painter.

In the years before the first World War, Utrillo, a heavy-drinking Bohemian, fired with the poetry of Montmarte streets, painted a famous series of touching, tender, and subtly colored portraits of the rows of white and grey plaster houses, delicate and fragile, with appealing textures and tonal harmonies. But Utrillo's gifts were limited, and they waned. Exploited by some dealers, he began to turn out a mass of street scenes almost bordering on the pretty and the superficial. They became enormously popular; they were ideal for those who wanted the prestige of owning modern art, but who preferred examples without the strong red meat of the truly significant twentieth-century paintings.

In Hollywood, where no tycoon's home dares to show its face without a Utrillo, they became known as "indoor Cadillacs" or "indoor swimming pools." And few auctions were complete without a small quota of manufactured Utrillos—recalling the well-worn remark that "Corot painted some 2,000 landscapes, of which 6,000 are in the United States."

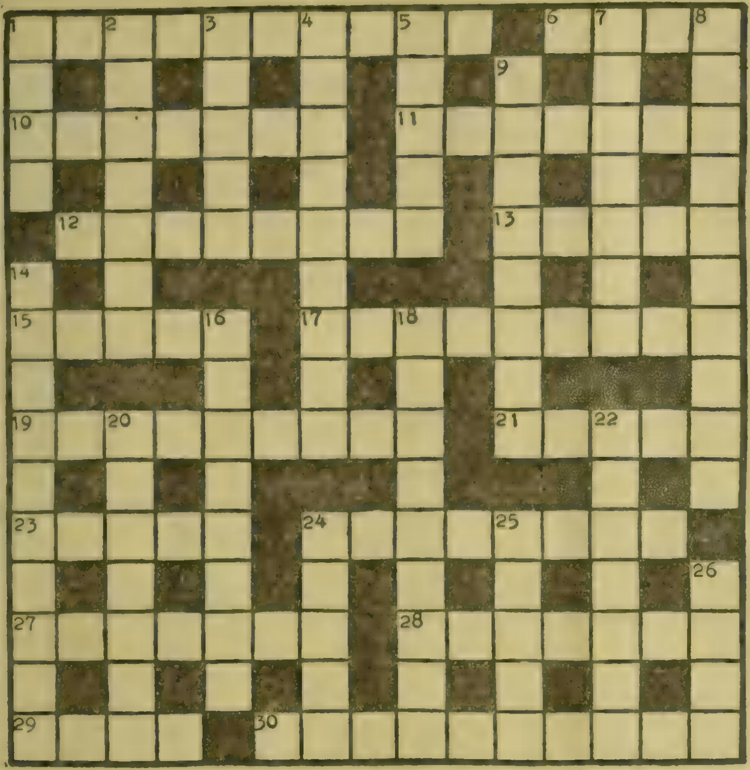
Now that Utrillo is dead, and the best of his work, the oils that will charm and endure, have long since entered museums and private collections, the number of fakes will undoubtedly increase.

A long New York *Times* obituary declares that Utrillo, having ". . . a mind that could at best be called feeble . . ." nevertheless, "was able to produce work that is rated just behind Picasso and Matisse." This is far-fetched praise, when one considers Braque, Soutine, Rouault, Modigliani, Klee, or Kandinsky. For Utrillo was essentially a primitive, with a primitive's naive charm, and like many primitives, uneven in quality and narrow in viewpoint. Yet he overcame staggering personal obstacles to paint dozens of memorable canvasses. With giants in the field, the role of a fine minor painter in twentieth-century art is no minor category.

NOTE: In my column in the issue of November 2, I inadvertently referred to Brancusi's Bird in Space as Bird in Flight.

Crossword Puzzle No. 647

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Little Old Dominion left the track, when such a track is left. (5,5)
6 See 5 down.
10 Birds and animals made tough game for Alice. (7)
11 He seems to be upside with nothing on at first. (7)
12 ——Grapes, thus making raisins miscellaneous details. (8)
13 The best of ease, when about lit. (5)
15 A man who acts, obviously. (5)
17 Are pins saved thus in inanity? (9)
19 See 1 down.
21 Current Chinese leader about a Portuguese coloney. (5)
23 Choose 13. (5)
24 Stir when broken in the stopper—it's coming apart. (8)
27 Brutus was the last one. (7)
28 Evidently one foot is not counted when they charge for cattle. (7)
29 and 26 down. The front shouldn't be false, either, this time. (8)
30 Fire together with celebration of the sport. (10)

DOWN

1 and 19 across Does he help settle accounts with the crime syndicate? (4-9)
2 Certainly not against a safety device being used liberally. (7)
3 The squared circle isn't, except for a few minutes there, (5)
4 "Tree" and "river" might suggest a larger pet than "Tit-willow". (9)
5 and 6 across Cromwell presses time, it seems. (9)
7 Bereave. (7)
8 Puss is none the worse for hanging! (10)
9 If you do to refer, you get a method for ascertaining will. (8)
14 Is the reverse in trousers? (10)
16 One might, when the set doesn't work. (4,4)
18 Delineation of a beam in the door. (9)
20 Ground meal, red and green. (7)
22 Able to [illegible]ke lace a musical production. (7)
24 Reputedly intractable circle under Aaron, for example. (5)
25 Rather sticky delay? (5)
26 See 29 across.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. [illegible]

ACROSS: 1, 12, 5, 36, 20 and 37 INTO THE VALLEY OF DEATH RODE THE SIX HUNDRED; 9 NOTES; 10 OAR; 15 OSCINE; 16 DEBTORS; 19 AS IS; 22 and 21 LATE BLOOMERS; 23 AXES; 25 SWERVES; 27 ASSETS; 28 DEIFIC; 33 HALLE; 34 OWE; 35 and 17 SPARE RIBS. DOWN: 1, 11, 18 and 14 IT NEVER RAINS BUT IT POURS; 2 TOTAL; 3 and 28 TOSSED SALAD; 4 ETON; 5 OURS; 6 DURESS; 7 ALIBI; [illegible] HOSTELS; 13 YELLOWS; 15 ORDERED; 22 LEATHER; 24 SUCCEED; 25 STREET; 26 SEASON; 30 FLAIR; 31 LOBE; 32 MESH.

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THE Nation

DECEMBER 3, 1955
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TALK WITH CHOU EN-LAI

by Gerald Bailey

A Trap for Labor

Industrial Security Program

by Aaron T. Morris

Herr Tin Lizzie

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by Edgar Snow

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Letters

More on Movie Music

Dear Sirs: It may be that the quality and quantity of music scored on a motion picture film is not worth a controversy, but it seems to me that Robert Hatch was more objective in his criticism of film music in the September 24 issue than Dore Schary in countering that criticism in the October 22 issue. In citing several of his own excellent films which minimized the use of music, Mr. Schary rather proves Mr. Hatch's point, at least as I understood the gist of his article.

There is—and I'm sure both Mr. Hatch and Mr. Schary will agree—no hard-and-fast rule governing the use of music with dramatic films. Music was an added element to film from the very beginning, when the "piano player" pounded out an obbligato to the flickering images, with what added excitement only those of my age can remember. But when the sound film arrived in the late 1920's this obbligato became an integral part of the film. That it has been overdone on many occasions and will continue to be overdone, there can be no question. Just now the fad is to work a film's title into a theme song which blares out over the main title and is then instrumentally reprised whenever there is an appropriate moment; if this song makes the "hit parade," it is likely to bring in more customers to see the film. Naturally, a film is made for customers. Yet, while the theme song greatly enhances an occasional film ("High Noon" is a prime example), it cannot suit every film. There are films which can be injured by music, and there are films which can take a great deal of music.

There are two types of film composers: those who have a film-sense as highly developed as their musical sense and accordingly strive only to serve the film they are scoring; and those who fail to understand the effects the film-maker is after and either turn dramatist themselves or seize on a film as a chance to give a two-hour concert. Mr. Hatch is dead right in objecting to musical scores which underline or exaggerate emotional situations. It is the incompetent actor or director whose work is frequently repaired or fortified by a composer, acting at the behest of a desperate producer. The composer can do miracles of patching up. But in a well-made film it is as fatal to underline or overstress the content of a well-played scene with music as to overwrite it or overplay it. All exaggeration is wrong, whether in esthetics or in daily life, and I think that was what Mr. Hatch was writing about.

DUDLEY NICHOLS
Los Angeles, Calif.

Inaccuracies Cited

Dear Sirs: Recently I received a copy of The Nation, dated July 16, 1955, and on the inside front cover I found an article under the title, Around the U. S. A., with a subtitle, Newark Wary of Heretic Hunters, with the dateline Newark, New Jersey, and signed by Charles R. Allen.

I refer you to the sixth paragraph of that article and wish to call to your attention the inaccuracies in same. The motion to launch a probe of the city's workers was not defeated; on my motion, it was tabled until such time as the results of a questionnaire were analyzed and the City Council decided that the nature of such results would indicate whether or not any additional steps were to be taken. This is a matter of public record and can be verified by referring to the official printed minutes of the Council.

I was the author of the motion to send out the questionnaire. I was not forced to resign as president of the New Jersey Region of the American Jewish Congress as is printed in the aforesaid article. I have been and still am the president of the New Jersey Region of the American Jewish Congress. That is a matter of record which can be verified with the National Office of the American Jewish Congress in New York City. I consider the printed statement a deliberate, calculated, and vicious lie intended to harm my reputation and to besmirch my character.

SAMUEL E. COOPER
Councilman—South Ward
Newark Municipal Council
Newark, N. J.

[The Nation regrets that Mr. Allen's report was inaccurate in the particulars pointed out. Mr. Allen informs us that on the question of the motion to probe Newark's municipal workers, there was an error in the editing—he had used the word "shelved" in the original copy but did not get a chance to see or correct the proofs.]

Heartening Developments

Dear Sirs: Since Martin Hall wrote his article for your October 29 issue about my discharge from the University of Southern California for failure to become an informer, two events have occurred which make my situation less dismal. The University Senate, meeting as a body on October 19, reversed the decision of its executive committee and voted to hold hearings to "permit Dr. Deinum and the Administration reasonable opportunity to explain their respective actions, as well as utilizing all other sources of information. . . ." On the same day, the University of Southern California Student Senate went on record as approving the University Senate's action, after having itself passed a resolution which stated as a basic principle: "Only for lack of professional competence or integrity should a prefessor be removed from a teaching position."

These heartening developments are due solely to the increasing efforts of many students who simply refused to allow faculty and administration to continue to play dead on this issue. Very few teachers receive the satisfaction of this kind of tangible response to their usually unrewarded work. I owe it all to the House Committee on Un-American Activities, whose hit-and-run mission crystallized my students' feelings for the American tradition and for me.

ANDRIES DEINUM
Los Angeles, Calif.

Could Be

Dear Sirs: Maybe some of our recent converts to the Bill of Rights, as it affects jury trial, were visualizing a recording of the deliberations at Sumner, Mississippi.

ERNEST H. TILFORD
Rochester, N. Y.

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VOLUME 181, NUMBER 23

THE *Nation*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Politics in a Void

The political news of the last fortnight—there has been plenty of it—has a strange quality. From the dispatches of the hundred-odd political reporters sent to cover the big Democratic blowout in Chicago, one hard fact emerges: quite a bit of money was raised. Aside from this solitary fact, one picks up some odd items of information: that Mr. Adlai Stevenson has a better staff now than in 1952; that Mr. Adlai Stevenson is more self-confident now than then; and that Mr. Adlai Stevenson is more inclined today to favor the political "pros" than in 1952. One also learns that Mr. Stevenson consulted his three sons before deciding to become a candidate and that a new daughter-in-law, Nancy, has measured up handsomely to her responsibilities as a political hostess. Finally, one is told by Doris Fleeson that some Democrats still have misgivings over the fact that Mr. Stevenson is a "divorced" person. Somehow we had thought this disability had more relevance to the sad case of Group Captain Peter Townsend than to Mr. Stevenson, who seems cheerful enough. After all, Mr. Stevenson polled 27,311,354 votes in 1952, which is some evidence, at least, that American voters are not necessarily prejudiced against those who have been divorced.

Admiring Mr. Stevenson as we do—and we are very glad indeed that he is a candidate for the Presidency—we can only be grateful for these tidbits of information. What bothers us is the remarkable contrast between the banality of the news from Chicago and the urgency of the political news from other quarters for the same period. One learns, for example, that our friends and allies at the United Nations secretly concede that this country has compromised them and itself by its stupid handling of the North Korean issue at the current session of the General Assembly. From Southeast Asia comes word that the clever Thais, who have survived down the years through their ability to change sides deftly at the critical junctures, are now flirting with the Chinese. The pro-Democratic New York *Post* deplores the fact that there has been "no concerted Democratic demand for a sweeping and critical review of our German program" in the wake of Geneva. At the United Nations our clumsy arm-twisting of Belgium and Great Britain, all in an effort to put through a package deal on new members, minus Outer Mongolia, without embarrassment to the Chinese Nationalists, has been so obvious, and painful, as to arouse critical comment in the friendliest sources. At home, Mr. James Desmond in a series of remarkable articles in the New York *Daily News,* warns that racial tensions in Mississippi have reached such a dangerous pitch that an outbreak of violence might occur which could have a disastrous effect on America's prestige abroad.

Yet we are told by Mr. Robert G. Spivack in the New York *Post* that Democratic harmony was achieved at Chicago by "glossing over the big issues—everything has been sidestepped here from the Mississippi Till case to the Texas-led drive to put across the oilmen's natural-gas bill," and Mr. James Reston tells us in the New York *Times* that the Democrats at Chicago failed to come up "with a single new idea for dealing with either the domestic or foreign policy defects they complained about. . . ." It is this remarkable contrast between the chit-chat that came to us from Chicago and the other news of the week that is disturbing, along with the contrast between Mr. Stevenson's brilliant efforts to "talk sense" to the American people in 1952 as against the lack of substance in his Chicago speech. Let's hope that in the weeks ahead Democratic hopefuls will turn from sweeping criticism of the Administration of the type voiced in Chicago, and later in Seattle by Mr. Harriman, to the presentation of some new, bold, constructive, intelligent proposals.

Triple V

Judge Luther W. Youngdahl has dealt the informer system another heavy blow in ruling that the State Department must disclose the information on the basis of which it denies a passport application. The ruling was made in the case of Leonard B. Boudin, the New York lawyer—and occasional contributor to this journal—who has earned some kind of special merit award for his brilliant campaign to vindicate the American citizen's freedom to travel. Said Judge Youngdahl: "When the basis of action by any branch of the Government remains hidden from scrutiny and beyond practical review, the seeds of arbitrary and irresponsible government are sown." In pointing out that this requirement applies to "any branch" of government, Judge Youngdahl has given strong support to the suggestion made by Judge Walter Pope in the coast guard screening case on which we commented some weeks ago (November 12, page 411), that due process implies a right of confrontation.

Buried in the news is another interesting item on the informer system. A Washington rooming-house operator has entered a plea of guilty to a charge of having falsely accused a White House clerk of selling government secrets to the Russian Embassy. The poison-pen letter, purporting to come from a fellow White House employee, was written on White House stationery. Independent investigation had previously determined the falsity of the charge. The A. P. story (November 21) simply notes that the person who made the false accusation "has never explained why he made it." The case is an almost-too-pat illustration of the evil inherent in the informer system.

Two recent developments have corrected, to some extent at least, unfair aspects of the army clearance system. The day Senator Hennings's civil-liberties investigation opened hearings on the army discharge cases, the Defense Department announced that hereafter it would check on inductees *before* instead of *after* they were inducted. At the same time, Judge David N. Edelstein, in the case sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee on which Dan Wakefield reported for our readers (November 19), has ruled that when the army gives anything less than an honorable discharge to an inductee because of pre-induction membership in, or association with, so-called "subversive" organizations, it violates civil rights. It should be noted, also, that Congressman James Roosevelt has promised to introduce a bill requiring that when on honorable discharge is withheld, the serviceman must be granted a court martial based on army evidence. These are net gains but it is disturbing to learn that the army still takes cognizance of "remarks" made after induction on the basis of which, inferentially, honorable discharges can be withheld. A serviceman's right to an honorable discharge should be based on performance, not conversation.

The Cynical Mourners

A group of prominent Americans, including Mildred Adams, Waldo Frank, John Dos Passos, Henry R. Luce, and William Carlos Williams have issued a tribute to the late Jose Ortega y Gasset, Spanish philosopher, for having provided "new guide posts" for the measurement of human progress, and for having given the world due warning at a time when "the new totalitarian fashions seemed to offer promise." Their statement will help to counteract the shameful attempt of the Falangists to present the philosopher as "one of their own." The simple fact that Ortega died in Madrid (on October 18) was seized by them as proof that he had at long last swung over to the Franco regime. Most of the Cabinet as well as the secretary of the Falange Party attended the funeral services of this man who had always held fascism, Spanish or otherwise, in deepest contempt. The regime even sought to create the impression that Ortega, who had always criticized the Catholic church when it interfered in political affairs, had relented on his deathbed and blessed the hierarchy. So blatant a distortion of truth aroused the condemnation of *La Croix*, the leading Catholic paper of Paris.

As a youth, Ortega was expelled from the Jesuit University of Duesto for opposing Spain's role in the Spanish-American war. He was among those Spanish intellectuals who contributed actively, in the early thirties, to the founding of the Spanish Republic. And however strongly he repudiated the violence which accompanied the Civil War, he never relented in his dislike for the Franco regime.

The "Study" of Giants

When Congress is concerned with heresy it conducts investigations; when the object of its concern is the stock market or General Motors, it prefers "studies." The current leisurely study of General Motors, in the nature of an attempt to measure a giant, started on what *Business Week* characterized as "a slightly defensive note," and to date the fireworks have remained wet. Senator O'Mahoney, speaking for the committee, pleaded with several professors who had made a study of G. M. for the Brookings Institute to share their findings with Congress and the public. The professors politely demurred and were not called. The gentleness of this mode of inquiry is in remarkable contrast with the swashbuckling style of inquiry used to bludgeon political confessions from terrified teachers. It is also in remarkable contrast with the brilliant T. N. E. C. hearings which Senator O'Mahoney conducted in the 1930's. But with G. M. stock continuing its brilliant advance on the market, and with the company reporting earnings after all taxes of $913,000,000 for the first nine months of the year—it will be the first corporation in the country's history to earn over one billion dollars in a single year—it is little wonder that the investigators are "slightly apologetic" or that the hearing is being conducted in mood of mingled awe, reverence, and muted ecstasy. The giant being measured has little to fear from its measurers.

"Something's Gotta Give"

Defense expenditures are running higher than Washington anticipated earlier in the year; the total for 1955 promises to be closer to $36 billions than to the $34 to $34.5 billions previously predicted. Part of the explanation, notes John G. Norris in the Washington *Post*, is to be found in the fact that recent technological advances have made weapons vastly more complicated and, by the same token, more expensive. Writes Mr. Norris: "Weapons are becoming more and more complex, involving extensive use of electronics undreamed of a decade ago. War planes require elaborate and costly radar bomb sights, fire-control systems and communications. The latest air-force fighter . . . costs ten times what a World War II fighter ran, and three times what was paid for the Korean War F-86. . . . Guided missiles now coming into service for anti-aircraft, surface-to-surface, and air-to-air use, cost far more than guns for such purpose." And so it goes. The "semi-crash" program on guided missiles, which is almost immune from tight budgetary controls, has probably cost more than a billion dollars this year, and is really just getting started. Given the pace of technological advances, it is hard to disagree with Mr. Norris's conclusion that we are rapidly approaching the point where an irresistible force (the pressure for increased military spending) meets an immovable object (the nation's ability or willingness to pay the bill). When this point is reached, in the words of a popular song, "something's gotta give." Isn't now the time, then, to inventory the entire military establishment in terms of technological changes which, within a decade, have revolutionized modes of warfare?

Pyramid of Fear

The hearings Senator Kilgore is conducting on the McCarran-Walter Act point up the paradox noted by J. Campbell Bruce in last week's *Nation* (p. 457), namely, that those who favor repeal or modification possess an overwhelming political edge over those who do not. At these hearings, leading spokesmen for Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish groups took strong positions in favor of modification. Senators Case, Ives, Lehman, and Kennedy spoke up vigorously for modification or repeal. Senator Kennedy characterized the act as "the most blatant piece of discrimination in the nation's history," while Senator Lehman characterized it as representing "a pyramid of fears—fear of foreigners, fear of criminals, fear of Communists and anarchists, and fear even of naturalized American citizens." Victor Reuther for the C. I. O. and Walter J. Mason for the A. F. of L. urged modification of the quota system which Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, president of the Synagogue Council of America, reminded the committee is based today as in 1924 on "fear of the Catholic and hatred of the Jew."

Yet Senator Lehman was forced to concede that there appears to be little likelihood of the law's modification or repeal at the coming session of Congress. One reason, of course, is that the Administration is apparently reluctant to make good on President Eisenhower's 1952 campaign promise that "we should have had, and we must get, a better law than this McCarran Act." The other reason is simply that those who favor modification or repeal have not taken their case directly to the voters as a political issue. Every candidate for Congress should be asked to take a position on this act; Presidential candidates and incumbent Senators and Representatives who support it should be asked why. The strangest aspect of this political paradox is that no one seems to know just who are the silent supporters of the act. Whoever they are, they apparently have great political power.

A TRAP FOR LABOR

Industrial Security Program . . *by A. T. Morris*

MILLIONS of additional Americans are beginning to feel the impact of the government loyalty-security programs which began in Washington with the high-sounding aim of ensuring simon-pure, patriotic civil servants. Having, in the process, smashed the lives of many innocent Americans and their families, the programs have spread throughout the land. The case in point is the industrial security program, less publicized than the more dramatic civil-service program. A Senate committee headed by Senator Thomas C. Hennings of Missouri and a twelve-member civilian commission are now engaged in separate studies of the programs—an indication of the widespread concern created by their operation.

Hard-won union gains are being imperiled by the industrial security program, drafted largely without labor consent or participation. The program itself is being gratuitously applied by employers in fields such as the newspaper and entertainment world without the pretext of a defense contract. Employers, using criteria set up by the Defense Department, are firing workers. And the spreading disease is affecting both the National Labor Relations Board and arbitrators called upon to decide so-called security-risk dismissals. The "new body of law" is producing a "new" set of decisions, much to labor's dismay.

The industrial security program is divided into two parts, the personnel clearance program and the plant industrial security program. The review program consists of the Office of Industrial Personnel Security Review, the Industrial Security Screening Board, and the Industrial Personnel Security Review Board. Sitting on these boards, as prescribed by the Defense Department regulations, are military and civilian members selected by the secretaries of each defense department. Hearing boards have been set up in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco.

Military commanders picking members of the local boards are seriously advised to select "persons of responsibility and of mature judgment and balance who can be counted upon to proceed in a fair and judicial manner." Given the

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AARON T. MORRIS is the pen name of a New York labor-management consultant.

limitless scope of any inquiry into the thought processes of a citizen, the "fair and judicial" manner prescribed is obviously a pious wish rather than a reality.

The employers are given an opportunity to sit in judgment on their employees' loyalty through the provisions of a security manual issued to defense contractors by the Defense Department. The manual describes procedure in classifying and protecting secret material and requires the employer to submit reports concerning "existing or threatened espionage, sabotage or subversive activities" at any of his plants, factories or laboratories.

One sub-section of the instructions requires the employer with a defense contract to notify the military security office, in a "confidential" report, any available fact about an employee having access to classified information, "which indicates that such access is not, or would not be, clearly consistent with the interest of national defense." The possibilities in this procedure for anti-union employers eager to discharge active trade unionists are apparent. He sets the machinery in motion by classifying his entire plant as restricted, and thus asks for security clearance for practically every worker.

THE granting of a security clearance involves a sweeping set of criteria under which the applicant for such clearance is judged. There are twenty-two points in this prescription for judging a man's loyalty, including such causes for denying clearance as "any behavior, activities or associations which tend to show that the individual is not reliable or trustworthy." The most recent testing point, No. 22, provides for a denial of clearance if there is "refusal by the individual, upon the grounds of constitutional privilege against self-incrimination, to testify before a Congressional or legislative committee or federal or state court or other tribunal, regarding charges of his alleged disloyalty, or other misconduct."

Labor attorney Irving Abramson, a member of the New York bar, counsel for District 4, I. U. E.-C. I. O. and a former member of the Enemy Alien Hearing Board, in a speech at a Cornell University conference on problems in labor relations and arbitration, said of Point 22: "Thus, on the third day of April, 1955, an employee or an employer becomes a potential security risk if he invokes the protection against self-incrimination accorded him by the federal and state Constitutions."

Mr. Abramson continued: "The merits or reasonableness of this new criteria could be defended were the sanctions contained therein predicated on the refusal to answer questions directed to specific charges of disloyalty to the United States government. Criteria 22 is not, however, so limited. Certainly, this addition cannot be considered a contribution either to the effectiveness of the security program or the civil liberties of American citizens. . . ."

Employers have not been slow to realize the potential of the industrial security program as an anti-labor weapon neatly wrapped in patriotism. Consider the statement in a document issued by the National Industrial Conference Board in 1952:

> But even if you don't have a trained saboteur in hire, industrial security can pay off in peacetime. It can help you rid your plant of agitators who create labor unrest, who promote excessive grievances, slowdowns, and strikes and encourage workers' antipathy toward management. These actions cost your company money. . . .

Another view is given in the magazine, *Factory Management and Maintenance*, October, 1954, by Albert J. Tuohy, director of security at Republic Aviation Corporation, Farmingdale, New York, under the title of Communists in Industry. Mr. Tuohy advised:

> . . . It will pay you not to jump to conclusions. Above all, don't forget there are two kinds of Communists in your plant. Both have a mission. The first is to agitate for communism, to create unrest, to lower morale, to take over the unions. These are generally your extreme liberals—the men with good educations who are usually in the better jobs—quite frequently engineering. I consider this group less dangerous than the second kind, whose mission is to get into a position where they can sabotage you out of commission. They are usually line employees, working in the most routine jobs. . . .

Mr. Tuohy's concern with the taking over of the trade unions was touching, indeed. His conception of the "two kinds of Communists" almost jibed with that of J. G. Sourwine, counsel for the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, who offered his formula at a recent Los Angeles Town Hall discussion on the industrial program. Mr. Sourwine dramatically described what he called the "sleeper Communist" and the "secret Communist." The "sleeper Communist," he said, was one who did not engage in open Communist activity or has no past record of such activity. This type, Mr. Sourwine continued, was awaiting orders. As for the "secret Communist," according to Sourwine, he is engaged in Communist activities now and is a potential great danger in a factory.

Henry Mayer, a well-known labor attorney, recently gave some illustrations of the impact of the program on individuals. He said: "A man was denied security clearance, which he needed for his job, 'because his wife was a known Communist.' He was a bachelor.

"Another person lost his job because his photograph had been identified as that of a constant frequenter of Communist gatherings. Later he found out through sheer happenstance that the man who had made this (false) identification suffered from cataracts and was almost blind.

"An engineer caught his postman stealing Veterans Administration checks from the mail, pressed charges, and saw the postman go to jail. The postman's friends spread rumors about the engineer's home life and associations, and the engineer was denied clearance as a security risk. . . ."

Mayer declared that in the eastern region alone there are more than 1,100 cases pending before security boards. He pointed out: "Nobody knows how many have never secured vindication and have lost their occupation and their position in society because of charges equally groundless and because the present security system deprives them of that which is the essence of due process—the right of confrontation and cross-examination." He added that the cases usually take six months to a year to process and that many employees resign while their cases are pending "because they are disgusted, or because they don't have the money to present a case, or because they have no faith in a system which relies on statements of faceless people! . . ."

Abramson, too, cited several cases. For example, one of the criteria to be employed in denying clearance involves "treatment for a serious mental or neurological disorder." As a result, one employee was denied clearance because he was suffering from neuro-dermatitus, a skin disease!

The type of accusation which can hurl a citizen into this shadow world of weird charges brought by unknown informants is shown, too, in an industrial security case described in the Yarmolinsky case studies in personnel security. The man involved had worked for a government contractor for sixteen years, had access to classified materials, but in actual practice did not come in contact with classified materials.

He was denied a clearance by the army-navy-air force Personnel Security Board on the grounds that "you are alleged to be mentally or emotionally unstable." He answered the charges with several character affidavits, and was then told that the board had been abolished and that his case had been transferred to the Industrial Personnel Security Board in his area. Four months later, he was notified he had been denied clearance on the grounds that such clearance "was not clearly consistent with the interests of national security."

The notification gave the man no details, and three weeks later he was suspended from his job without pay. He then hired a lawyer and plunged into the security mill. Two months later, after asking for a hearing and specifications, he was notified by letter that the board had "carefully reviewed" the information concerning his alleged mental and unstable condition and that the basis of the charge was: "You have made numerous complaints to law enforcement agencies . . . to the effect that unknown individuals were flashing rays at members of your family; that various persons were spying on you, etc. . . ."

One month later, the hearing took place. It developed from his testimony that his wife became ill in 1947 and had started to have hallucinations. He testified that in response to her requests, he had visited a local F. B. I. office with her to report that "strangers were flashing lights at her and spying on her." Also, he testified, he later visited the local police and personally reported his wife's complaint. The man produced a letter from his wife's physician, saying the wife had been considerably disturbed, and that her trouble, a thyroid condition, had since been cured. The Yarmolinsky report continued: "He testified that he had not at first been aware of his wife's illness, because they had been married a long time and she had been normal, and that her condition had come on gradually. . . ."

Two months after the hearing, he was granted clearance. He was reimbursed for the time lost. The total time between original notification and decision was nine and a half months. Before he got his back pay, dating from the original notification, the time elapsed was twelve and a half months. He paid his attorney $400, and when reinstated was assigned to a job that paid a salary of $100 less a month than his salary at the time he was suspended.

THE industrial security program has also had a potent effect on arbitration hearings. Prior to the Korean war, Mayer pointed out, arbitrators were inclined to rule that a worker engaged in non-restricted work be reinstated. One such case cited by Mayer was that of an employee who had refused to testify before a grand jury as to alleged subversive activities. The arbitrator in this case wrote: "If this company, and by implication, every private employer, were free to set up its own standards, its own trials, and its own punishments for violations of law, and to write guilty against any employee's name in its records, there would result a chaos of different trial procedures and perhaps the gravest injustices and damage to individual citizens. Even though such charges might often be subject to arbitration, as in the present case, it could not be said that the usual arbitration procedure provides anything approaching the due processes, guaranteed rights, and just uniformities which our courts can furnish. The company and the arbitrator should therefore walk patiently behind the law, or impatiently if they must, but nevertheless behind the law, in disciplining an employee on suspicion of communism. . . ."

Since the Korean war and the cold war, Mayer asserted, arbitrators have swung the other way. He said: "They have concluded, as a matter of public policy, that the security agreement which defense employers are obliged to sign with the Defense Department is superimposed on collective-bargaining contracts. They have uniformly held that, as an implied condition of employment, employees waive their constitutional protections such as those under the First and Fifth Amendments where the private employer's business is cloaked with a public interest or where there is a showing of financial damage to the employer resulting from the employee's constitutional plea, or disruptive activity among fellow employees ensues therefrom. This cloak of protection to employers has been extended to cover defense work, the newspaper business, and the entertainment world."

The correction of injustices will not, unfortunately, restore the reputations and former happy lives of many Americans who have been crushed by the program. However, it is at least possible, as the public's eyes are opened further to the damaging effect of the program, that a halt may be called to the trampling on free men's democratic rights. Dean Griswold of Harvard sounded a note of hope: "For myself, I have great faith in the sober second judgment of the people. The immediate reaction of the people, like that of any individual, may be hasty, emotional, irrational or unsound. But, when that phase is past, when we have had a real chance to think through our problems, I have confidence that the people will demand a better standard of conduct. . . ."

HERR TIN LIZZIE

Saga of the Volkswagen . . *by Edgar Snow*

PERHAPS no single automobile since the tin lizzie has had such a spectacular rise to riches as the German Volkswagen, with its sturdy little air-cooled, frostproof, heatproof engine. In the past two years many Americans have also become Volkswagen-conscious. Without any advertising it has become the most popular foreign car in the United States, outselling its competition now two to one. Next year it will be made here—in a plant of its own in New Brunswick, New Jersey. All this might end by giving Americans a new concept of automotive values. To dramatize a little: If our present automobile owners overnight switched to Volkswagens it would have the effect of increasing available metropolitan parking space by about one-third, widening most streets and highways by ten to twenty feet, increasing national road capacities by about one-third, reducing passenger-car gas consumption by half, and enormously reducing traffic congestion—without any loss in average passenger load per car, legal cruising speeds, and safety.

NO SUCH miracle is in sight, but more and more Volkswagens certainly are. It is a car with a past and future and it has social as well as economic implications. It is also something of a financial and political enigma. Nobody here seems quite sure whether it is owned by the Bonn government or German labor unions—and hence the rumor that it is "socialistic." In fact it may yet be reorganized as a private enterprise—and quite possibly under its present manager-director and virtual commissar, Dr. Heinz Nordhoff. Its political career goes back to Adolf Hitler's promise to make it "the people's car"—and to "car people's" early jokes about it. Hitler had Robert Ley sell it to the public through his "strength-through-joy" movement. Nazi labor chiefs raised $70,000,000 from Germans who made advance payments for their "1,000-mark car"—which they never got. They did finance Volkswagen's prototypes and the Wolfsburg factory, but war came too soon and production went to the army.

Today the regenerated car is crowding the British in other markets besides ours. To overtake it they need something no less sensational than Ferguson's "mystery car." Yet ironically it was the British who turned down the chance to take over the Volkswagen package, for nothing. Ten years ago the Volkswagen plant lay in ruins when a British colonel, prowling Wolfsburg for reparations, examined it and concluded it wasn't worth picking up to take home. (Ugly little lass, don't you know, built like a ladybug, engine in the rear, and always popping—that sort of thing.)

Luckly for Hans, the occupation authorities needed transport, and repair shops. Hence they helped former Volkswagen technicians assemble enough new machinery to operate their badly crippled plant. Heinz Nordhoff, an automotive engineer trained by General Motors (at their German Opel plant), had made trucks for the Nazis. Before he could take over Wolfsburg, under Allied trusteeship, his name had to be removed from the American blacklist. Yet by the end of 1945 he had produced 713 vehicles from the ruins, mostly for British overlords. The following year, with the help of more Allied orders and equipment, production jumped twelve times.

Last summer 30,000 well-fed, well-clothed, well-paid—with the highest wage rate in Germany—Volkswagen workers paused to honor the production of the 1,000,000th car turned out since the war in the huge, completely rebuilt, and vastly expanded factory complex at Wolfsburg. Since then Volkswagen has replaced the British Motor Corporation as the world's fourth largest automobile manufacturer. In New York W. W. Van de Kamp, general manager for Volkswagen of America, told the writer that current daily production in Germany is now 1,350—about 400,000 annually. Output at the new American plant may soon bring the total up to half a million.

This year German car production will run close to 800,000, of which 47 per cent are for export. Wolfsburg accounts for about half the total and 54 per cent of all German cars shipped overseas are Volkswagens. On every continent the graph of recent German gains begins to parallel the story here. Volkswagen seriously entered the American market only in 1953, when its sales were 1,237. Last year they jumped to 6,342, a gain of 412 per cent. At the same time British cars, which had always led here, slumped by 14 per cent in the case of the Jaguar to as high as 47 and 50 per cent for the former best-selling MG and Austin-Morris. During the first six months of 1955 Volkswagen sales climbed to more than 10,000. Heinz Nordhoff, when he was here recently to negotiate the purchase of the former Studebaker-Packard plant, predicted a total sale of 35,000 imported units for the year. Orders are running six weeks to six months, in various models, ahead of deliveries. The capacity of the New Brunswick plant is 100,000 and Volkswagen officials believe it will be fully absorbed with little but word-of-mouth advertising.

NOW a fascinating thing about the whole Volkswagen saga is the fact that ever since 1948 all expansions of plant and sales and service facilities have been financed without any outside capital investment. That is, Volkswagen profits alone have proved adequate for everything. Pyramiding at a geometrical rate, these are now being turned to investment abroad, to compete with British and American exports. Few

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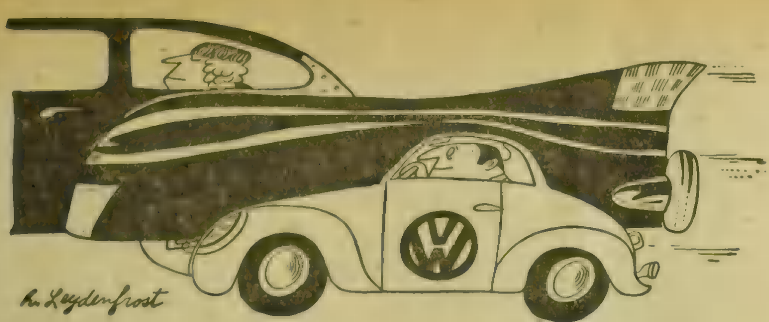

people realize the high rate of profit in the automobile business here at home. Even after taxes the net returns have been averaging 20 to 30 per cent on invested capital—a fact obscured by stock splits, extra dividends, etc. In the case of Volkswagen, currently run like a collectively-owned enterprise even if it is not legally so, the rate of net profit is unknown but must be at least as high as General Motors—which this year announced a billion-dollar profit, after taxes.

LOW-RENTAL housing developments, community centers with swimming pools and symphony orchestras, and 4 per cent annual wage dividends are among Nordhoff's means of spreading contentment among his workers in Germany—and a small slice of the profits. Similar attractions will doubtless be offered to workers here. Considering its capital structure, however, Volkswagen—with no stockholders to pay—should be able to produce its vehicles here at prices ruinous to small-car competition, whether domestic or foreign. The current price of the imported Volkswagen de luxe sedan, fully equipped including heater and turn signals, is $1,495 in New York. In Germany the same car sells for $902, according to the New York *Times* (October 2)—even though it is heavily dependent on imported American materials. One big distributor of foreign cars assures us that by substituting certain standard American parts, and importing German-made engines, transmissions, and a few other items, the Volkswagen people can certainly assemble all their models in America for about the same net cost as in Germany. Hence they can, if necessary, offer them here at German price equivalents or better.

All this may interest us for several reasons. Why has the German car attained sudden popularity in an American market where domestic car designs continue to follow conventional and exactly opposite assumptions? Is public taste changing? Wherein lies Volkswagen's superiority over the British—and other European—small-car competition? How is Detroit going to answer the challenge—if such a flea bite can yet be called a challenge? And what does the Volkswagen triumph in its own field signify, if anything, about future German-American industrial competition in foreign markets generally?

For those who haven't been personally introduced to the ladybug it may be said in passing that the standard model is 160 inches long, 59 inches high, durably upholstered, seats four adults, and has an all-steel body which *Science and Mechanics* testing engineers rate as "extremely rugged, noiseproof, and drum-tight—the driest record of any car (tested) to date." They add that its "hydraulic brakes are excellent" and its "pot-hole-eating individual wheel suspension calms down even the cobbliest roads," while "as a road-hugger on curves this car ranks with the best." The engine has four forward speeds, one an overdrive which gives fifty miles to the gallon—if you can bear poking along at twenty miles per hour. At fifty m. p. h. the Volkswagen gives thirty-six miles to the gallon and cruising at sixty it makes better than thirty miles to the gallon. With its air-cooling system the engine requires no anti-freeze, and has better pick-up than most cars. The Volkswagen company also makes a foldback sunroof model to sell here for $1,575, a sporty little convertible for $1,995, and for the same price offers a swank station wagon which looks like a family-size bus and seats eight or nine.

With Germanic thoroughness and efficiency, Volkswagen did not enter the American market until it had set up good service facilities to protect its reputation. Today it has fourteen distributors and 800 dealers throughout the United States and Canada. Service and parts are highly accessible on the East and West coasts, and adequate in most populous areas. Standard performance for the car is 70,000 miles without engine trouble. Many owners pride themselves on being able to handle minor repairs with special kits provided in the tool panel inside the hood of each car. Several years ago Heinz Nordhoff offered a reward of a gold watch to every Volkswagen owner who drove over 60,000 miles without a major repair job or replacement. Swamped with valid claimants, he soon had to withdraw his offer. This is one reason why the relative resale value of Volkswagens is incomparably higher than any American car. Another is the fact that the main lines of Volkswagen body design have not changed for ten years. Even in Europe Volkswagens rarely appear on the used-car auction block.

AMERICAN car manufacturers so far have discounted small-car competition by insisting that it makes no sense to buy one when you can get a standard American car a year old for no more than the price of a Volkswagen. They overlook the fact that such an American used car may already have cost its first owner about $1,000 in depreciation—in a period when a Volkswagen value would have dropped scarcely a fifth of that. Furthermore, the second owner of the American car must face serious repair-job risks while heavy depreciation automatically continues.

There is no doubt that the large car will always be in demand in American suburban and rural areas or wherever long distance travel is involved or money is no factor. So far the Volkswagen has sold more readily to the family ready for a second car. But Will Van de Kemp pointed out to us that this category already includes 20 per cent of all present American car-owners—no picayune market in itself. If depreciation and maintenance-operation costs continue to mount on large cars the one-car family—urbanite or exurbanite—may also find relief in something like Volkswagen.

As the chauffeur becomes obsolete for all but very wealthy Americans, Detroit's redundant emphasis on bloated bigness for bigness's sake alone becomes more and more banal. (Mercury's '56 ad campaign frankly relies on nothing but trite repetition of the word "big".) Traffic experts agreed at an almost wholly unreported meeting of the American Safety Association in Washington a short time ago that American cars nowadays are carrying far too much power, which under present conditions is an increasing menace to the life and limb of both driver and pedestrian. Extravagant overuse of materials and superfluous extension of rear and front space in many models feed vanity more than any real need. And such features are offered at the sacrifice of things rapidly becoming more important to the average insurance-ridden, gas-exploited owner-driver, namely: economy of initial cost, and of operation and maintenance, low depreciation, maneuverability in growingly impossible urban traffic, and ease of parking.

One veteran distributor of British cars—himself an American—said that the latter factors are indeed only now beginning to play a part in foreign sales. "Up till recently," he said, "it has been the foreign look—the snob appeal, the desire to be different—that sold all imported cars, whether low-priced or high-priced. Secondly it was power. The main reason Volkswagen has been doing so phenomenally well—I'll admit it—is because it offers a degree of power no other small car in the same price field possesses. To get into the mass sales, however, a car now has to have all the general performance features of an American car—and better. Volkswagen has that, too." He didn't see much hope of British recovering foreign-car predominance here; the Germans had got too much of a lead in the low-price field now. What about American competition, then?

"Ah, Detroit. They're too complacent; they may be missing the boat. I should talk that way about an industry selling 8,000,000 cars this year? What's Volkswagen to that? It all depends on whether they hit that 100,000 mark. If Volkswagen passes it in a year or two Detroit will have to sit up and take notice. Then—it just could be too late."

IT MAY barely be too late to catch up to the little ladybug in overseas markets. It is moving in everywhere from the Andes to Japan—an ideal car for most of the world so much poorer than ourselves. Is it portentous of rising German competition in other lines? Armaments, for one thing—now that Germany is fully restored to the club? Volkswagen obviously thinks so. A prudent desire to have an independent source of steel—in a period when the Ruhr will be tooling up again for a revived German arms industry—was a clinching argument in favor of opening the New Brunswick plant.

TALK WITH CHOU EN-LAI

Wants Formosa—and Peace . . *by Gerald Bailey*

I SPENT most of the month of October in Communist China as a member of an official delegation from the Society of Friends in Great Britain—incidentally the first religous delegation from a non-Communist Western country to go there since what the Chinese Communists call Liberation. We spent most of our time in Peking, but we also visited Shanghai, Nanking, and Canton and at one point divided our team of six to visit Tientsin and West China respectively.

A primary purpose of our visit was to express the good will of Friends—and of many others in Britain—to the Chinese people. British Quakers, like the American Quakers, have had many links with China in the past through missionary work, teaching, and the activities of the British-American Friends Ambulance Unit. We were anxious to renew these old contacts. We were eager also to visit with Chinese Christians and see how they were faring. As it turned out, we spent much of our time with Christians, finding no obstacle at all in making contact with them.

But we also went to China with a special concern for the problems of peace and in the hope of breaking down in some measure the country's isolation from the West. Quakers have played some small part at the United Nations and in the various capitals in trying to encourage constructive solutions of the Far Eastern crisis, and we desired to pursue this purpose within the limits open to us. American Quakers have long shared with us the desire to make contacts with the new China and in this regard we considered ourselves in some degree as speaking for them as well as for ourselves. Beyond that we were well enough aware of the central importance of American policies and attitudes toward Communist China as well as of Peking's toward Washington. We could not profess to put the American point of view authentically, but we were much concerned to do what was possible to encourage Sino-American understanding.

We came across very little virulent anti-American propaganda and, as far as I can remember, no anti-Americanism as such. The official declarations on foreign affairs in the newspapers and agency releases continued, of course, to castigate American Far Eastern policy. Some of our number visited an Exhibition of American Espionage in Chungking which had already been visited

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Premier Chou En-lai

by 600,000 people in that city and had previously been shown in most of the major cities of the country. This exhibition, devoted to dramatizing the alleged missions of the American aircraft brought down in China, had clearly the effect, if not the intention, of stimulating animosities against the United States government. But we saw little reflection of this hostile official line in the attitudes of the people we met.

Moreover, we heard plenty of statements at official level which were distinctliy conciliatory not only toward the American people but toward the government as well. We had a relaxed and friendly conversation lasting two hours with Chou En-lai, who is both Premier and Foreign Minister. Much of this conversation was devoted to Sino-American relations and in the main the Premier's remarks about the United States were, to say the least, not unsympathetic. There was a touch of asperity, perhaps, in his emphasis on the sovereign status of the People's Republic when he alleged that some of the American nationals remaining in China had committed offenses against Chinese laws and could only be released—though they would be released—when their cases had been reviewed. But on the question of relations in general, the Premier was positive and sympathetic—even wistful. "The American and Chinese people," he said, "have always been friendly; only in the past ten years has there been estrangement. Once the Chinese people have contacts with Americans again, that friendship can be restored. Ten years ago I knew many Americans and count them as my friends. I wonder how they are now; some of them may have changed, but not all."

ON THE question of resumed intercourse between his country and the United States, the Premier's emphasis was on the need for reciprocity in visits between the two countries and on the responsibility of the United States for the present barriers. "There is no bamboo curtain here," he said. "The blockade is maintained against us by others." Or, as he put it with mild irony at an earlier point: "There seems to be some difficulty in the United States." He was insistent that any American would be welcome to visit China. "But there must be reciprocity," he said. "There is a Chinese saying which runs: 'It is discourteous not to pay a return visit.' " And that, he reminded me, was said "by Confucius, who was not a Marxist." But whatever precisely constitutes "a bamboo curtain," it is still impossible for individuals to get in or out of China save as members of approved delegations or on diplomatic business; curtain or no, there are still effective obstacles to any normal intercourse between China and the West. The most one can say is that the Peking government seems ready for some measured and gradual opening-up of contacts on a reciprocal basis. We urged upon the Premier that this process should be accelerated, in particular by the exchange of responsible press correspondents between Peking and the West and by a greater exchange of publications. Both suggestions were well received by Chou En-lai and are to be followed up.

The major questions affecting international peace and Sino-American relations—the problem of recognition and the separate one of Peking's representation in the U. N., as well as the crucial issue of Formosa—were effectively discussed on two occasions only. One was during the interview with the Premier, the other in the course of lengthy discussion with a group which included, in addition to officials of the Institute of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Education, Chang Hsi-jo, and Chiao Kuan-hua, member of the Foreign Office and chief adviser on foreign affairs to Chou En-lai. This latter discussion ranged widely. Chiao Kuan-hua critically examined the (to him) unacceptable distinction maintained in British policy between the offshore islands of Quemoy and the Matsus, and Formosa itself. "There are a group of islands off the Chinese coast of which the largest is Formosa. The only difference between them is in their size and distance from the mainland. They are all Chinese. They must all be liberated."

On the question of the admission of Communist China to the U. N., as much was said about the alleged inconsistencies of British policy as about the hostility of American policy. In our talk with Chou En-lai, we had laid some stress on the need for patience if present misunderstandings and divisions were to be removed. "As for patience," said Chou En-lai, "China has plenty. It has six times been refused admission to the U. N.; the U. N. ignores China which has 600,000,000 people! China is indeed being patient . . . the British recognize China and yet in the U. N. they vote for Chiang Kai-shek!" All this appeared to be said more in sorrow than in anger. There is no question that this "absurdity"—Peking's exclusion from the U. N.—is a real issue with the Chinese. But they do not talk as if it was a matter of life and death for *them.* In fact, they suggest that if rectification of this injustice is too long delayed it will be the U. N., not Communist China, that has "missed the boat."

I HAVE indicated that the Formosan question was discussed both with the Foreign Affairs Institute and with the Premier. Chou En-lai said in effect: This is an internal affair of China—a matter of the completion of our civil war—in which the United States is interfering militarily and unwarrantedly. Chiang Kai-shek started this civil war himself nine years ago and as a result his forces have steadily diminished. China's policy, however, is still to strive for the peaceful liberation of Formosa. Because there are two Germany's, two Koreas, two Vietnams, people assume that there can be two Chinas. But that is impossible. The situation of China is quite different. And in a related reference to diplomatic recognition of his government by the United States, the Premier said: "The United States does not recognize us.

But China can wait a hundred years and perhaps in the 101st year the United States will recognize us. The new China will still exist. I repeat, we shall have patience."

We did not on this occasion press for a more precise interpretation of the phrase, "the peaceful liberation of Formosa." My own assessment of the Chinese position would be as follows. They will not, of course, go to war deliberately for Formosa in the sense of directly challenging the United States Seventh Fleet. They are prepared to wait quite a time, believing they have a just cause and that sooner or later it will prevail. They are ready—even eager—to talk about Formosa with the United States and even with Chiang Kai-shek himself. Chou En-lai went out of his way to emphasize that a settlement of the Formosan question required talks "at the highest level" with the United States. But the Chinese will not be dissuaded from completing the last bit of their revolution by integrating Formosa into the rest of China. So by "the peaceful liberation of Formosa" they mean that they hope (and probably expect) to get it without war. They will negotiate its peaceful transfer to them; manifestly, therefore, a limited form of negotiation on the subject is still possible.

IT SHOULD be added that we saw or heard little evidence of any undue excitement on the Formosa issue among the general public. (It may be different on the coast facing Formosa to which we did not go.) It is true that in places like the Winter Palace in Peking where thousands congregate at week-ends, large posters are displayed showing Formosa in relation to mainland China and bearing liberation slogans. Smaller posters on the same theme are fairly widespread. And the chairman of the agricultural cooperative in the village we visited finished his factual exposition with a declaration of the need to liberate Formosa! His point was, of course, that everyone down to even the smallest village cooperative must maintain production in order not to let down the armed services and to help achieve the liberation of Formosa. Thus China is using the Formosan issue to maintain the sense of external hostility ("American intervention in our affairs") and to serve as a stimulus for production. In this sense it might be a little awkward for China if and when it ever gets Formosa, just as, one supposes, it might be a little awkward for the United States and even Britain if peace really broke out.

FRANCE'S UNIQUE LEFT

Barriers to Unity . . *by Raymond Barrillon*

Paris

> It is a fact that France has no organized Left. There are leftist currents in the several parties, there are leftist individuals and tendencies, but there is no organized Left which can propose revolutionary solutions to the problems which now cause uneasiness to the nation.

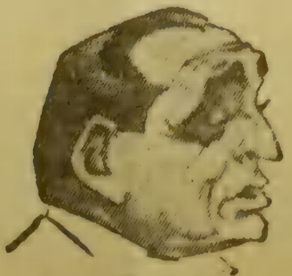
Are these lines, published in *Le Jacobin* in September,1953, still true? It is tempting to answer in the affirmative, although the New Left finally made its entry into public life a short while ago. The statement made by *Le Jacobin* made no claims to novelty; and similarly the promoters of the New Left are only the most recent spokesmen of a desire for renovation and change which has been almost continuous in France since the end of *tripartisme* in 1947. It is the nature of the French Left to be in perpetual search of itself.

There follows an inventory of the Left forces which aim at regrouping, or which at least would be willing to participate in one.

The *Mouvement de Liberation* (M. L. O.) and the *Mouvement de liberation du Peuple* (M. L. P.) are the most important among the so-called "Christian" groups. The M. L. O., which refuses much more sharply than the M. L. P. to be described as a political party, devotes itself for the most part to such tasks as family assistance or facilities for workers' vacations. The M. L. P. has always maintained a rather marked suspicion of "intellectualism" as against the primacy of action; it is among those which go the farthest toward an understanding with the far Left.

La Jeune Republique had been in existence for forty-two years when it was joined by Mr. Andre Denis, ousted from the Gaullist M. R. P.; and from this fact it drew considerable support. The question is whether it can maintain this advantage. Its chief problem is to act along secular lines without losing the support of those who remember its religious origins.

Among the non-Christian groups, the first to be mentioned is the *Union Progressive,* born in 1950 through the fusion of three distinct groups. Resolutely Marxist, the U. P. compensates for its small Parliamentary representation (since 1951, only four deputies) by the coherence of its policies, for all practical purposes patterned after those of the Communists. The *Club des Jacobins,* founded in 1951, aimed more at a regeneration of the several big parties than at the formation of a



Pierre Mendes-France

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new one. It disbanded in 1953, but is survived by a newspaper of the same name and of the same political complexion.

Finally, we might mention certain people eminent enough to be able to count on a following—whether of readers, as in the case of M. Claude Bourdet, editor of *France-Observateur,* or of political friends, as MM. Louis Vallon or Rene Capitant, formerly members of the R. P. F.

JUST AS lassitude and skepticism of French political figures were in men's hearts long before the arrival of M. Mendes-France to power, the first attempts at concerted leftist action considerably antedate his ministry. So it was that the *Centre d'action des gauches independentes,* itself the offspring of two previous organizations, came into being in 1951. It aimed less at being a party than a "compromise between various tactical conceptions," but it had a program which may seem banal today, yet which at the time was courageous and lucid: opposition to the excesses of colonialism, to the war in Indo-China, and to the E. D. C. It sought a French foreign policy which would be independent of the two blocs, a kind of international Third Force such as is so much in the air today. But not long before the investiture of Mr. Mendes-France, it was realized that the proprovinces, less fastidious than Paris in their choice of allies, had succeeded in forming a broader union. The success gained under the New Left ticket in the municipal elections at Le Havre in May of 1954 were a lesson in themselves to many of the movement's leaders.

The result was that the C. A. G. I. invited the *Jeune Republique* and the *Union Progressiste* to join the new grouping. The three movements named representatives to a *Comite de liaison et d'initiative de la Nouvelle Gauche* (C. L. I. N. G.). But at its first meeting in June, 1954, the difficulties began; the *Jeune Republique* balked at the demand of the *Progressistes* that one of their deputies be given a place in the executive committee—it had no intention of compromising itself with those who were too close to the Communist Party. Such was the failure of the meetings in December, 1954, whose only result was to transform the committee of liaison into the *Comite national de la Nouvelle Gauche* (C .N. N. G.), in which each of the organizations would have equal representation.

But the seven months of the Mendes-France experiment had aroused other hopes which at the end of 1954 found an echo in public opinion. Oddly paired otherwise, but linked by a mutual admiration for M. Mendes-France, MM. Francois Mauriac and Andre Malraux chose Christmas week to give birth to the idea of a liberal New Left, based on the political experiment then going on, and one of whose principal creators was to be M. Francois Mitterand, the third "M". *This* New Left has not clearly defined itself, and one can say nothing about what its program would be except by reference to Mendes-France himself. But in comparison to what we shall call for convenience's sake the first New Left, three fundamental differences quickly appear.

FIRST, there is a difference of evaluation of the Mendes-France ministry. While the first New Left judges the second "period" of this ministry severely—after the ratification of the treaty of Paris, that is—MM. Malraux and Mauriac draw no such subtle distinction. What counts for them is the "new style" and the fresh bloom infused by Mendes-France into French politics and policies.

Secondly, whereas the first New Left cannot but pose the problem of cooperation with the Communist Party, the "three M's" have other ideas, to judge from an analysis by Maulraux: "It can be guessed that the Communists have about 400,000 faithful votes. Add another million. But there are 5,000,000 Communist voters. The margin? Three and a half million. Whereas the whole French Left, since the liberation, has been conceived as a Communist satellite, a new situation could subordinate the Communist Party to the Left, electorally speaking; and this could quickly have consequences far beyond the electoral plane."

Thirdly, the advocates of the second New Left seem to be aiming less at a new party—which Mendes-France himself has judged superfluous—than at a new state of mind. From all this it is evident that the Malraux-Mauriac movement's future depends heavily on that of Mendes-France.

Besides having to overcome the difficulties inherent in their own alliance, the advocates of the New Left had also to define their tactics in regard to the two big parties which have a virtual monopoly of the votes of the proletariat, or in any case of the proletariat's Parliamentary representation.

What to hope for from the Socialists? Since almost the only bond holding the New Left together was opposition to German rearmament, how could its leaders compromise with Socialist leaders at the very moment when the latter were ejecting from their party the opponents of E. D. C.? They could not, and did not even try.

Then what position to take in regard to the Communists? "If the leftist groups unite," said one of the founders of the New Left in 1953, "they will not run the risk of being duped by the Communists, and when negotiations between them begin, they may even be able to change certain Communist positions." It was an excellent principle, but it was not long before the New Left saw that it was far from united in its attitude toward the Communists.

The common fight against the E. D. C. has strengthened the conviction of the non-Marxist Left that the time for systematic anti-communism has passed. Although the de Gaulle movement was born partly out of the fear of communism, those of the Gaullists who are attracted to the idea of a New Left have abandoned their former ostracism of the Communists. Thus M. Rene Capitant, while affirming himself to be a "determined adversary of the Communist regime," writes: "The coalition of parties on the Left necessarily includes the Communist Party. . . . We have entered one of those periods where alliance with the Communists is again possible, as in 1936 or 1944. . . ."

AND while the debate continues on what tack to follow in regard to the Communist Party, the latter views these upstarts without excessive indulgence. True, M. Jacques Duclos has distinguished between the different tendencies of the New Left. Rejecting the "Mendes-France men, who have simply usurped the label New Left," he seemed to accept "men opposed to the renaissance of German militarism and resolved to work alongside of the Communist Party to check the government's war policy." But he added, "It is important to show that those who claim to want to change French policy without the Communists, and consequently against them, in the end aim only at prolonging the existing state of things." The party's real interests are elsewhere; recently Maurice Thorez spoke of union not with the New Left, but with the Socialists.

The New Left is the expression of a current both traditional and necessary to the life of French politics. But it has lost one of its most powerful poles of attraction with the ratification of the Paris treaties, and while German rearmament has been voted, M. Mendes-France is no longer head of the government. To take a new lease on life, the New Left needs another opportunity. One hopes it will not be offered by another Dien Bien Phu.

BIG MONEY FARMING

More Acres, Fewer Men . . *by M. M. Gaffney*

A LITTLE heeded but radical and portentous change has been quietly transforming the American farm landscape. Many a field has changed hands these last decades, many an old fence line given way to new. Although each transaction has had its own motivations the aggregate displays an unmistakable trend. The medium-sized American farm—the traditional 160-acre homestead—is clearly on the wane.

From 1920 to 1950 the number of farms containing from ten to 260 acres dwindled from 5,500,000 to 4,100,000. The number of American farms of all sizes fell in that thirty-year interval by one million, from 6,400,000 to 5,400,000. The land yielded up by these disappearing enterprises has been, in the main, consolidated by the larger farms. The acreage held by farms 1,000 acres and over increased swiftly—from 221,000,000 in 1920 to 495,000,000—or 43 per cent of the farm acreage—by 1950.

These giants comprise only 2.3 per cent of all farms, and as they increased their acreage they also increased the average quality of their lands. Values per acre of the land in farms 1,000 acres and over have been rising noticeably relative to values in smaller farms. In several Eastern states values per acre in the larger farms are now actually higher than values in smaller farms, although this is not true in all regions.

What is the background of this striking trend? Professor C. V. Dominguez, Argentine student of land policies, once observed that, in the wake of land reforms, giant farm holdings "reconstitute themselves inexorably." This does indeed seem to be the history of the many instances when governments have undertaken to distribute land more equally among those who operated it. In America we had our land reform in the nineteenth century. We entered the twentieth with a preponderance of medium-sized farms, the heritage of equalitarian policies of land distribution which, while often honored in the breach, still set us apart from, say, Latins. And where federal policies failed, our state and local governments often, by accident or design, broke up large neo-feudal or speculative holdings through the property tax, on which they relied heavily for financing public functions and improvements.

BUT TODAY the public domain is gone, and while the income-yielding capacity of farm land has increased enormously, property taxes have receded to a minor place in the national tax structure. In these new circumstances farm land has become an attractive investment for the well-to-do with surplus funds seeking an outlet. Their spirited bidding has driven land prices up beyond the reach of many small farmers, and farm land, like most attractive investments, has tended to become concentrated in a few strong hands. Thus the middle-class farmer is losing numbers, while the giant holdings "reconstitute themselves inexorably."

Some have interpreted this trend as a move toward greater "efficiency," pointing to the higher outputs per man and machine that are possible when they have more good land to range over—for most analysts agree that the larger farms generally use must less labor and equipment per dollar of land value. This narrow concept of efficiency has satisfied on one end of the ideological spectrum, the largest landholders, and on the other the Marxists—since both hold great faith in agricultural gigantism. Its obvious weakness lies in its total disregard for good land that may be underused in achieving high outputs per man and per machine.

Smaller farmers, lacking enough land to employ themselves or their equipment fully, could take additional land and put it to more productive use than those already oversupplied. In 1940 farms of 1,000 acres and more planted only 45 per cent of the land available to them for crops. An efficient use of all resources would seem to call for shifting some land from those who have more than they can contrive to work intensively to those whose enterprise is cramped for lack of an adequate land base. This follows the basic economic principle of transferring resources from where they are abundant to where they are scarce, in this instance from the land-glutted to the land-starved.

But the trend in America has been the opposite. Those who have been

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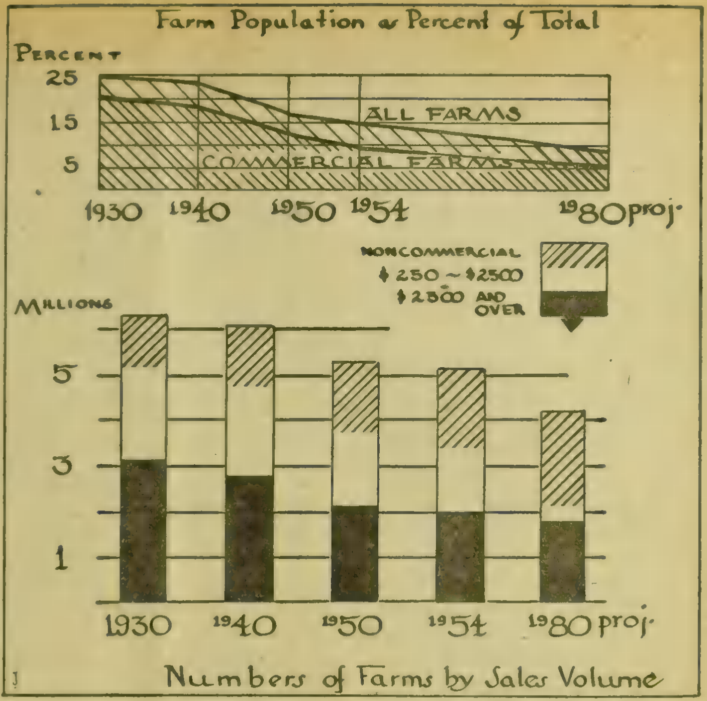


Despite increasing farm production, farm population and the number of individual farms continue to decrease. The answer lies in the fact that the large farms grow larger, and increase their productivity, even while their total number grows smaller. Statistics from Fortune, *June, 1955.*

laying field to field are, on the whole, exactly those with enough and more than enough land to complement their labor and capital. The trend has been to separate most of the farm proprietors and improvements from most of the farm land. Various studies by farm economists have shown ten and twenty times more men per dollar of land value on small farms in such areas as the Ozarks, Appalachians, and marginal zones in Utah and New Mexico than on, for example, the vast and fertile farms of Iowa.

The larger farms, it is true, have more capital equipment, but it is often overlooked that they have less capital equipment per dollar of land value. The 1940 census, last to give this information, reported that there were sixteen times more dollars of building value per dollar of land value on farms three acres and under, than on farms 1,000 acres and over (and between these extremes the proportion of building to land value became steadily less as the farms became larger).

A great deal has been said about farms expanding to accommodate new forms of large-scale machinery. There are many small farms which could doubtless have benefited a great deal by expanding, but these are not on the whole the ones that have expanded. They have tended to grow smaller, or be replaced with even smaller farms. The expanding farms have in general been those already large enough to achieve savings from large-scale mechanization.

The census reports the number of farms falling within various size brackets, as well as the total acreage held by the farms in each bracket. From these figures one can compute the average size of the farms in each bracket. Comparing 1920 with 1950 again, in each of the upper brackets the average has risen toward the top limit of the bracket, while in each of the lowest it has descended. On top of the heap the average size of farms 1,000 acres and over increased from about 3,300 up almost to 4,100 acres. At the bottom the average farm under three acres fell from 1.7 to 1.4 acres.

This pattern of change is hard to reconcile with the idea of a mechanical revolution as the prime mover. If a technological imperative determined farm sizes it would make them cluster, one would think, about some central optimum prescribed by operating economies. But in fact, they are racing away from each other toward the two extremes, the large getting larger and the small smaller.

Today, as population has increased, as new demands, improved techniques, and farm-price supports have enhanced the income-producing capacity of farm land, as interest rates have declined absolutely and land taxes relatively, farm-land titles have become a much more attractive investment than once they were.

PRICES of these titles, while they have their downs as well as their ups, have stood in this century on the whole much higher than in the last. This means that those who buy land with surplus funds—as an investment, an income, a hedge against inflation, a provision for grandchildren, a good speculation, or what you will—have a new advantage over the impecunious young farmer trying to secure an operating unit of sufficient size to produce an adequate return for his labors. In the competition for land titles today, good husbandry counts for less, financial power for more. And in the arena of finance, more than any other, "him that has gets." A large debt-free landholding provides a surplus of funds for additional investments, collateral security for loans, and social position to facilitate advantageous alliances. As additional factors, one might mention the superior ability of larger landholders to secure political favors such as low tax assessments, forgiveness of delinquent taxes, access to cheap foreign labor, and government price supports for their products. And so the race for land titles goes more and more to those who already have.

Many sincere citizens have regretfully accepted for agriculture the economic philosophy of scarcity that they condemn in other industries. For them, the present trend has its compensations. To lock up much of our good underused land in large holdings, while much labor and capital hibernate in confined quarters, is a most effective way to hold down production. It also tends to choke off investment opportunities, flood the labor market, and raise the price of necessities. Those who agree with R. H. Tawney that "a society is rich when material goods are cheap and . . . human beings dear" do not find the trend so welcome.

BOOKS

Master in His Own House

YEAR OF DECISIONS. Memoirs by Harry S. Truman. Volume One. Doubleday and Company. $5.

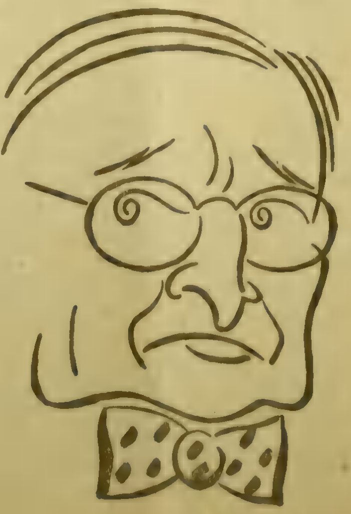
By George Dangerfield

NO TWO PRESIDENTS could be more dissimilar than James K. Polk and Harry S. Truman, nor are the circumstances under which they came to office even faintly analogous. But Polk's famous "I intend *myself* to be President of the United States" exactly summarizes the central theme of *Year Of Decisions.* At his first Cabinet meeting, held within two hours after the news of Franklin Roosevelt's death, Truman told the shaken and discouraged men around him that "I would be President in my own right and that I would assume full responsibility for such decisions as had to be made." On his own confession, Truman did not feel that he had become President in his own right until September 6, 1945, when he launched the Fair Deal with a twenty-one point message to Congress. By that time most of the great events which are covered in this book had already taken place. The San Francisco Conference, the surrender of Germany, the Potsdam Conference, the beginning of the atomic age, the surrender of Japan—all these were Rooseveltian events, in which Truman was little more than the executor of Roosevelt's policies. The decision he really had to make was one which a less valiant nature might have avoided, and a more ordinary one might have botched—it was the decision to be master in his own house, to impress upon a skeptical or hostile environment the image of a President who intended to be respected and who was worthy of respect.

After the greatness and the fascination of Franklin Roosevelt, a successor who looks like everybody else could seem only an anomaly—a deviation from the order of history and even of nature—a revivification of that obsolete principle (should one call it "Jacksonian"?) which had once insisted that any rational American was competent to the business of government. As regards the Presidency, this principle hardly survived the election of 1840 and it was manifestly disproved by the administrations of Pierce and Buchanan: but it has lingered on in the Vice-Presidency, casual, cheerful and unreformed, ready to pounce upon an unsuspecting country whenever a President dies in office.

Harry Truman was a plain man in his manners and his habits, and although he was anything but an ordinary man nobody (except, I think, himself) seems to have realized it. The theory that a man grows up with the Presidency had been so flatly contradicted by Coolidge and Hoover that it could not easily be revived in favor of Truman. He was nominated to the Vice-Presidency because he was "safe"—not a reassuring word—and the story of how the nomination was accepted, as he tells it in this book, is even less reassuring.

He had been selected far in advance of the Chicago convention, but nobody had bothered to tell him, and when Robert Hannegan told him at Chicago, he couldn't believe it. Even a scrap of paper with "Bob, it's Truman, FDR" written on it failed, strange to say, to convince him. He was sitting unhappily in Mr. Hannegan's bedroom in the Blackstone Hotel when President Roosevelt telephoned from San Diego. The President always shouted into the telephone, so that Truman could easily hear both ends of the conversation. "Bob, have you got that fellow lined up yet?" "No, he is the contrariest Missouri mule I've ever dealt with." "Well, you tell him, if he wants to break up the Democratic Party in the middle of a war, that's his responsibility." Truman sat down on one of the twin beds. "Well," he said finally, "if that is the situation, I'll have to say yes, but why the hell didn't he tell me in the first place." He was nominated the next day, and within nine months he was President.



Drawing by Berger

He entered upon his new duties in a mood of deep and touching humility. But, as we read these memoirs, we can see that the typical Truman panache—a kind of jaunty, sparrow-like self-confidence—rather quickly asserted itself. "Dear Mamma & Mary," he wrote on July 3, ". . . . I am getting ready to go see Stalin & Churchill, and it is a chore. I have to take my tuxedo, tails . . . preacher coat, high hat, low hat and hard hat as well as sundry other things." As for his fellow Triumvirs, one gets the impression that one of them, at any rate, expected to encounter a somewhat *ersatz* figure. Churchill writes in *Triumph and Tragedy* that he was "eager to meet a potentate" with whom he was acquainted only through a not always friendly correspondence. The word "potentate," which suggests, among other things, an Asiatic despot and a titular officer in a fraternal organization, is possibly the last word one would associate with the duties and the dignity of a President of the United States.

Yet it was curiously apposite to the ambiguous status of President Truman when he arrived in Potsdam. On the one hand, with all the prestige of his office, with his immense wartime powers, with the wealth of America behind him and the atom bomb as good as in his pocket, he was potentially the most important figure in the world. On the other hand, he had the appearance (though the appearance was delusive) of someone who might have strolled out of *The Innocents*

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Abroad. As a matter of fact, Churchill was immediately impressed with Truman's "evident power of decision"; and Truman, though he manifestly disliked this kind of conference, seems to have taken the whole thing in his stride. He was at most his predecessor's representative; he could not be held responsible for the failures of Potsdam.

This is the weakness of *Year of Decisions,* that it is chiefly concerned with a period when Truman could not really be held responsible; and its sporadic documentation and rather flat expositions of great events are certainly of no help. Its strength and importance lie elsewhere—in its truly remarkable feat of self-portraiture. Here the very flatness of the style conjures up once again the image of that valiant and forthright figure from whom—even when he grew brash and brassy, even when his promises went one way and his performances another—it was difficult to withdraw one's affection and admiration.

I should say that, next to the pertinent volumes of John Quincy Adams's Diary, and lagging a long way behind them in variety and power, this is the most candid and absorbing account of himself that any President has given us. Adams was morbidly anxious to prove—and the proof was not difficult—that his Presidency was a failure. *Year of Decisions* is the first volume of a two-volume opus. The meat is still to come. But the reader can be pretty certain that Truman will not see his own Presidency in that discouraging light.

The Outposts of the Media

THE EXURBANITES. By A. C. Spectorsky with Illustrations by Robert Osborn. J. B. Lippincott Company. $3.95.

By Gilbert Seldes

I SHALL be curious to see under what heading librarians list this book and I am glad I do not have to decide between humor, sociology, Americana, and even polite letters. In most of these categories, "The Exurbanites" is good work and I think that it must be the pioneer book on its subject written for the layman—written in fact for the people it is about.

They are the inhabitants of certain regions within an hour or two of New York, commuters with a difference, employed in the major communications and entertainment businesses, the aristocracy of the manipulators of symbols by which we live: sponsors and copy-writers and novelists and actresses and commentators and publishers. How they live in the country, not in the town, in the far better homes and gardens that grow into farms, in Bucks County and Fairfield and Rockland, with only a glance at the North Shore and Westchester, their drinking habits and social taboos, the trains they make and miss, the proper stakes at poker and why a Volkswagen or a jeep signifies greater wealth at the railroad station than a Jaguar or a Cadillac—these are some of the themes. (The Volks or the jeep "presumes that the Cadillac is being used to take the children to school!")

Where my own experience guides me, I am inclined to say that this is a remarkably perceptive report; my reservations begin when I go out of my depth: I can't quite believe that Nyack differs so much from Westport and I can't believe some of the anecdotes, the illustrative stories—I think they are combinations and syntheses. I do not, moreover, take to the name Mr. Spectorsky has given to his region: "the exurb is generally further from New York than the suburb on the same railway line . . . its houses more widely spaced . . . and the further one lives from the station the better." It is still a suburb. As for the people, whom I still call "commuters," they are "exurbanites" because "they will always be urbanites at heart."

All this strikes me as self-justification which the book doesn't at all need: it deals with people of significance far beyond their numerical importance and it penetrates to the core of their lives by showing us how they live and want to live. "The exurbanite . . . is an idea man . . ." whether he composes songs or commercial jingles, directs a Broadway show or does the layout for an advertisement or sells time or space. (Mr. Spectorsky might well analyse the mentality, which, without ever thinking about it, sells these two abstractions.) He is "a singularly commercial merchant of dreams for the rest of the nation. . . . These people, God save us all, set the styles, mold the fashions, and populate the dreams of the rest of the country. . . . What they tell us to buy, by God, we buy." From our political opinions to the color of our toilet paper, we are conditioned by the people whose interests and worries, whose tastes and ambitions, are here described.

This is not done by studies of communities in the style of William H. Whyte, Jr.'s brilliant series of articles in *Fortune;* and it is not a study of the communications arts either, although we get a glimpse of how the competition in the marketplace operates, how it affects the home life. It does not pretend to cover anything but the life in what it calls "Exurbia" and that it covers in fine detail, from the annual budget to the fight for better schools,

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GILBERT SELDES is the author of "The Seven Lively Arts," "The Great Audience," and editor of "The Portable Ring Lardner."

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HOW FAR THE PROMISED LAND?

THE VIKING PRESS
NEW YORK 17

from some cruel games (revealing in their cruelty) to some (not too many) pleasant aspects of life among the well-to-do. I have a feeling that the top brass has been left out of consideration because the final motives are too difficult to analyze or perhaps too simple, power and wealth and *richesse oblige* being fairly common things. But the people who will be top brass in a few years are already at work in these pages; theirs are the minds which are going to create the images our minds will welcome, and the stereotypes by which they live today will be made to appear fresh and striking actualities for us tomorrow. Here is a chance to discover the kind of people by whom we will be ruled.

And here, a bit of free advice to a network, is the material for an hour's television: a most unspectacular spectacular, and a bit of self-criticism. Mr. Spectorsky who is "a Senior Editor of N. B. C.'s television show, *Home*" might think it over—and spend three minutes of the program telling us why someone is called "Senior Editor" of anything.

Reaction to Repression

NATIONAL SECURITY AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM. By John Lord O'Brian. Harvard University Press. $2.

By Norman Redlich

ONE of the nation's leading lawyers has selected individual freedom for his client, and he serves her well. In this brief book (eighty-four pages), John Lord O'Brian examines the "sordid and discouraging" erosion of individual liberty resulting from a frantic search for national security.

We have established a standard of "preventive law" by which we punish people for the likelihood that they will commit a harmful act. We determine that a person is potentially dangerous by the nature of his associations and beliefs. We have adopted a loyalty-security program based on the presumption of guilt, enforcing an undefinable standard of loyalty with procedures that ignore the landmarks of due process—the right to confront and cross-examine one's accusers and the right to know the nature of the defense. These new procedures, so repugnant to Anglo-American jurisprudence, have also been adopted by vast areas of private industry, giving added impetus to the repressions of this unfortunate era.

Our constitutional system presupposes a harmony, not a conflict, between national security and individual freedom. Mr. O'Brian resolves the conflict implied in his title by pleading for the enforcement of the Bill of Rights. Without actually saying so, he assumes that the liberties are basic and that national security is to be found within the framework of our constitutional rights.

This book is refreshingly optimistic when it discusses the possibility of reversing the trend of the past decade. Close to the surface of American life, says Mr. O'Brian, lingers a basic religious morality and a deep respect for fair play. These moral values find expression in the guarantees of human dignity found in the Bill of Rights. What is needed is a group of leaders who can pose the issue of constitutional liberty in terms of the moral values which are the conscience of the American community. "At present that sense of conscience is obscured, but surely in time the sense of fair play will assert itself as it has in the past.... If and when our leaders in the executive, Congressional, and judicial departments awaken to their obligation to protect the freedom of the human spirit . . . the public, with the issues clarified, will then also respond to the sense of moral responsibility, and out of the present confusion will come a rededication to the cause of freedom in our time."

A practical lesson is here implied for politicians. The victories of American demagogues have been only temporary. The great heroes of history have spoken the language of individual liberty, a language muted for a decade and yearning for re-expression. Those who seek a modern text for liberalism should study John Lord O'Brian's eloquent message. It not only can win adherents to the cause of individual freedom. It might even win elections.

NORMAN REDLICH is a member of the New York Bar and a frequent contributor to The Nation.

Books In Brief

The Average Hero

THE REVELATIONS OF DR. MODESTO. By Alan Harrington. Knopf. $3.50.

David Riesman's impressive but ponderous statement of the "other directed" personality has at last found its way into a novel a bitter, clownish, and challenging book by Alan Harrington. "The Revelations of Dr. Modesto" dramatizes with satire—often obvious, perhaps, but always effective—what Riesman uncovers with careful sociological analysis: the uniform packaging of personality for economic consumption.

Not since C. Wright Mills's "White Collar" has there been so complete an exposure of the modern suspicion of self. No one, after all, is completely free from the pressures of "centralism," that doctrine of non-identity which is rapidly becoming a basic canon of the modern faith.

"Centralism" is the discovery of the mysterious Dr. Modesto, a shadowy figure who advises a young salesman—introverted and therefore miserable—how to conquer an unfriendly world. "Since your self grates on others and makes you miserable, get rid of it," Dr. Modesto proclaims. "Look around and see who is the happy man. He is the one Just Like Everybody Else. . . . You are a sensitive person in a world of brutes. Like a feeble animal you need protective coloration. The only place to hide is in the center of their culture. *Be more average than anyone! . . .*"

Power in the Air

U. S. MILITARY DOCTRINE. By Brigadier General Dale O. Smith. Duell, Sloan and Pearce—Little, Brown. $3.50.

It is not surprising that an Air Force officer today finds American military doctrine in recent years moving rapidly toward recognition that air power is the prime reliance in our strategy, or finds that the offensive concept is dominant, or that the more massive the offensive the greater the dominance. For of late all these views have clearly emerged as basic in the national policy, and not merely as the continuing hope of air officers.

General Smith surveys the "principles" of warfare with a skepticism springing from the fact that certain principles are in perpetual conflict with other principles; he concludes that a principle is sound only when the new situation is identical with the old situation which developed that principle. The important thing is to arrive at new principles fitting a wholly new situation, rather than to follow the fourteenth-century French cavalry practice of taking an appalling licking from English longbowmen at Crecy, and sixty-nine years later at Agincourt taking a worse one because of that same "new" weapon.

General Smith is not in sympathy with what he calls the "obsession" of winning wars on the ground, because they have been won there before. Nor does he feel that mass bombing is to be regarded as an excessive cruelty when one examines the casualties in South (not North) Korea imposed by continental-type warfare—1,200 villages destroyed, 1,000,000 killed or captured, 10,000,000 left destitute. One gathers that General Smith, who compares the 1954 Dulles doctrine with Washington's 1783 military program (which was ignored), believes firmly that if the power of massive retaliation exists (in the form of a powerful professional force) the mere threat of its use may be sufficient; certainly he recognizes that the best way to win a war is without fighting, and sternly opposes a "preventive war" as an assured move toward jungle principles.

His book is an orderly and calm examination of the new strategy, designed not only for professional study but for examination by a public informed on military matters, without whose approval no national policy can become truly effective.

Surviving Total Destruction

TWO MINUTES TILL MIDNIGHT. By Elmer Davis. Bobbs-Merrill. $2.75.

Most of us refuse to think about hydrogen war. Elmer Davis believes we are wrong. He doubts that it can be avoided, and he argues in this book that we had better face the inevitable and get ready for it, militarily, morally, and mentally. About the only way to avoid the holocaust, he says, would be to convince the men in the Kremlin that it would do them in personally, but the Kremlin is doubtless equipped with "the best air-raid shelter in the world." So Americans must stop being cowardly about the horror of nuclear war and make sure that if it comes, we shall win it.

Davis does not go along with the theory that another war would destroy civilization. "It would undoubtedly be a terrible thing; but the losers would be sunk a good deal deeper than the winners." As winners we may end up with very little "improved real estate," but those of us who survive will at least still have freedom (he does not explain who makes him so sure). Mr. Davis has small patience with either the naive "one-worlders" or our friendless foreign policy. The outlook is dark and the hour late (the book's title is taken from the clock on the cover of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*), but he asserts that it is not too late for us to get smart—that is, to gather allies and stiffen our defenses. To show us what we must brace ourselves for he offers a helpful little chapter on what to do "when the balloon goes up," Pentagon code language for the outbreak of war. Main item: get out of town as fast as you can—in the upwind direction.

Theater and Films

Robert Hatch

WINNING actress though she is, Julie Harris was not a happy choice for the title role in "The Lark" (Longacre Theater). Anouilh's dramatization of the triumph and execution of Joan of Arc, adapted for the stage here by Lillian Hellman, is at once a clever and a deeply-felt work of theater craft. It shows us Joan with pride and love (there is a markedly parental tone in this portrait), and by weaving past, present and future almost carelessly together in a fabric outside of time, it catches the special pervasiveness of legends.

But there is a hazard in the play and that is a difference in the level of approach to Joan and to the lords of war, state and church who surround her. About Warwick and the Bishop of Beauvais, The Dauphin and La Hire, Anouilh is judicious, analytical, seriously concerned with motive and character. He conjures up, thus, an engrossing group of men—not good men or bad, but self-justifying men who are sadly aware that history lies in ambush. These men of power are played by actors of power and fine discrimination—Boris Karloff, Joseph Wiseman, Christopher Plummer, Theodore Bikel and Paul Roebling most notably. They recreate in immediate focus the terrible dilemma that Joan posed to authority and the hearts of men.

Joan, on the other hand, is treated with indulgent affection, almost playfully, as though an engrossing fable were being spun. We see into her very little, are asked to satisfy ourselves with the magic of her presence. This could be moving—the lords sitting in council on the lark of promise. But I do not think Anouilh intended the allegory to be

Open letter
ABOUT A NOVEL

Dear Nation Reader,

Although we have an impressive packet of opinion, favorable and even ecstatic, about Ring Lardner, Jr.'s novel, The Ecstasy of Owen Muir, which describes its satire variously as "pungent," "deadly," "courageous," "subtle," "comic," and "brilliant," we don't have the money to buy the space to run them all.

However, we do have confidence that no reader who takes up this "unorthodox novel about orthodoxy" will put it down until he has enjoyed every one of its 302 witty and iconoclastic pages. And we do have enough space (if we leave off the coupon on this ad) to say further that it is a "witty, Candide-like satire about the conversion of an upper-class young man who tries to reconcile Roman Catholic dogma with the realities of present day America... and who has his mid-century confusions resolved by a talented and successful Monsignor..."

Out last January. As good (some say even better) now as it was then.

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by Ring Lardner, Jr. $3

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carried all the way—a mystic has freed France and a prophet has been burned at the stake. Her presence, however inexplicable, must be tangible.

Julie Harris plays her as a sprite. It is not just youth and promise that she expresses, but eternal youth, eternal promise. That can be adorable, but it is also untouchable. Our hearts go out to youth and innocence, but they do not go out to Peter Pan, except when we are young ourselves. There is something complacent about the ever-ever child.

Miss Harris, for all her honest workmanship and sensitive, responsive intelligence, is an audience actress. She is here in closer rapport with the audience than with her allies and judges, she looks for applause across the footlights, not in the wavering eyes of the kingling. We feel ourselves in cahoots with her against England and the Inquisition; therefore she is not committed to the frame of their reality and their flames do not burn. The applause for Miss Harris and her great cast is long and genuine and earned. It has been an evening of splendid theater. But it stays in the theater, and we go home in a mood of cheerful sentimentality that is not right for Joan's victory in martyrdom.

A PLAY is not an equation in psychological algebra and if it were J. B. Priestley and Jacquetta Hawkes lack the originality to reach an ingenious solution. In "Dragon's Mouth" (Cherry Lane Theater) they quarantine two men and two women on a yacht and set them to talking. Animated by the knowledge that one of them will presently die of a highly mysterious and selective disease, these four talk on and on, racking their brains, their souls and their glands to come up with some final statement about us all. They discover that there is good and bad in everyone and that it takes all kinds to make a world. Any cocktail party generates better talk, and drinks are served.

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IT WOULD seem from "Rebel Without a Cause" that the juvenile gangs on the West Coast had been organized by Cocteau. They are rich kids, playing dreamy games of suicide, floating hand in hand through ruined mansions; doomed children leading one another through mists of alcohol, comic books and the sirens of police riot cars.

But I can see that this is intended as a "sincere" social document, a warning to us all. There is a splendid young detective in charge of a model youth department at headquarters; there are startling case histories of homes that breed the more lethal varieties of delinquency. Knives and guns and stripped down cars are very much in evidence. The trouble is that the picture burlesques the problem. It is easy to explain delinquency if you assume that parents are howling idiots; but the supposition is neither true nor very interesting.

James Dean, in one of his last pictures, was sadly mannered—really phony—a good part of the time. But there were moments when he was given a chance to move in direct action or to express direct emotion. These had the electric honesty that promised so much for him.

GRANTED that the filmed "Guys and Dolls" is too long, that Marlon Brando is a sheepish song and dance man, that few of the screen performers can talk the illiterately formal Damon Runyan language. Granted that this is a watered version of the great show; it is still fun.

Music

B. H. Haggin

OF CHERUBINI'S music I had known only the boring Symphony in D and the engaging Overture to "Anacreon"; of Cherubini himself only Berlioz's account of their mutually unappreciative relation when he was a student at the Conservatoire. Even the overture didn't account for the respect Beethoven is reported to have had for Cherubini; but the boringly conventional symphony did account for Cherubini's disapproval of a mind as unconventional and original as young Berlioz's. And the American Opera Society's recent performance of Cherubini's "Medea" made everything clear: he was not a symphonic composer but an opera composer, and, by the evidence of "Medea," a remarkably good one, who could produce dramatic melody of great beauty and expressive power, and who, if he couldn't use an orchestra interestingly in a symphony, could use it effectively to produce the astonishingly figurations that underline the vocal writing. All this certainly was something Beethoven could respect; and on the other hand, as a friend observed, when you consider that in 1797, the year of "Medea's" premiere and five years before Berlioz's birth, Cherubini was writing at the age of thirty-seven with a completely matured technique and style, it isn't surprising that at seventy his mind wasn't receptive to the startingly individual practice in melody, harmony, orchestration, and form that Berlioz exhibited even in his student days.

THE most impressive vocal writing in "Medea"—making unbelievable demands of range, of both power and delicacy, of endurance—is that of Medea herself; and Eileen Farrell's singing of the part—with its beauty of sound in hair-raising fortissimo and ear-ravishing pianissimo, its powerful shaping and subtle inflection of long phrases, its sustained tension from first note to last—was one of the great vocal performances I have heard. The expressive figurations that underline Medea's part were produced with impressive ef-

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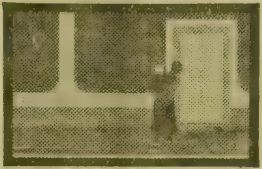

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fect by the orchestra under Arnold U. Gamson, who again demonstrated his unmistakable talent for the special task of operatic conducting. Farrell's and Gamson's were the major contributions to the occasion; in addition there was lovely singing by Laurel Hurley, and good singing by Martha Lipton and Norman Scott; but James McCracken's voice was not attractive, and his was the worst of the bad pronunciation of Italian by some of the participants. My history-minded friend also informed me that Cherubini wrote no recitatives for "Medea," and that the ones we had heard may have been those written by Franz Lachner for a German production.

LEONARD BERNSTEIN'S impressive operation with the Symphony of the Air last January made him the logical choice as conductor for the orchestra's six concerts this season; but the choice involved a risk. The empty seats at the opening concert, like those at last January's concert, may indicate the public's lessening interest in the Symphony of the Air; but they may also indicate its lack of interest in the kind of programs that interest Bernstein—the one of Copland, Hindemith, and Prokofiev last January, or the one consisting of Copland's new "Canticle of Freedom" and Mahler's Symphony No. 2 ("Resurrection") a few weeks ago. It seems to me that when a conductor plays a piece which only a comparatively small number of people are interested in, the rest of his program had better consist of music which attracts the general public for orchestral concerts—which is to say that he does best to play either Copland or Mahler, but not both.

Since the members of the Symphony of the Air, to support themselves, have to accept jobs that sometimes conflict with the Carnegie Hall concerts, there were a number of temporary changes of personnel at the opening concert. For one thing the Bervs were absent from the horns, and additional brass were present for the Mahler symphony; as a result there was not the fabulous sound, like that of one instrument, that the orchestra's own brass section used to achieve. And though, with the other changes, there was the playing of a great orchestra, I did not hear the refined beauty of sonority, the precision and finish, that I used to hear. The reason may have been not only the changes in personnel but lack of sufficient rehearsal, or Bernstein's conducting, or even the fact that I sat too close to the stage.

It was close enough to perceive the real contact between Bernstein and the orchestra, and close enough to be distracted and embarrassed by some of the movements Bernstein used to get the orchestra to do what he wanted. They were the movements of the warm-hearted extrovert who at the end embraced the concertmaster and blew kisses to the audience, who himself writes huge sprawling symphonies concerned with matters like the age of anxiety, who therefore feels drawn to a work like Mahler's Second, and who, with all the impressive effect he gives the work at times, damages it at other times. What is damaging in Bernstein's performance is the same lack of a controlling sense of measure that one hears in the Mahler symphony. In the lovely Andante moderato second movement, for example, the lilting opening melody returns with a countermelody of the cellos which engages all of Bernstein's attention and on which he lavishes all his emotion, oblivious to the fact his lingering over it is slowing down the lilting melody to the point where its lilt is destroyed. This is only one of many instances; and whereas skillful performance like Bruno Walter's conceals the work's discontinuities with a contrived coherence that makes its length less noticeable, Bernstein's preoccupation with the effect of the moment—with one effect after another, each carried to its extreme—emphasizes the discontinuities and the already excessive length that it increases by an additional quarter-hour.

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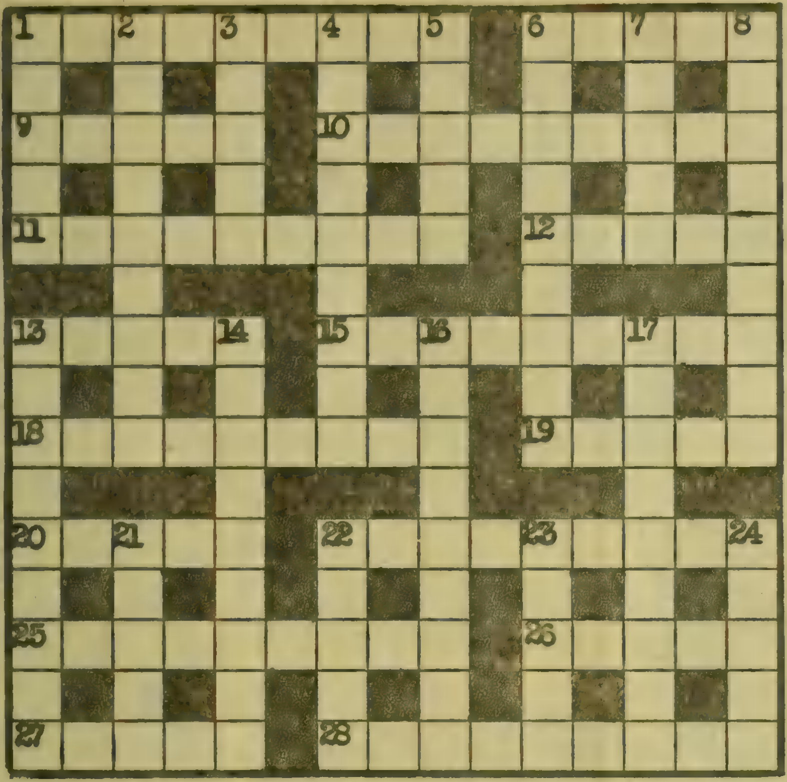

ACROSS

1 Mary's playmate back around? The inside fit is ceremonial. (9)
6 See 1 down.
9 Stuffy, perhaps, and rather large to back up to. (5)
10 See 1 down.
11 One is never blameless. (9)
12 An afterthought is an orbital point. (5)
13 Socks, perhaps, worn higher. (5)
15 Could hardly be considered original. (9)
18 Hens? (9)
19 Takes hold baggage. (5)
20 See 4 down.
22 Such a thing should have quite [illegible] holding. (9)
25 Mr. Chips in later years? (3,6)
26 Take aim or miss, perhaps. (5)
27 Trips over a pole. (5)
28 Such plaids dye unevenly, it is shown. (9)

DOWN

1, 3 down and [illegible] across "Hansel and Gretel" might be . . . (5,2,3,5)
1, and 10 across . . . but the air is lighter here. (5,2,7)
[illegible] Queued. (Evidently a trace of iron was involved.) (9)
3 See 1 down.
4 and 20 across Not necessarily a pre-fab, but rather where one's requirements are posted. (4-5,5)
5 and 24 down Shortened to 24 and 5 and lit out. (3,2,5)
6 Traveling on Shank's mare. (9)
7 Calling on some friends? (It's nothing to blow up!) (5)
8 They shouldn't lead to the front or back door! (9)
13 Staves and blades, like William steals. (9)
14 If your 20 is let out again, he might take it. (9)
16 Father's games have their share of poor shots. (9)
17 Fat. (9)
21 Beneath ken with 24. (5)
22 Brought forward. (5)
23 Arrived with a number aboard [illegible] "ship" of sorts. (5)
24 See 5 down.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 647

ACROSS: 1 VAPOR TRAIL; 10 CROQUET; 11 OEDIPUS; 12 SUNDRIES; 13 ELITE; 15 AGENT; 17 VAPIDNESS; 21 MACAO; 23 ELECT; 24 BURSTING; 27 STABBER; 28 YARDAGE; 29 and 26 SIDEREAL; 30 VOLLEYBALL. DOWN: 1 and 19 VICE-TREASURER; 2 PROFUSE; 3 ROUND; 4 RETRIEVER; 5 and 6 IRONSIDES; 7 DEPRIVE; 8 SUSPENSION; [illegible] ADDENDUM; 14 PANTHEIST; 16 TEST TUBE; 18 PORTRAYAL; 20 EMERALD; 22 CANTATA; 24 BURRO; 25 TARRY.

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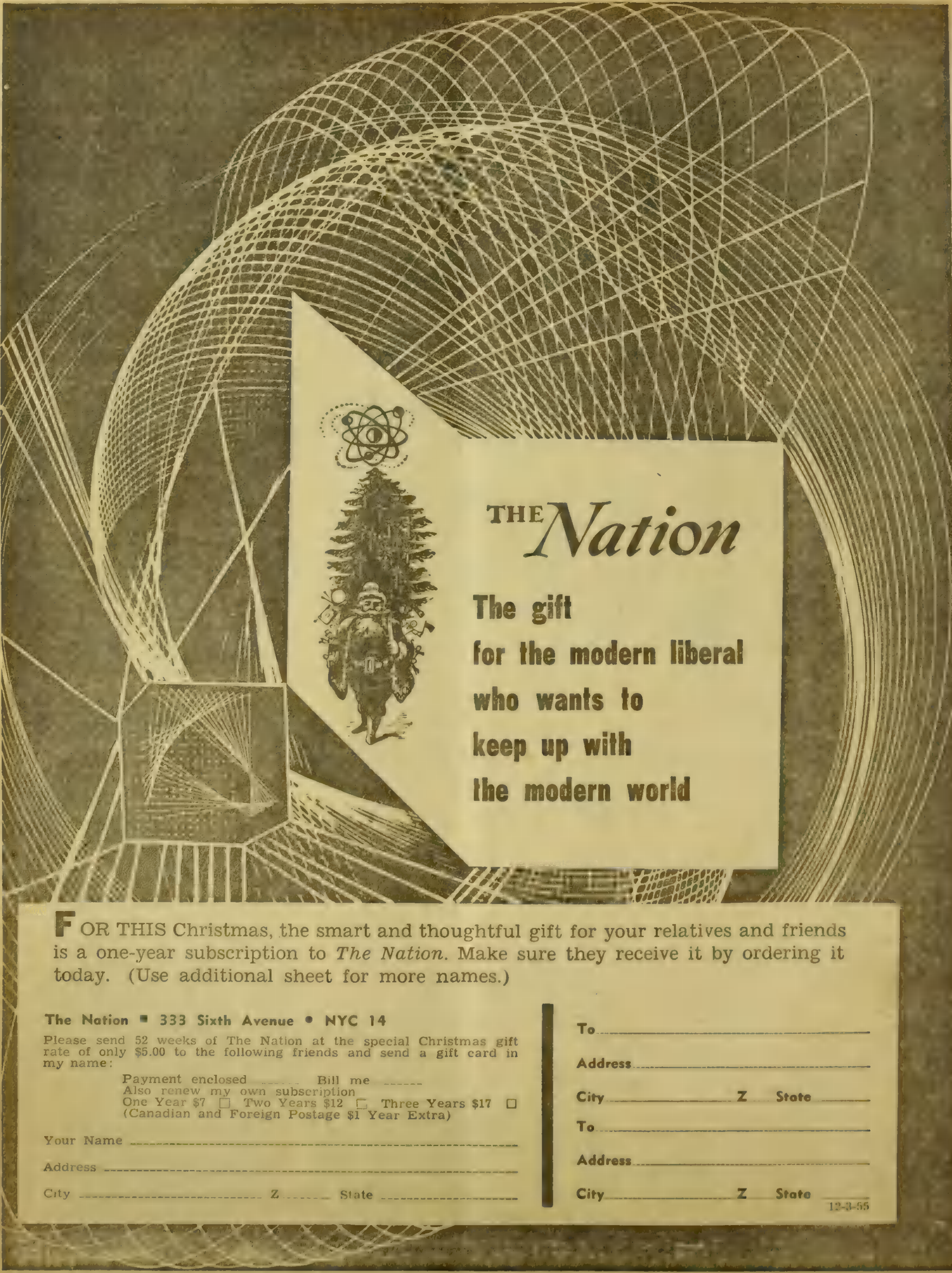
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American Labor Today . . *by the Editors*

THE A. F. of L.-C. I. O. merger was scheduled to take place at a moment of unique importance to American labor. The decade drawing to a close—the decade of the cold-war years—witnessed great changes in the relation of the labor movement to the society of which it is a part. This was the decade in which most Americans, including many labor leaders, lived in anxious anticipation of the "bust" which did not come. During the decade, American industry experienced a phenomenal increase both in capacity and actual production. The decade that began with the explosion of a bomb over Hiroshima ends with atomic energy producing electricity. Automation, urgent social reality today, was an unknown term in 1945. Goals which seemed utopian a decade ago have been achieved, and are today accepted as ordinary. Henry Wallace's talk of 60,000,000 jobs can no longer be dismissed as "globaloney."

In this extraordinary decade, the economy of the South has been transformed. When Operation Dixie was projected, few people in or out of the labor movement were talking about integrated schools. The period, too, has witnessed the rise of a strong national civil-rights movement. Since 1945 revolution has swept China. India has achieved its independence. Africa now stirs to new currents of revolt. "A revolution of rising expectations" has engulfed the so-called underdeveloped areas. A U. N. has come into being in which colonial powers are hard-pressed to hold their own against a new anti-colonial bloc. Nearly ten years of cold war finds Europe reconstructed, the Middle East struggling to enter the modern world, Israel in being, and the U. S. S. R. and U. S. A. engaged in a global competition in peaceful coexistence. But as the decade ends, the possibility of a third world war fought with nuclear weapons still casts a long shadow across the world.

How has American labor fared during this decade? Has it kept abreast of the major changes? Numerically it has held its own; but its achievements, to point up the fallacy in Mr. Stevenson's phrase, have been both moderate *and* mediocre. During this decade the role of American labor in relation to government has been reversed. By the time of Roosevelt's death, labor had come to rely heavily on government to safeguard its gains, run interference for its organizational drives, and ward off its enemies. The decade about to tend witnessed the adoption of the Taft-Hartley Act which if not the "slave-labor act" labor orators described, has successfully "contained" labor. The National Labor Relations Board, to which labor once turned for help, is now avoided as a dangerous hazard. "Right-to-work" laws, outlawing the closed shop, are to be found in many states. Laws limiting labor's political activities have appeared in such strong labor states as Wisconsin and Michigan. Ugly nativistic anti-labor movements have been spawned in a dozen states. In nearly every state legislature, as in Congress, labor has been on the defensive. At national level, social progress has been nearly at a standstill for ten years. As might be expected, the political influence of labor has declined. The decline began with the death of Roosevelt; it became precipitous with the advent of Eisenhower. The conclusion must be, therefore, that labor has not only failed to lead or even keep abreast of the vanguard; it has, in a relative sense, lost ground in the last ten years organizationally and politically, if not economically.

THE problem posed by labor's relation to the Eisenhower Administration reflects, to a large degree, basic changes which have taken place in the industrial structure. Today the differences between medium-sized and "giant" business are so great that the giant corporations must be regarded as different structures not merely in degree but in kind. As Peter Shore pointed out recently in the *New Statesman and Nation* (October 8, 1955), "these super companies are not simply a kind of magnified projection of smaller capitalist institutions, but a new form of capitalist organization." Their ability to control prices and profits as well as the absence of risk, the separation of ownership from control, and their almost complete independence of the capital market put them in a class apart. Corporations that began by manufacturing rubber today market many consumer items, such as synthetic yarns, textile products, plastics, and chemicals. The giant corporations have plants scattered across the country, often with different skills, occupations, work environments, and problems. "The management fraternity," as Saul Barkin has pointed out ("Labor and Nation," 1953) "has grown large in the last fifteen years." Management is today highly specialized in relation both to program and policy. But the American labor movement itself has not changed commensurably. To a large extent, the initiative in collecting bargaining has passed from labor to management. It is also important to note that, as Mr. Barkin points out, "the full challenge of the new era is being thrown up at a time when other and opposing interests are in the political saddle."

Politically, American labor is backward even by comparison with its nearest neighbors. As labor delegates met in New York to end the nineteen-year-old split in the American labor movement, delegates of the 200,000-member Ontario Provincial Federation of Labor, meeting in Toronto, came within a single vote of endorsing the Canadian Commonwealth Federation. Delegates speaking in behalf of the resolution pointed out that as long as labor is politically inactive it would have "to plead for change. Those in Queen's Park are not our friends. We want to go to the front door and not the back. . . . Year after year we pass resolutions that get nowhere. Meanwhile some say the C. C. F. has become a Fabian party. But why? Because we have allowed it to fall into the hands of lawyers and teachers. . . . Right now the politicians in Queen's Park are laughing at us. We will never get anywhere by begging."

It is not enough to say, in extenuation of American labor, that the general temper of the time has been adverse. Unfortunately labor has contributed to the socially-regressive atmosphere of the cold-war years. The "right to organize" does not stand by itself. Individual citizens, by the same token, have the right to assemble for political action, to petition for a redress of grievances, and to organize political parties. With notable and brilliant exceptions, American labor has not fought, these last ten years, for others' liberties.

All this is not to imply that American labor is impotent or reactionary. Its strength is great but it is only a pittance of what it might be, and will be. We do not agree with those who insist on comparing American labor with, say, labor in Great Britain or France. The American labor movement has special characteristics and problems, as well as a special history and setting. American labor, we are told, is orientated toward middle-class status; it is lacking in class consciousness. True perhaps. But the findings of the Wayne University study, "Labor in Detroit," force one to note some qualifications. Labor, according to this study, is "overwhelmingly orientated toward the Democratic Party." Even those workers who have moved into middle-class neighborhoods still voted Democratic in 1952 and 1954, and in much the same proportions as labor in the working-class districts. Not only do workers trust the voting recommendations of labor organizations much more than those of other groups, but they are correspondingly distrustful of recommendations made by business and the press. Stevenson captured 75 per cent of Detroit's labor vote in 1952. The key labor issues of the recent past—the Square D strike in Detroit, Perfect Circle in Indiana, the strikes in the South—indicate that the militancy of labor is far from dead.

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What has happened in the last ten or fifteen years is that management has taken the initiative in collective bargaining by simply recognizing, accepting, and increasingly relying upon unions. When labor is organizing, the initiative belongs to it; when the drives to organize abate, management recaptures the initiative. Today industry is vitally dependent on labor; it simply could not function, at its present efficiency, without unions. Therefore to regain the initiative labor must enlarge its social, economic, and political objectives. The advantage is still with labor. The last session of Congress witnessed the operation, if on a limited scale, of the first farmer-labor coalition in years. Labor can, if it will, spearhead the fight for a civil-rights program. It can, if it will, transform American politics. On the local, state, and federal level, labor needs to win the support of farmers, self-employed business men and professional groups, youth, the minorities, the independents, and the eggheads.

THIS SPECIAL issue was projected in consultation with a representative group of American labor spokesmen. These consultants urged us not to build the issue around such themes as the achievements of labor or the issues confronting labor. On the contrary, without exception, they urged us to take a critical look at American labor at this important moment in its history. Labor is not buttered up in the pages that follow. We have aimed at achieving the maximum candor. To this end, we asked the contributors not to sign their articles. All of them are actively identified with the labor movement as editors, research and educational directors, or business agents, and they come from both C. I. O. and A. F. of L. unions.

We liked the idea of taking a candid look at American labor in part because it stands in need of self-appraisal and self-criticism which such an issue might stimulate. *The Nation* has earned the privilege, we feel, of viewing labor with friendly candor and objectivity. During 1955 *The Nation* has run nineteen articles devoted to strikes, attacks against labor, and similar concerns. The reporting covered every major strike of the year; it dealt with textile workers, longshoremen, teamsters, apple pickers, hotel workers, white-collar workers, electrical and auto workers, sugar-refinery workers, and employees in the entertainment industry. We take satisfaction in this record. Sharing as we do the misgivings of some of the contributors in this issue about the immediate future for labor, and recognizing with them the problems implicit in the merger, we are nevertheless confident that the conventions of the last week represent a turning point in American labor, the beginning of the end of the organizational, or New Deal, phase in its history.

How Strong Is American Labor?

TO MEASURE the strength of the American labor movement today, a quick backward glance is necessary. Organized labor has registered significant numerical gains since 1933, the year the New Deal began. Even more important, during this period its membership increased more rapidly than the country's total civilian labor force. Thus organized labor has been growing steadily in proportionate as well as in absolute numbers and potentially, at least, represents an increasingly important political and economic factor on the American scene.

A chart drawn from an article, The Growth of American Unions, written by Irving Bernstein and published in *The American Economic Review* for June, 1954, throws light on the statistical side of labor's growth:

Year	Union Membership	Membership as Percent of Civilian Labor Force
1920	5,047,800	12.0%
1930	3,392,800	6.8
1933	2,973,000	5.4
1937	6,334,300	11.7
1945	12,724,700	23.6
1953	17,010,033	26.8

The principal factors which affected these figures were as follows:

The year 1920 marked the peak of post-World War I prosperity. Unemployment was at a minimum, but living costs were soaring. Together these elements provided a strong stimulant to union growth. In that year industrial unionism made impressive if temporary gains.

Beginning with the 1921 depression, union membership began to decline. While for the most part the decade was a prosperous one, the dominant craft-unionism of the A. F. of L. was impotent before the growing power of mass-production industry and the inroads of "technological unemployment"—the forerunner of today's "automation."

The year 1933 marked the low point of the Great Depression and the low point in union membership since 1920. While the year marked the nominal start of the New Deal, Roosevelt's legislative program did not go into high gear until 1934, when the N. R. A. went into operation. The effect on union membership was immediate; the year showed an increase of 600,000 over 1933.

By 1937 union membership, as a percentage of the total civilian labor force in the country, had almost recovered the position it had held seventeen years earlier—around 12 per cent. It should be recalled that 1937 was the year in which the Supreme Court validated the Wagner Labor Relations Act; it also marked the peak of labor's organizing drive in steel, packing, auto, rubber, radio, and other industries which had theretofore stood as citadels of anti-unionism.

By war's end in 1945, labor had doubled both its membership and its percentage of the civilian labor force as compared to 1937. Almost two-thirds of the gains came *after* the United States entered the war. The war years were characterized by a tight labor market, the virtual elimination of collective bargaining on wages (the War Labor Board having taken over the job of wage setting under the "Little Steel formula"), and the voluntary shelving by most unions of the strike weapon. Many seasoned unionists, baptized in the labor battles of the '30s, felt that the non-striking millions who flocked into unions during this period were "too soft"—more often a liability than an asset to labor.

While 1953 showed membership continuing to grow, it is important to note that, in comparison with the spectacular jump achieved between 1937-1945, the eight-year interval 1946-1953 showed a marked decline in *rate* of increase, especially in terms of percentage of total labor force. Indeed, during the three years of the period—1948-1950—there was a virtual standstill in membership and an actual loss in percentage of the labor force covered. This slowdown can be ascribed in part to the 1949 recession, but perhaps in greater measure to the Taft-Hartley Act which became effective in 1947. Membership picked up again with the advent of the Korean war in 1951, the consequent "boom" partially offsetting the adverse effects of Taft-Hartley.

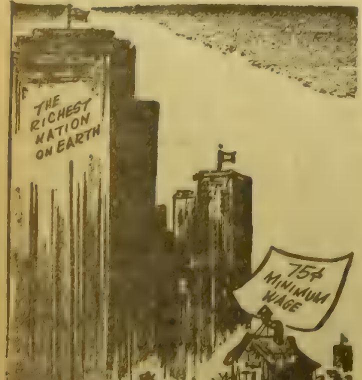
To project our figures beyond the table, it is probable that 1954, with its slight recession, was a year of no gain for labor. And 1955 can have brought the unions no more than a moderate gain of perhaps a million new members.

A FEW comments are in order regarding column 3 of the table (union membership in terms of percentage of the total civilian labor force). As defined by the Bureau of the Census, the country's labor force includes millions not "organizable" into labor unions, such as the self-employed, at least 5,000,000 farmers, and a huge number of persons in salaried managerial capacities. Therefore the unions have done a somewhat better job in organizing than is reflected in column 3 of the table, which is based on official census figures. Even so, on the assumption that the country's "organizables" number about 37,000,000 (a conservative estimate), present total union membership of about 18,000,000 indicates that labor has not yet reached the half-way mark in organizing. It is this fact, combined with the deceleration in growth which has marked the last two years, which provided the incentive for the current merger of the C. I. O. and A. F. of L.

Since there are many small unions and a few big ones—for instance, the Railroad Brotherhoods, the United Mine Workers, and the United Electrical Workers—outside the two federations, the merger is likely to start out with about 16,000,000 members. Apparently the A. F. of L. will bring to it about twice as many members as the C. I. O.

But statistics do not tell the whole story of union strength. Militancy, general morale, and the factor of public support are also important. In the New Deal days, when union membership was much smaller than it is today, organized labor nevertheless managed to win battle after legislative battle with management, both at Congressional and state level. In those days management generally, and Big Business in particular, were unsure of themselves as a result of the 1929 crash. Breadlines and foreclosed farms won public support for collective bargaining; both the urban middle class and the country's agricultural population looked upon unions with sympathy. But in the last decade, despite the numerical growth of the labor movement, the legislative victories have been going to management as attested by the number of federal and state anti-union laws passed.

Partly this turn may be ascribed to the securer position in which management now finds itself, due to its own slick public-relations program and as a byproduct of the cold-war psychology. Many of management's former critics and large sections of the middle class have now turned against organized labor, which has been pictured as a threat to national security and the national welfare. This propaganda has had its effect on union members themselves, many of whom have drifted into middle-class attitudes; their leaders and organizations no longer hold their loyalty as they once did. The Red smear has been an important anti-union weapon.


THE RICHEST NATION ON EARTH
75¢ MINIMUM WAGE

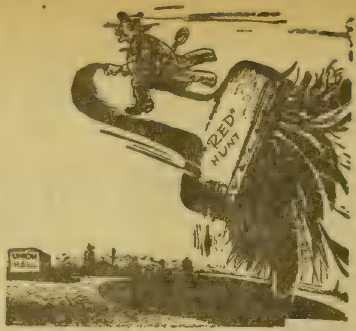
Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

Seems out of place

If management has profited from the cold-war psychology, it has also profited by shrewd tactics of its own designed to divide the worker from his union. Many companies seem to shower their workers with "kindness," offering small wage increases and fringe benefits in such a way as to make it appear that it is management's generosity, not union militancy, which is responsible for this manna from heaven. All this is designed to persuade the worker that he is receiving little or no benefit from his union dues, that his union leaders are just "pork choppers" looking for a fast buck rather than for the welfare of the rank and file. Leaders themselves sometimes succumb; an increasing number of them lately seem to have become company spokesmen, quick to accept management's plea of "low profits" in contract negotiations and joining forces with industry in legislative battles whose only outcome can be to injure other sections of labor. Is it really far-sighted of union leadership, for instance, to stand shoulder-to-shoulder with management in urging prohibitive tariffs against the products of "cheap foreign labor"?

THE tendency of companies to give away a little in order to avoid showdown battles with the unions serves another purpose. All veteran labor leaders know that the only tough, militant local is one which has had to stand up under conflicts. These labor battles are not always won by the union, but when they are, the spirit engendered is likely to last.

Added to management manipulations are certain economic pressures which tend to weaken the fibre of American unionism. The factory worker is often so much in hock for his car, house mortgage, and television set that the break in his income involved in strike action comes to him not as an inconvenience but as a seeming catastrophe. Union treasuries, in turn, are called on more and more frequently, in case of a strike, to furnish not only food and rent but also instalment payments to the strikers. Union leaders are well aware that a striker who has had his car repossessed has suffered a real blow to his morale. But how many union treasuries can afford this kind of strain?



Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

Union targets, as usual

What can unions do to counteract the varied elements which seem to be draining away the lifeblood from the American labor movement? Primarily the job is an educational one. The mass media of communications, manipulated so astutely by management, are also open to labor—though perhaps in smaller measure. These media should be used to impart the facts of economic life to the individual worker—the nature of this country's basically Big Business economy and his own place in it. Few workers recognize the slicker kinds of management propaganda, nor are they in a position to evaluate the economic motives which underlie many political trends. There are alert unions which go into such matters, but even here the educational campaign fails to reach labor's grass roots—the local, the shop, the departmental meeting. This must be done—through discussions and such visual aids as movies and charts—if the educational job being done by management is to be exposed and effectively countered.

Labor unions have failed woefully to uncover the economic motive behind our heavy military expenditures. Workers in defense and allied industries see only that millions of jobs have been created to turn out atomic weapons, planes, tanks, warships, and guns. Some union leaders see the acute dangers of this cold-war boom, but most of them are apparently resigned to do nothing on the ground that it would be "utopian" to expect the Eisenhower Administration to build schools and housing instead of guns. And the truth is that most labor leaders today accept without question the argument that we need to spend thirty billion dollars annually on armaments in order to prevent war.

Beyond the armament question is the central issue of our time: war or peace. How many union leaders have taken a public stand on the problem? And where they have spoken, what has been their position? Does George Meany's dismissal of "peaceful coexistence" as a Communist trap truly represent labor? And in the imminent C. I. O.-A. F. of L. merger, will it be Mr. Meany's philosophy that prevails, or will the merger safeguard union autonomy sufficiently so as to guarantee that there will be a real examination, by labor's rank and file, of the economics of the cold war?

These questions pose a profound challenge to the current crop of labor leaders. And there are others—the question of discrimination, for instance. Year after year the international unions approve lofty resolutions against discrimination at their annual conventions. Occasionally the resolutions are embodied in union contracts. But until these noble professions of faith are put into execution on a day-in, day-out basis within the unions themselves, the much-publicized program for organizing the South will never make much headway, nor will numerous Northern locals acquire the unity they badly need.

The job of awakening labor to its enormous potential strength is difficult, but by no means unsurmountable. Despite the cold war, the divisive tactics used by management, and the powerful economic pressures which work against militant unionism, there is clear evidence that the worker will fight when the enemy is unmasked. At the Kohler plant in Wisconsin and the Perfect Circle plant in New Castle, Indiana, the U. A. W. has been showing stubborn strength in prolonged strikes. A similar situation exists at the Godchaux Sugar Refining Company near New Orleans and the Colonial Provision Company in Boston, where the United Packinghouse Workers are out. Then there is the bitter conflict for recognition waged by the Hotel and Restaurant Workers in Miami. Where it becomes clear that management is out to kill the union, the workers respond.

It is permissible to hope that the bulk of the American labor movement, about to find a new home under a single roof, will unite in making a reevaluation of the meaning of recent events on the picket line—and, as at New Castle, on the firing line. In practice, this may mean chiefly some soul-searching on the part of union leadership. For there is evidence that, despite everything, the rank and file of American unions is still "sound"—and in many places is ahead of its leadership.

The Merger: Credits and Debits

WHEN the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. consumated their well-advertised merger last week, it also marked the twentieth month of the C. I. O. strike at Kohler. The pickets in front of the plant are filled with buoyant hopes—and gaping questions. Does "unity" mean that all A. F. of L. teamsters will no longer make deliveries in or out of Kohler? Does it mean that A. F. of L. longshoremen will refuse to unload clay for the struck plant, or that A. F. of L. plumbers will refuse to install the company's products? For the Kohler pickets such unity would spell decisive victory, and if this were the substance of the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. wedding it would evoke unlimited enthusiasm down at the grass roots.

At the moment, however, such unity is merely distant vision. What has taken place is simply a "merger"—or, in the picturesque term made famous by John L. Lewis, an "agglomeration." Put in another way, this is the lowest form of unity possible; in fact, only the first small step. For effective labor unity—the kind that the Kohler pickets pray for—there would have to be at least three additional steps:

1. Unification of rival groups, such as the A. F. of L. electrical workers with C. I. O.'s I. U. E.; A. F. of L. retail clerks with C. I. O. retail and wholesale workers, the two A. F. of L. paper unions with the one in the C. I. O., the airplane division of the C. I. O. auto workers with the airplane division of the A. F. of L. machinists, and many others.

2. A no-raiding pact signed by *all* the affiliates, and a clear definition of jurisdiction.

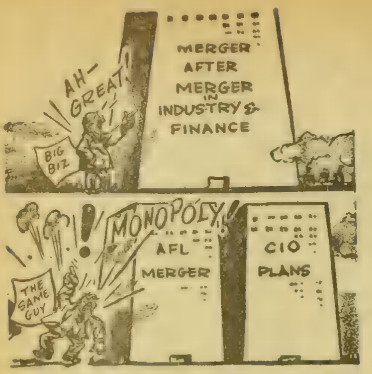
3. An agreement for mutual help between all international unions, particularly as regards respecting each other's picket lines and joint efforts to organize the unorganized.

Take these three steps and you have real labor unity. You also have a veritable revolution that would change the character not only of American labor but of American society as well. It would assure organized labor of twenty to thirty million more employees in the retail, white collar, chemical, and agricultural field, as well as in that citadel of the open shop, the South. It would assure a considerable raising of living standards, and a new political importance for labor.

George Meany

But at the moment these are all consummations devoutly to be wished. Rival international unions, under the merger agreement, are "urged" to unite but not required to do so. Very few show any enthusiasm for the prospect. For many years anyway they will remain warring and divided. It is certain, for instance, that the rival electrical unions will not merge. Neither will the rival retail unions. C. I. O. packinghouse and A. F. of L. butcher workmen continue talks and blow hot and cold alternately, but the chances of fusion are more negative than positive. The rival chemical, seamen, and other international unions are all in the same category—reluctant brides or bridegrooms.

Each union presents unity for-



Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

When the shoe is on the other foot

mulas which would clip its rival's wings. The A. F. of L. retail clerks have suggested to the C. I. O. retail and wholesale workers that it would be willing to merge with the *retail* unions in the C. I. O. group. But the latter has bakeries, candy factories, soup factories, warehouses, and what not, along with retail employees. It would not only have to leave behind scores of local unions, but would actually have to divide and atomize many others. C. I. O. packinghouse workers and A. F. of L. butchers are evidently agreed that there will be a separate department for retail butchers and another for packinghouse workers. But how much autonomy shall be given the packinghouse group which will be dominated by C. I. O. forces? The C. I. O. packinghouse union is organizing in a wide variety of fields, including sugar, agriculture, candy factories. What happens to these forces in a possible merger? How do you reconcile the differing attitudes to intra-union democracy or racial discrimination? C. I. O. packinghouse workers have done an excellent job in race relations; they are almost fanatic on the subject. The A. F. of L. group, on the other hand, has some jimcrow locals in it.

Such are the problems of unification. They disturb power structures built up over decades. Leaders of the international unions are what C. Wright Mills has called the "new men of power." Few of them are willing to trade their status of big fish in a little pond for smaller fish in a bigger pond. The merger at federation level is relatively simple because fewer power structures are involved. Perhaps that is what made merger possible. Hitherto the rival groups tried to patch the whole house of labor together before agreeing to unite. Today they have decided on a more modest handiwork; they have dug the ground for the basement—no more—and will wait for the house itself to fall into place over a period of years. The A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. are, after all, essentially lobbying forces, mere servicing bodies, not real seats of power. They coordinate legislative action, do some research and education, handle relations with foreign unions, organize political action of a rudimentary sort. But they have no power over individual union members and play no role in the central activity of labor, collective bargaining. They can only "advise" international unions; they can not instruct. On the other hand, the leaders of internationals by and large have "life and death" say over local unions and the rank and file. They can expel lower officials, veto or call strikes, conduct bargaining sessions, withdraw charters. Each international is autonomous; in today's labor structure it, rather than the A. F. of L. or C. I. O as such, is the power center. So long, therefore, as the rival internationals do not unite, there can be no effective unity.

THAT the rivalry will continue is evident from the fate of the no-raiding pact. Signed last year, the pact provided for arbitration of all jurisdictional disputes between rival unions. But it becomes effective for each international only when it signs the agreement. So far about two out of every three internationals have done so, but the most important union in either federation, the A. F. of L. teamsters, has refused to sign. For all practical purposes this torpedoes the pact. Teamster President Beck and the new power behind the scenes, Jimmy Hoffa, are forging into a dozen fields. They are in fact building a counter-center to the new merged center, making alliances on an *ad hoc* and individual basis. For instance, they have agreements for common organization programs with the A. F. of L. butcher workmen in the food-processing fields, and with the A. F. of L. machinists in the auto-repair and related areas. In these instances the Teamsters scrupulously respect the agreed-upon jurisdictional lines. On the other hand, Teamster unions have on more than one occasion raided the A. F. of L. retail clerks, whom they consider "enemies." What this bodes for the future is hard to say. The new merged federation plans organization efforts in many virgin fields. The Teamsters claim jurisdiction over warehousing and many other activities which are bound to create problems so long as there is no machinery for resolving disputes.

There is, finally, the ideological obstacle to true unity—the lack of *labor solidarity*. For most of the old-line unionists, solidarity is a dead letter. They help or support other unions only when they are allied or friendly with their leaderships. The Teamsters respect picket lines on some occasions, deliberately walk through on others. The same is true of the building-trade unions and many others. Here is perhaps the most serious defect of the whole labor movement. It affects intra-union democracy, idealism, and in fact labor's whole structure and outlook. It is a symptom of the dictatorship and centralization in so many unions which make possible the perversion of the principle of *labor* unity by the opportunism of *leadership* alliance. In political action particularly, the failure to practice the principle of labor solidarity, and the democracy on which it must be based, is fatal. Yet the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. merger does not even touch on this problem; it obviously could not.

We have here an insight into the mechanics and reasons for merger. If the participants had insisted on true labor unity—on the reshuffling of power structures, on changing ideological outlooks—there would have been no merger. The merger takes place precisely because it is the

UNITY
A.F.L.
C.I.O.

Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

On the Agenda

most rudimentary form of unity possible, the lowest and least effective form. This is not a criticism; the merger, even in its present form, is a step forward. Perhaps this first step will lead to others until true unity is achieved. On the other hand, the merger can lead to more centralization and a dilution of labor militancy. The Executive Council of the merged A. F. of L.-C. I. O. will have twenty-nine members: President George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer William Schnitzler, and twenty-seven vice-presidents, seventeen chosen from present A. F. of L. ranks and ten from the C. I. O. In effect this group will dominate the whole federation, because it will represent the largest and most powerful unions. Small unions are afraid that they will be swallowed; that the biennial conventions (they are annual now) will be mere rubber stamps in the hands of the big unions.

In some areas the prospects are for great improvement. There is no doubt that the new federation will fight more vigorously against racial discrimination. Research and education will play a greater role than hitherto. The same is true in the legislative field: the merged bodies will have more "clout" with Congress and state legislatures. This in fact is the greatest virtue of the merger, and fits in with the role of the two federations as primarily lobbying bodies. In the sphere of organization there may also be some progress, but only if the jurisdictional lines and conflicts are ironed out.

But in other areas the prospects are bleak indeed. It looks now as if Jay Lovestone and Irving Brown of the A. F. of L. will dominate the international-relations scene in preference to the more level-headed and liberal Victor Reuther. Politically the trend is undoubtedly to the Right. This was made evident by events long before the merger was to take place. At the C. I. O. convention last year Walter Reuther quietly interred the Labor Party plank which had for years been approved by his own United Auto Workers. A second signpost was the failure of the C. I. O. executive board, led by Reuther, to take a position on the Formosa question at the time when Quemoy and Matsu seemed to be sparks that might lead to war. Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of Reuther's own union and a board member, proposed a militant resolution on this score and pleaded vainly with Reuther to do something. George Meany of the A. F. of L. has a position on this subject close to that of Chiang Kai-shek; Reuther was obviously mindful of this and refused to inject an irritant into the future merger. The chances are that the C. I. O.—and the coterie of ex- and neo-Socialists who are its thinkers and leaders—will continue to defer to the more rabid anti-communism that prevails in the A. F. of L.

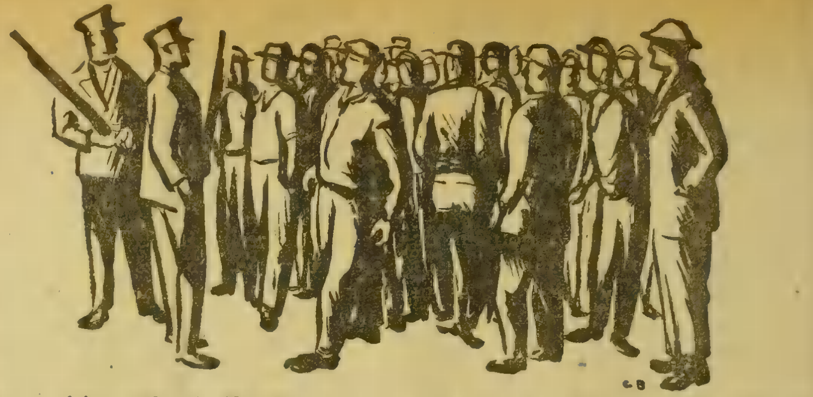
This would be an important setback for labor. The C. I. O. often took an independent political line. In Guatemala, for instance, it refused to give Castillo Armas a blank check. No doubt Reuther and his associates hope to influence the merged federation's policy and bring it closer to their own. But as of this moment it seems that the push will be the other way.

THE merger, then, must be looked at from various angles and in different lights. It lays the groundwork for a better day for American labor. But it also presents many pitfalls and dangers which it would be foolish to overlook.

The intriguing question is: why was the merger projected at all? Many writers have indicated that the reason lies in the wave of anti-labor legislation—Taft-Hartley, "right to work" laws, and the like. Undoubtedly here was justification enough, but for the real motivating factor we must look elsewhere. *The reason for the merger, and at the same time its tragedy, is that the C. I. O. is in the process of disintegration.*

The C. I. O. is uniting at the lowest point of its bargaining power. When the first attempt at unity was made back in 1937, C.I.O. was riding high. From a mere 900,000 members when it left the A. F. of L. in 1937, it had mushroomed to 3,700,000. It was then larger than the parent federation. It had an inside track to Roosevelt's White House; it had captured the imagination of many millions of unorganized; it was staffed with hundreds of idealistic young radicals who were willing to walk picket lines and who knew how to bring out the latent militancy of American labor.

Today the C. I. O., according to its own over-estimated figure, is only five million strong. Its *elan* is gone. Since the first flush of the 1935-1940 period, it has had no sensational organizational successes. It has grown with the economy, but hardly more. The young radicals of yesterday are middle-aged pork choppers today, far removed from the Socialists, Trotskyists, Wobblies, Stalinists, and Lovestoneites with whom they consorted in the thirties. And they no longer work around the clock or dream the dream that inspired them in that long ago when America was digging itself out of the enervating depression. The C. I. O. is not identical with the A. F. of L.: it has no racketeer problem; it has more democratic aspects than the old A. F. of L. international unions such as the Carpenters or Teamsters. But it lacks verve and vigor. Since the big organizing drive in auto, steel, rubber, oil, and packing it has muffed the ball in the South and in a dozen other fields. Politically



and organizationally it has blended closer to the mentality and make-up of the older federation. Even the wages of its organizers and top officials have slowly inched themselves up toward the $30,000, $50,000 and $70,000 standards of the older elite. The eleven Communist-controlled unions were expelled in 1949, and the C. I. O. has been asserting its allegiance to the free-enterprise system with fervor nearly equal to that of the A. F. of L.

Thus the gaps between the two federations, which in 1935 appeared unbridgeable, have now been bridged. Industrial unionism, political action, organization of the unorganized—these pillars of C. I. O. policy no longer make the difference between the groups. The A. F. of L. too has its industrial unions. The A. F. of L. is today in national politics as a prop to the Democratic Party. And neither A. F. of L. nor C. I. O. has scored any real successes for more than a decade in organizing the unorganized. The groundwork for unity has been there for at least ten years. Only the power drives of a few men kept the movements apart; since the war the only real question has been: who will get posts, who will keep the power when and if merger comes about?

Now the C. I. O. is "returning to the house of labor." For the long run Walter Reuther has great hopes and daring plans; but at this historical juncture he is being married at the point of a shotgun in the hand of David McDonald, the conservative president of the C. I. O. Steelworkers. McDonald's enmity for the irrepressible redhead is painful to behold. At a Jewish Labor Committee dinner some time ago McDonald spent the major portion of his speech berating Reuther and his "socialism." Ever since Reuther became C. I. O. president following Phil Murray's death, this schism with McDonald has threatened to blow the organization sky high. Finally, when McDonald threatened to take his union into the A. F. of L., Reuther had no other course but to step up the pace for merger. The C. I. O. is being brought into the A. F. of L. structure as a kind of industrial-union department on terms similar to those discussed in 1937, but with its flag at half-mast.

The C. I. O. weakness was evident throughout the preliminary fencing for position. The A. F. of L. takes the two top positions with President Meany and Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler; it dominates the Executive Council, the Executive Committee, and the General Policy Board composed of all international union presidents. The argument over the merger name is indicative of the whole process. The C. I. O. people wanted a blended name which would advertise merger—something like American *Congress* of Labor. But A. F. of L. leaders refused to yield; the best they would agree to was to tack on the words "and Congress of Industrial Organizations" as a rider to "American Federation of Labor." Everywhere the welcome mat for the C. I. O. is more like a funeral shroud. Throughout the country the C. I. O. is being relegated to second-class citizenship. Naturally in cities like Detroit, where C. I. O. strength is overwhelming, this will be impossible; but the trend is there. The schism between Reuther and McDonald, subordinated for the moment, plagues the C. I. O. even in this transition period. Many A. F. of L. officials have cemented alliances with Steelworker leaders in the hopes of freezing out the auto-worker group.

PRESUMABLY Reuther feels that these are inevitable blows in the shakedown period, that he must give considerable ground—and wait. Reuther will have charge of organizing the unorganized. His auto workers have already pledged $1 per member, $1,250,000, to start the job rolling if others will also respond, and with the prestige that comes from bringing in new forces—provided he can do it—Reuther hopes again to make the same kind of spectacular climb that catapulted him first to the head of the Auto Workers and then the C. I. O. itself. Enormously confident, Reuther permits no one to "turn his left end." He knows how to talk radical even when his actions are not so radical; and how to respond to the pressures of the workers. Yielding ground to Meany is for him only an episode in a future regroupment of labor around himself.

During the "waiting period" there will be a realignment. It is already in the making. McDonald's Steelworkers will undoubtedly gravitate toward a more conservative axis, probably with Dave Beck's Teamsters. On the other hand, such unions as David Dubinsky's Ladies Garment Workers and Al Hayes's Machinists, both now in the A. F. of L., may become part of Reuther's C. I. O. department.

What happens after these realignments? Will Reuther's position become stronger, or will there be a new split? Is it possible that a realignment will extend beyond all the present participants? In the thirties the reshuffling of labor's leadership brought together the Center, Lewis, Hillman *et al,* and the Left, Socialists, Stalinists, etc. The extent of the present realignments will depend in the final analysis on the objective situation. If we are in for an inflationary spiral and prosperity, then organization efforts will be much simpler and wage prospects brighter. If we are in for "leveling" and unemployment, the prospects are reversed. The question of war and peace will also cast its long shadow over the inner workings of the labor movement.

The merger is merely an episode in a bigger saga. Though welcome, it is hardly more than a step; certainly not a goal in itself. The important thing is what happens *after* merger.

Organizing the Unorganized

WHEN John W. Livingston, director of organizing for the merging A. F. of L.-C. I. O., surveys his job he will be looking beyond heavy industry, public utilities, and transportation. These, already fairly well organized, compose the bulk of the 16,000,000 members to whom President George Meany will be pointing with pride. Livingston, the husky auto worker from the Ozarks, will be concerned rather with the 45,000,000 wage-earners outside the union fold. They include most women workers, most white-collar employees, and most of the men and women, white and Negro, employed in the South. If within the next ten years he could double the membership of the A. F. of L.-C. I. O., his name would go down in labor history alongside that of John L. Lewis.

The car you now drive, the house you live in, the meat and bread you eat—these are all pretty likely to be union-made. Likewise the electrical gadgets you live by, your means of getting hither and yon, the structures you work in, the things you read are produced, chances are, by hands that hold a union card. It's not nearly so likely that the clothes you wear (unless you insist on the union label) will be union-made. Most of the food you eat, most of the personal services you receive, the host of small and inexpensive things—these are, by and large, without benefit of union protection to their makers, processors, and handlers.

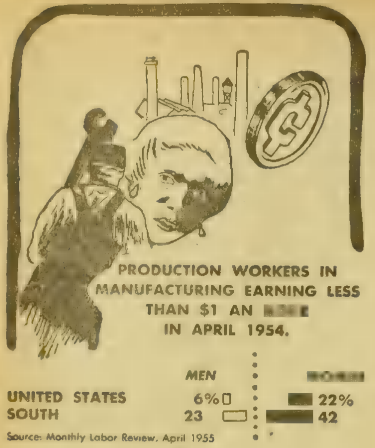
The statistics which face Livingston in his organizing drive do not give the whole picture. For instance, Chicago. This cradle of American labor is less unionized, factory-wise, than Richmond, Virginia, or Birmingham, Alabama. Enormous segments of heavy industry, particularly in oil and chemicals, remain untouched by orthodox unionism. In certain industries where both A. F. of L. and C. I. O. have competing unions, as in meat packing, textiles, and chemicals, internecine strife has taken a heavy toll. But the key to Chicago's poor showing is the small factory. In this metropolitan area there are no fewer than 14,000 factories employing one million workers, and most of them have fewer than a thousand employees. Here unionism runs into cost factors and the law of diminishing returns. A union administrator will tell you that it costs only about twice as much to furnish union services in a plant with 1,000 members as in one with a hundred. The temptation here is to organize not the workers but the employers into associations to be more easily policed by association-wide contracts. Small factories are a major union problem almost everywhere; in the aggregate they may well account for 10,000,000 unorganized workers.

Another roadblock to unionism is the white-collar employee. The factory worker tends to be output minded and to tie this in with severely regimented wage scales, seniority and working rules. The office workers in the big industrial plants look with no little envy on the status production workers have attained; whether unions can modify their rigid notions to fit the white collar, while the white collar abandons some of his notions of superiority, will determine union success in this most promising of all the big unconquered sectors.

Women are a problem, too. Or rather, union men are the problem in their attitude toward organizing women. The traditional male idea has been that the husband, as family breadwinner, should earn enough to support his family. Unions helped mightily to get the children out of the factories, and some of them thought woman's place, too, was in the home. However desirable this old American dream may have been, the facts of life negate it. Women constitute one-third of the labor force; one-third of women over fourteen are at work. The new A. F. of L.-C. I. O. director of organization may know better than to try to stretch women on unionism's procrustean bed. Since he'll likely be too male-conscious to see the problem (not a single woman has ever been elected to the executive board of either labor federation), perhaps there should be a woman codirector of organization. That might rectify the present situation where men are averaging $3,469 in yearly earnings against $1,252 for women, who are actually 13 per cent worse off, wage-wise, than they were thirteen years ago. The catch phrase, so dear to both Republican and Democratic vote-catchers, that labor never had it so good, certainly doesn't apply to women.

WHATEVER his other problems, Director Livingston is not going to be bothered much by the size of his organizing budget. The new federation starts with a built-in annual deficit of between three and four million dollars. This stems from the facts of merger. Governed by sacrosanct rules of tenure and seniority, the merged federation will enjoy no economies but rather a two-headed bureaucracy in which every office-holder is assured of his job.

The lack of money doesn't mean too much. There were hardly pennies available back in the 1930's when steel, auto, electrical, and machine workers organized themselves. Sending scads of paid organizers into virgin territory usually doesn't pay off. The paid organizers are apt to limit their efforts to getting signatures on application cards; that indeed is the criterion of success in many a union headquarters. It is assumed that there is some magic in the word "union" and that this *deus ex machina* will do the job somehow by remote control. Wherever workers have been genuinely organized into unions, they have accepted the union as a vehicle which they must pull to success by their own efforts. It is true that there are many unions organized by bureaucratic methods, but they can better be described as workingmen's business organizations which come to life once a year when the contract expires. Unionism as a way of life, which is the biggest asset Director Livingston has in doubling the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. membership in the next decade, is a lot bigger than most union officials care to admit; in fact there is a certain tendency to lean over backwards and insist that the immediate pork chop is the sole goal of labor. A certain type of university intellectual who dabbles in labor matters fiercely loves this concept of business unionism, perhaps because it is supposed to be anti-Marxist, but few average citizens love it. It is a



bit too materialistic to enlist widespread admiration among those not directly involved.

Business unionism will offer certain obstacles to Director Livingston's program. As these unions achieve a certain limited success, and their officials acquire financial and social status in rather sumptuous headquarters, bureaucratism becomes a factor. So long as the dues continue to roll in, these cumbersome machines tend to rely on their own momentum to survive. While every union covets more per capita, the imagination and drive needed for organizing become dulled and the machines become involved in contemplating their own internal problems. Unable to cope with the challenge within their own industries, they look only with vague interest toward ambitious programs for organizing women, white collars, or the South. The typical union official today is an administrator, not an organizer. The situation was highlighted when the United Auto Workers offered to toss $1,250,000 into a general organizing kitty if other unions would also chip in. The idea lies vegetating in the files and it will be interesting to see how much luck Director Livingston has in resurrecting it.

An exception must be noted. The Teamsters, an extremely self-centered and businesslike union, has garnered a rich harvest of small factories, warehouses, and processing plants. Almost any unorganized plant that a truck may enter to deliver or take away goods is subject to Teamsters' interest; so widespread has become its jurisdiction that it parallels in structure and scope the great British Transport and General Workers Union. While the Teamsters organize on a strictly self-centered basis which may afford little help to A. F. of L.-C. I. O.'s general campaigns, the success they have attained in aggressive organizing shows the possibilities lying around unrealized.

Another encouraging factor with which Director Livingston is well acquainted is the proletarianizing of the supervisory and technical staffs in heavy industry. In oil refineries, for example, there is now one supervisor for every five or six hourly workers. These, along with the technicians and professionals in the factories, are tending to become "the masses" and inclined to like the kind of protection that unionism affords.

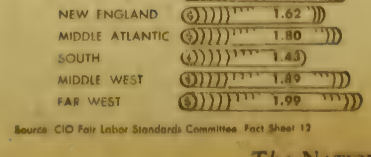
THIS GENERATION has seen two upsurges of organization, the first growing out of the desperation of the Great Depression, the second out of World War II. In the first, workers organized themselves. In the second, the unions did the job through labor-board ballots with a powerful assist from the government which needed to have war workers mobilized for more effective direction.

The current era differs from both. It can hardly be said that the unorganized show desperation today, particularly in the North. Many of them bask in the shade of the union umbrella without having to pay dues. Perhaps as many workers enjoy the wage benefits of unionism outside the unions as inside—they are the free riders. Then there are the millions of capitalism's captives, the indentured servants of instalment purchases. They feel they can't afford to risk strikes for the union because the sheriff might haul away the cherished TV, the beloved new car, or the housewife's proud badge of freedom, her machines for washing and cleaning. Not in their ranks of course are the appalling number even in the North who earn less than $1 an hour, but still are an influential minority among the unorganized.

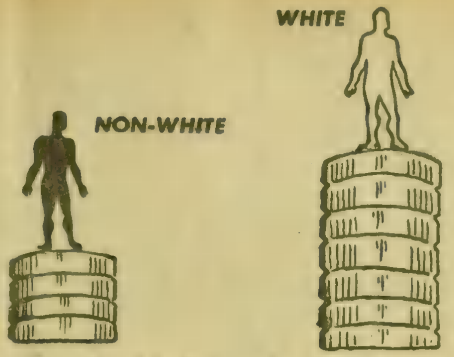
Employers, too, have their umbrella, the Cadillac Cabinet in Washington, basically hostile to unionism. Lothair Teetor, former Assistant Secretary of Commerce whose Perfect Circle firm in Indiana believes in shooting it out with the United Auto Workers, hastily abandoned his Washington post not, perhaps, because his hostility to the union was repudiated but because this display of pre-Rooseveltian anti-unionism was embarrassing. The Secretary of the Interior, whose struck Oregon firm depends more on starvation than bullets to beat down the union, rides more easily in the Cabinet. Under Eisenhower, the National Labor Relations Board has become a coolly hostile force from which unions can expect no favors. Insofar as possible, they bypass the very board which was set up originally to protect their right to organize. If a minor depression should set in, the unions, under the present Administration, might well find themselves entrenched in a war of self-preservation rather than in seeking more millions to organize.

Director Livingston then must face the intrinsic differences of this period, which contrasts with the 1930's and with the war years. There is an undeniable passivity among many unorganized workers and a growing intransigence among hard-boiled employers. These are high hurdles.

Any serious proposal to add millions to the labor movement must take into account the South, where industry is burgeoning, wages are low, and security generally non-existent. The emancipation of Southern labor is the key not only to the creation of a truly national labor movement but to the refreshment of American political life. A South brought up to national wage standards, liberated from industrial-plantation feudalists, and freed from bondage to the race issue would give a new turn to the national life. This long overdue emancipation can be labor's greatest gift both to the South and to the country at large. It will be achieved when Southern workers find the union key. They



are ready, they are good joiners, and when they have pledged their word they are loyal to it (a mighty asset on the picket line). Here especially the spiritual values that labor can express find a ready response. Southern workers are tired of being second-class industrial citizens, of being told that sunshine is a good substitute for adequate pay and the self-respect that unions bring. Nor will the chains of instalment-buying bind them; they have little to lose and much to win in a fight.



Average Urban Income • 1949

CITY OR REGION	AVERAGE INCOME		NON-WHITE INCOME AS PERCENTAGE OF WHITE
	White	Non-White	
ATLANTA	$2,238	1,020	45.6%
MEMPHIS	2,201	921	41.8
NEW ORLEANS	2,090	981	46.9
NEW YORK	2,562	1,858	72.5
CHICAGO	2,695	1,919	71.2
ST. LOUIS	2,403	1,402	58.3
LOS ANGELES	2,297	1,627	70.8
SOUTH	1,866	862	46.2
NORTH CENTRAL	2,242	1,681	75.0

SOURCE: U.S. CENSUS, 1950

The textile baronies along the Atlantic Piedmont differ as sharply from the industrialized Birmingham region as does oil-rich Texas and the Southwest from either. There is no unified "South." Alongside the peonized sugar workers of Louisiana are unionized oil workers on the Gulf Coast who have wiped out the North-South wage differential. The Birmingham steel workers have just erased the wage differential; the meat packers are narrowing the margin. Along the bayous and in the piney woods giant new plants are mushrooming, most of them built by Northern corporations accustomed to dealing with unions up North. Any Southern organizer will tell you that a new plant is twice as easy (or half as difficult) to line up as an older one.

Nevertheless repeated "Southern drives" have petered out. A good bit of the blame must be placed at labor's door because of its hesitant attitude toward Negroes. A firm stand has been diluted out of concern for the prejudices of the white worker; as a result neither white nor Negro is organized.

There is no disguising the stubbornness of racial prejudice; on the other hand it has been magnified out of all perspective by the racist press and agitators. It is becoming increasingly clear to Southern workers that discrimination is holding back both races. All the way from Richmond to Corpus Christi union leaders can give concrete examples of success in fighting discrimination. The Negro, as an ally, can decide the issue of unionism in the South; if he is left uninterested, he can defeat unionism by his mere passivity. When the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. brings its fight for economic and political equality out of the clouds of convention oratory and pious resolutions into a genuine fighting program, the next drive in the South will need neither millions of dollars nor thousands of paid organizers. To paraphrase Marx, the emancipation of the Southern workers will be achieved by the Southern workers themselves, once Negroes are assured a position in the labor movement fully equal to their white brothers.

THE MAIN reason organized labor has made little progress in recent years can be found in "public opinion." Director Livingston will find this public opinion the all-important factor in his organizing plans. Not the public opinion so readily manufactured by the mass media controlled by the business elements, but rather that of the grapevine, of word-of-mouth that spreads among unorganized workers as they eye unionism as it is. In this, the spiritual factors far outweigh the material, odd as that may seem. The name of John L. Lewis was magic to millions in the 1930's because at last one of their own stood up, fought back, and won against the titans of his time. That exhilaration of spirit was worth more than millions in the treasury. The image of Organized Labor as the protector of the poor, the apostle of public education, the champion of better health and welfare, the watchdog against private plunder of the national resources, the advocate of world brotherhood, is the most valuable asset the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. director of organization can possibly have. That is why the business press has been so keen to show up sporadic pilfering of union-welfare funds and to front-page the mansions of a few labor leaders. If the labor movement can be reduced in public estimation to a selfish materialistic concept in which a favored class advances its own pay (and prices to the public, as the press insists) and collaborates with municipal corruptionists for special privilege, the vast majority of men and women still outside the House of Labor will remain there. If labor's political action, in practice, seems aimed at seeking favors, in advancing the interests of political shysters, in urging expanded military expenditures so that unionized war workers in plane factories and other munitions plants may be sheltered, there will be little spark of response from the unorganized. Even if their aspirations are unverbalized, they seek security, dignity, peace.

In truth there have always been the two drives within the labor movement, the one animated by the highest concern for humanity, the other rather desperately seeking to find safety for some behind barriers. Across the country from coast to coast there are thousands dedicated to the proposition that unions are the engines of democracy in an industrial society; their voices are going to be heard increasingly as the bankruptcy in imagination and drive of the business unionists continues to breed sterility. It is to them that Director Livingston will need to be looking for the organizers, largely unpaid, of the millions who should be in the unified House of Labor.

Democracy and the Labor Unions

IN THE last fifteen years, the terms "civil liberties" and "civil rights" have more and more been used to designate different kinds of liberties; "civil liberties," the broad social, political, economic, and religious rights guaranteed to all citizens under the Constitution, "civil rights" the right to be free of discriminations based on race, color, creed, or national origin. On the whole, labor's record is much better in the latter field than in the former.

Generally speaking, American labor's position on civil liberties has been ambivalent. Although no group in our society has a higher stake in civil liberties, labor has seldom organized to defend civil liberties in a systematic way. Indeed it is arguable that more efforts to defend labor's civil liberties have been formed without than within the labor movement. On the other hand, labor has had to battle all the way for the right to organize and for recognition of collective-bargaining principles, and its gains in these fields have had important civil-liberties implications. But these battles have generally been waged for specific bread-and-butter objectives, rather than to vindicate the right to organize and bargain collectively as an aspect of basic constitutional freedom. And this is so despite the fact that freedom of speech, assembly, and petition have been key issues in many organizational drives. To this day labor continues to present its case better when the issue directly involves its right to organize, as in its excellently conducted campaign against state right-to-work laws (see The Right-To-Work Laws by Eleanor G. Astor, *The Nation*, April 2, 1955), than when civil liberties issues of less immediate concern are at stake.

IN LARGE part because of the intensity of the initial employer opposition to unions and collective bargaining, the structure of American trade unions gave more attention to safeguarding the union from external attack or internal disruption than to the rights of individual union members. For years the courts made extremely little headway in their repeated efforts to protect local unions, and their treasuries, from the often arbitrary action of executive boards. While there has been marked improvement in this area of recent years, there is still need for a larger measure of internal democracy. Free speech is still an unrecognized principle in too many unions. In how many large American unions is a "loyal opposition" permitted to function? Opposition candidates in elections are all too rare. In many unions, the right of a minority to even limited access to the union's publication for the purpose of airing alternative views and policies is severely restricted or not recognized at all. It is not surprising, therefore, that the leadership of American labor has talked more often about labor's right to organize than about civil liberties in general. Nor is it surprising that the rank and file of many unions has exhibited marked indifference to denials of civil liberties to other groups; they just haven't known too much about civil liberties.

Also surviving in wide sections of the American labor movement is the Gompers conception of a narrow, non-political preoccupation with bread-and-butter issues. This tradition, whatever its merits at particular times, did not encourage a broad outlook on such issues as civil liberties. And, be it noted, the general public's attitude toward labor did not always encourage labor to become concerned about the denial of civil liberties to other groups.

Given these considerations, it is not surprising that wide sections of the labor movement should, like other elements in the society, have been caught up in the hysteria of the cold war. Specific factors in the postwar period encouraged this tendency. In the immediate postwar period, sections of labor had accumulated grievances which had not found open expression because of the wartime proscription of strikes. At the same time, opportunists saw a chance to utilize the traditional anti-radical climate of the labor movement to ride to power. After all, the first Smith Act prosecution had been launched in Minneapolis at the instigation of high officials of the Teamsters' union who were anxious to liquidate a Trotskyite faction that controlled its locals in that city. Opportunistic leadership elements, noting the change in the general climate of opinion, were quick to use the Communists, and radical rank-and-file elements, as scapegoats in a postwar period. Purges were conducted within particular unions and eleven left-wing unions were expelled from the C. I. O. after World War II. In point of fact, however, most unions, A. F.

of L. and C. I. O., had dealt with the Communist issue in the late 1930's and early 1940's; the cold-war atmosphere merely provided a setting within which the issue could be exploited for a variety of reasons and motivations. Nevertheless, the material which formed the basis of the expulsion of the left-wing unions of the C. I. O. was incorporated by Senator Humphrey in hearings held in 1951 which led eventually to the enactment of the Communist Control Act of 1954. This act was backed in the Senate by some of labor's staunchest friends, despite the fact that every labor group—A. F. of L., C. I. O., Railway Brotherhood, and major independent unions—had opposed the anti-labor bills, such as the Butler Bill, incorporated in the 1954 act. True, the bill was labeled a Communist Control Act, but some of its provisions have clear anti-labor implications. Witness the fact that the A. F. of L. did manage to secure the following exception:

> That any labor organization which is an affiliate in good standing of a national federation or other labor organization whose policies and activities have been directed to opposing Commnist organizations, and Communist foreign governments, or the world Communist movement, shall be presumed prima facie not to be a "Communist-infiltrated organization."

Because of these internal developments in the postwar period the labor movement was slow to react to the curtailment of civil liberties which began, in a sense, with the promulgation of President Truman's loyalty order in 1947. Implicit in the order was the idea of blacklisting, both of organizations and of individuals. States, counties, and cities began to adopt similar provisions which directly affected many unions and their members. Private organizations and institutions began to adopt the same procedures. At the same time, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, and the Senate Government Operations subcommittee conducted hearings which, related to a series of Smith Act and perjury prosecutions under the Taft-Hartley Act, intensified political fears, bred panic and hysteria, and extended the blacklists. The A. F. of L. had consistently endorsed the work of the House Committee on Un-American Activities during the years when that committee was harassing certain C. I. O. unions. At this earlier period, the C. I. O. took strong positions in defense of civil liberties but these positions were asserted with lessening vigor as the cold war intensified. Many C. I. O. unions were opposed to the first—Minneapolis—Smith Act prosecution, but after 1948, when Communists took the place of Trotskyites as defendants, the attitude changed. The timing of Congressional hearings on "un-American activities" in connection with pending N. L. R. B. elections between rival union groups, and also in relation to pending collective-bargaining negotiations and internal trade-union elections, clearly indicated that elements in the labor movement were collaborating with the staffs of the committees.

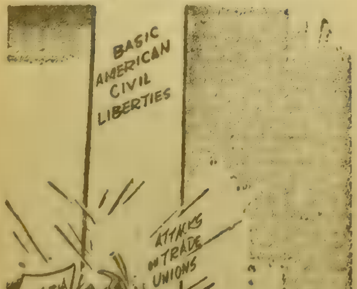
Later, too, both A. F. of L. and C. I. O. unions were slow to react to army discharge cases, to such political prosecutions as the Lattimore case, and the implications of the industrial security personnel set-up, to the spread of test oaths (involving, in some areas, tenants in housing projects, as well as teachers and municipal employees), denials of passports, and to prosecutions under state sedition statutes where the constitutional issues were virtually identical with those involved in state right-to-work laws which labor bitterly opposes. Yet these measures could hardly fail to concern labor; according to Chief Justice Warren the federal government's security program now embraces 8,000,000 Americans—3,000,000 in the armed services, 2,400,000 in government employment, and almost 3,000,000 employees of defense contractors. Senator Hennings puts the total much higher, namely 20,000,000. As was pointed out recently in *The Nation,* provisions of the industrial security program could easily be used to make a shambles of union-security provisions in collective-bargaining agreements as well as to blacklist trade-union members.

True, some unions have opposed these developments; the U. A. W.'s action in the Radulovich case is apposite. But by and large, labor has been slow to react to these measures, it has let other groups lead, and when it has acted it has not followed up with recommendations which would lead to a growing rank-and-file awareness of the issues. Too often also it has failed to adopt measures designed to bring labor's political power to bear on Senators and Representatives who might have listened to labor, if not to civil-liberties organizations or church groups. This was the pattern of labor's reaction to McCarthy, which developed slowly, uncertainly, with more attention being devoted to resolutions denouncing McCarthy than to means by which these resolutions might be implemented (see: *The Nation,* Labor and McCarthy, by Bernard D. Nossiter, July 24, 1954).

THE TIDE began to turn, so far as labor was concerned, with the adoption of a strong statement on Civil Liberties and Internal Security at the C. I. O. convention on December 9, 1954, in Los Angeles. This was much the strongest and most comprehensive statement that a major labor group had adopted up to that time. Since then, too, the more direct involvement of the labor movement in witch-hunting procedures has brought about a stiffening of labor's opposition. The C. I. O. Steelworkers, for example, came to the defense of its political-action director who had been accused of being a Communist by one of the government's professional informers. Harvey O'Connor's effort to evoke the protection of the First Amendment in a contest with Senator McCarthy won widespread labor support, doubtless because of his background in the labor movement. Similar recent instances might be cited. Throughout the period of the cold war the expelled left-wing unions conducted some effective campaigns on behalf of civil liberties, a [illegible] in point being the impressive victory won by the West Coast I. L. W. U. in having the coast guard screening set-up declared unconstitutional.

Despite improvement, the labor movement continues to exhibit a remarkable sensitivity to official attitudes on certain key civil-liberties issues. The American Federation of Television and Radio Artists-A. F. of L., by a 4 to 1 vote in a national referendum, has approved a rule which provides that any member who invokes the Fifth Amendment when questioned about membership in the Communist Party may be subject to charges and, after a hearing, to possible expulsion. In this instance, a faction of the union was clearly collaborating with the Congressional committee that held the hearing and was, in effect, a party to the blacklisting of its own members. (See Unholy Alliance, AFTRA and the Blacklist, by Jay Nelson Tuck, *The Nation,* September 3, 1955). It should be noted, however, that there was, and is, strong opposition within the union to the position taken. On the same issue, the Representative Assembly of the Newspaper Guild in New York will ballot on December 15 and 16 on a measure to determine whether the guild should resist the firing of members who have invoked the Fifth Amendment when questioned about Communist Party membership.

Until the adoption of the civil-liberties resolution at the 1954 C. I. O. convention, cited above, the best statement on the role of labor in relation to civil liberties was that issued by the Packinghouse Workers-C. I. O. in 1953, under the caption The Road Ahead. The following quotation from this excellent statement is perhaps the best comment that could be made on labor's attitude toward civil liberties during the cold-war period:



Walt Partymiller
in York Gazette and Daily

Chip by Chip

> We are rapidly becoming a nation of cowed and frightened people—frightened and cowed not by any foreign power or enemy but by the McCarthys and Veldes. And we in the labor movement must confess that too often we have been counted not among the few with courage but among the many with fear.
>
> Yes, sometimes we have spoken. But not often enough, not long enough, not loud enough.
>
> And even when we spoke, we rarely acted.
>
> We, A. F. of L. and C. I. O. alike, passed resolutions condemning the activities of the House Un-American Committee and similar legislative investigating bodies. But have we taken a single concrete step in aid of any of the "unpopular" victims of these committees? Have we come to the support of Owen Lattimore in his defense against the outlandish indictment he faces? Have we been able to set aside our fears sufficiently to recognize that in his recent contempt conviction for refusing to turn his union membership lists over to a Congressional investigating committee Abram Flaxer of the United Public Workers was supporting a principle on which any trade-union leader would face jail rather than betray his trust?
>
> We in C. I. O. by official convention resolution viewed with alarm the conviction of certain Communist leaders not for overt acts but for what they taught. But neither our union nor, so far as we are aware, any other national union in either A. F. of L. or C. I. O. took a single concrete step by way of court briefs or otherwise to bring our views to a forum where they might produce results.
>
> We in the labor movement have repeatedly stated our support for the protection of the Bill of Rights. But the campaign to destroy the constitutional privilege of every individual to refuse to give testimony which may later be used against him in criminal proceedings has not vigorously been challenged by labor. This campaign pretends to accept the privilege but seeks to destroy it by promoting the false impression that those who stand on a constitutional right must be viewed as admitting guilt. College professors asserting the privilege have been fired, as if they had committed an offense. The American Association of University Professors condemned the discharge, but none from labor spoke up. Writers, artists, professional people asserting the privilege have been fired or blacklisted, as if they had committed an offense, and none from labor spoke up.
>
> In our own union, we allowed leaders of our own local unions to be placed under attack by the Un-American Committee in 1952 while we offered no support.

The A.F. of L. Machinist

But as labor moves into the post-McCarthy era—if indeed that era is at an end—several major incidents show that its militancy is not by any means dead and that given direct provocation, as by an employer, it is quite able to defend its own liberties. The Square D strike in Detroit, the Perfect Circle strike in Indiana, the Louisiana strike of the Packinghouse Workers, the strike of Miami hotel workers, of railway employees on the L. & N., and the strike against Southern Bell (all reported in *The Nation),* textile strikes in the South (Slump in Textiles, Bernard Nossiter, January 22, 1955), are proof enough that labor's militancy can be easily provoked. What the labor movement does not seem to realize yet, however, is that the institutionalized security systems, as in the industrial-security program, are far more dangerous to unions in the long run than employer union-baiting tactics.

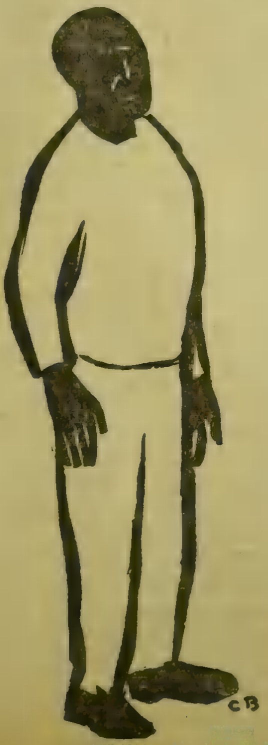
THE AMERICAN labor movement has exhibited remarkable progress, in the last decade, in the elimination of racial discrimination. Despite a strong traditional bias in some unions, the labor movement has advanced so far in this field that, at the present time, only a few unions might be cited in opposition to anti-segregation measures.

The N. A. A. C. P. indicates that only three of the lesser A. F. of L. unions still specifically exclude Negroes by their constitutions or by-laws. Thus the grossest form of racial discrimination in the labor movement has been virtually eliminated. However, some major A. F. of L.

unions continue to exclude Negroes by what is called "tacit consent." The N.A.A.C.P. also recognizes a third and larger category of discriminating unions, namely, those which for the most part confine Negroes to "auxiliary locals." The failure of labor's Operation Dixie in the South in the early 1940's was in part due to the failure of the unions to oppose segregation in a more forthright manner. The success of the Packinghouse Workers-C. I. O. in bucking segregation practices in its Southern locals confirms this judgment. In view of the marked improvement which has taken place in labor's stand on civil rights, its organizational efforts in the South should meet with a larger measure of success.

The Packinghouse Workers racial integration program is a model of its kind. It insists on a clause in its contract which not only forbids discrimination in hiring but establishes non-segregation in all plant facilities such as locker rooms and lunchrooms—even in the South. The union has a Negro international vice-president and three of its ten districts—among them one which includes Texas, Oklahoma, and Louisiana—are headed by Negroes.

Currently the N. A. A. C. P. is engaged in a campaign which may result in major gains for fair-employment practices. Charges have been brought before the President's Committee on Government Contracts against four major oil and chemical companies and four unions, operating in Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas. The companies are Esso Standard, Cities Service Refining, Carbide and Chemical, and Lion Oil; the unions are the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Oil Workers International, International Union of Operating Engineers, and Independent Industrial Workers Association. The complaint to the committee cites the action pending in the United States Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals involving Gulf Oil and the Oil Workers International Union. What this action, in turn, involves, is nothing less than employment practices in the entire oil industry. The essence of the N. A. A. C. P.'s complaint is that the oil industry has set, and unions have acquiesced in, discriminatory hiring practices.



Individual unions have taken strong positions in support of civil-rights legislation and against the racial lawlessness that prevails in Mississippi today. The Packinghouse Workers, for example, called on Congress and the President to take these positive measures: (1) a federal investigation of the lynch murder of Emmett Louis Till and of the entire Mississippi judicial system; (2) enforcement of the Bill of Rights equally throughout the South and the North; (3) implementation of the Supreme Court's decision against segregation in the public school system; (4) passage of civil-rights laws during the next session of Congress to afford all citizens equal protection under the law and to guarantee their rights against segregation and discrimination; (5) passage of federal law outlawing the poll tax and other restrictions so that both white and Negro citizens in the South will be guaranteed the right to vote.

Recently delegates representing 300,000 unionists, meeting in a two-day session convened by the National Trade Union Committee for Racial Justice, asked a merged A. F. of L.-C. I. O. to provide in its constitution for complete and unreserved equality of membership. Speaking at this meeting, Senator Herbert Lehman said that labor unions must complete the job of putting their own house in order "and of establishing full equality of membership without discrimination or segregation. Simultaneously, the unified labor movement must throw its full strength behind the cause of justice and equality for all Americans in all of our institutions." The proposed appointment of a Commission on Civil Rights by the merging labor groups, if carried out, should give real impetus to Senator Lehman's suggestion. However, Negro leaders are worried about the effects of the merger, and their concern is clearly manifest by their attempt to get a Negro appointed to the proposed A. F. of L.-C. I. O. Executive Council.

LABOR generally seems to be taking a more progressive stand on matters of immigration policy. Traditionally the A. F. of L. favored exclusionary immigration laws and played a key role in the agitation against Orientals on the West Coast. But at recent hearings on the McCarran-Walter act spokesmen for both the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. favored changes in the quota formula and more liberal admission policies. Labor's attitude on the so-called "wetback" problem, while reflecting to some extent the traditional bias in favor of exclusionary policies, has nevertheless been accompanied by statements, such as those issued by the Texas State Federation of Labor-A. F. of L., which are a far cry from those issued by labor when the exclusionary immigration act of 1924 was adopted. Similarly, labor may be expected to take a more favorable position in defense of civil liberties. Like the country as a whole, it is beginning to move clear of the black shadow of fear and hysteria.

Labor and Political Action

ON NOVEMBER 8, 1955, American voters in a scattering of municipal and state elections provided political analysts with enough evidence to suggest two seemingly contradictory trends in so far as organized labor's role in politics was concerned. On the one hand, labor unions helped the Democrats score a series of stunning victories. Of special interest were the astonishing returns in Indiana, where New Castle, the battleground of the United Auto Workers and the Perfect Circle Corporation, threw out the incumbent Republican mayor who had been instrumental in using the National Guard to limit labor's rights in that long and bitter strike. The farm vote unquestionably helped in creating the Indiana revolt, but labor played an important role. On the other hand, in nearby Ohio, organized labor received a severe setback when it presented a strictly labor issue to the voting public, namely, a revision of the Ohio unemployment-compensation law including a clause that would make legal the payment of the modified guaranteed-annual-wage supplements negotiated by the U. A. W. with Ford and General Motors.

Contradictions such as this are typical of labor's political history in the last few decades. Does an A. F. of L.-C. I. O. merger promise labor greater consistency and effectiveness in political action? Will the 16,000,000 members of an A. F. of L.-C. I. O. be able to realize their full potential as a political force?

Politically, the trade-union movement developed along unexpected lines. As late as 1914 the A. F. of L. was "anti-political"; as an "aristocracy" of labor it moved on a narrow plane of so-called practical politics involving petty legislation—building-trades problems, the repeal of labor injunction laws, and so on. Its policy was expressed in Samuel Gompers's dictum: "Reward your friends and punish your enemies." This nonpartisanship was broken briefly in 1924 when the A. F. of L. endorsed Robert LaFollette for President. But this was a wayward fling at progressivism; even in the depths of the Great Depression the social and political outlook of the A. F. of L. remained so antiquated that it steadfastly refused to endorse a demand for national unemployment insurance.

But the events of the 1930's presented the A. F. of L. with a massive challenge. The depression-born C. I. O. was almost guaranteed to succeed precisely because its social and political outlook was in almost flat contradiction to that of the A. F. of L. With the C. I. O. was born a new and important role for labor in the political field. C. I. O.'s triumphs were in a sense a mass protest against craft unionism and the non-political character and passivity of the A. F. of L. Its freedom from racketeering, its rank-and-file democracy, its professed faith in the equality of races appealed to many workers and to large segments of the general public. It rushed into fields which the A. F. of L. had ignored, becoming immersed in politics from the very outset. The C. I. O. played an important role in the electoral victories of the New Deal.

AT THE C. I. O.'s helm in those early days was a group of radical young idealists who gave the new organization its political line and a crusading flavor. Even a cursory reading of the convention proceedings of the time conveys something of the dynamics of the movement; it appeared that at long last American labor was headed for the formation of a Labor Party. The creation of the American Labor Party of New York was, of course, just a first step.

Basking in the sunlight of the New Deal, the C. I. O. and even a reluctant A. F. of L. were embroiled in a series of legislative and political controversies in which their conscious goal was social reform. Almost lost was the realization that in the meantime organizational success and its attendant administrative problems were leading to dissipation of labor's new-found crusading spirit. Not until Doctor Win-the-War replaced the New Deal, and labor's ranks began to show increasing dissatisfaction with wartime restrictions, the wage freeze, and the evaporation of the idea of equality of sacrifice did the rank and file catch on to what was happening.

In Michigan a militant cadre of the U. A. W.-C. I. O. responded to the situation by forming the Michigan Commonwealth Federation, hoping that it would provide a beacon light for labor's political action throughout the nation. Meanwhile the American Labor Party had already gone through its first split when David Dubinsky refused to work with the Communist Party and helped to set up the Liberal Party in New York. History decreed a short life for the Michigan Commonwealth Federation; its program was vague, it was opposed by top C.I.O. officials who were determined to stick by President Roosevelt, and the country was drifting into the conservatism characteristic of a nation at war. In general, while the strains between the Democratic Party and labor leaders were visible on many issues, the alliance nevertheless managed to survive the war.

Part of this survival rested, of course, on the theory that labor must temporize until after the war. In the thinking of many labor leaders, the prospect of a postwar depression was coupled with the probability that there would be a swing to the Left, and that the time would then be ripe for the formation of some kind of national labor party. This feeling was encouraged by British Labor's success in defeating England's wartime hero, Winston Churchill. In this country speculative articles naming Walter Reuther as a possible Presidential candidate gained wide credence.

In retrospect, things turned out quite differently. Labor's postwar belligerence was almost entirely confined to economic issues. The most radical thing that the labor movement did in the postwar years was to accept Walter Reuther's "open-the-books" and the General Motors strike program. Labor's compromise victories of the period represented the end rather than the beginning of the expected "swing to the Left." If labor leaders were dissatisfied with, or in some cases had private contempt for Harry S. Truman as President, their feeling turned to unbounded admiration when the little man from Missouri fooled everybody and defeated Dewey in the 1948 election.

Truman's victory stopped the trend toward independent political action by labor dead in its tracks. Thereafter, despite many public speeches and proclamations to the contrary, Walter Reuther and the U. A. W. quietly dropped the idea of building their own political machine and decided to throw their energies into rebuilding the Democratic Party in Michigan. During 1946, 1947, and 1948 U. A. W. leaders could more easily be found at Democratic meetings than in ordinary union gatherings. In Michigan the C. I. O. had repeatedly backed losers in Detroit municipal elections, but in 1948 they found a surprising winner—Governor "Soapy" Williams. Since then Michigan politics, from labor's standpoint, have revolved around the relations of Governor Williams and Walter Reuther.

The Michigan pattern was typical of labor's shifted position throughout the nation in the 1948-1952 period. What had been an alliance of convenience between the Democratic Party and the labor movement, rationalized on the C. I. O. side as a technique for capturing the machinery and converting it to the use of a new labor party, had become a permanent marriage. The labor press ran fewer and fewer articles urging independent political action and settled down to loud praise of the Democratic Party as the party of the people.

Meanwhile the pressure of the C. I. O. had forced the A. F. of L. in 1948 to create Labor's League for Political Education. But this was never intended as a hat in the ring.

The most important test of labor's role within the Democratic Party came in 1950 when the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. went all out to defeat Senator Robert A. Taft in Ohio. The unions were so blinded by their hatred of the author of the Taft-Hartley law that they failed to look at their own candidate. Joe Ferguson was an inconsequential politician who, when asked what his foreign policy was, replied: "Beat Michigan." This witticism, at a time when all America was concerned with the cold war, hardly gave Ohio voters confidence in labor's judgment. Yet it never occurred to the union leaders that they might be licked. Nor did they realize, even after Taft's re-election, that their essentially "status quo" program for a long-dead New Deal had little glamour for vast new segments of American voters. The leaders thought that Taft's victory proved they hadn't worked hard enough, hadn't brought enough voters to the polls. It didn't dawn on them that there might be a youth vote, that 4,000,000 new voters had come on the scene in the last ten years; that there was a woman's vote, even in a union household. In fact, labor was so sure that it could win simply by ringing more doorbells that it saw Adlai Stevenson as a sure victor over Eisenhower in 1952. Even the cautious A. F. of L. abandoned its non-partisan straddle long enough to endorse its first major-party Presidential candidate.

Walter Reuther

The 1952 elections became a turning point for the labor movement on two fronts, organizational and political. After a moment of shocked realization that the New Deal was gone forever, influential labor leaders like George Meany and Walter Reuther saw the necessity of immediate labor unity. The approach to this goal in December of 1955 must be understood as a major defensive move on the part of labor. In its own way, it testifies to labor's failure in the arena of national politics. The unification of the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. under the pressure of political ineffectiveness is a marriage of diplomacy, not one of love. There are many grounds for conflict within what may soon become one union movement.

Labor has developed new political acumen. There is reason to believe that not all labor leaders would now agree with James L. McDevitt that "Any fellow who thinks we can better ourselves by staying out of politics is talking the way that the N. A. M. wants him to talk. In 1947 the membership of the A. F. of L. climbed to 7,600,000 workers, the greatest number in our history. Yet despite our strength the infamous Taft-Hartley Act was passed that year. How did this happen? That's easy. We had strength—but we didn't use it. Too many talked and too few acted. As a result we are paying through the nose in 1955 for our disinterest in the elections of 1946 and 1952." This repetition of the Taft alibi makes no sense in view of the size of the 1952 vote. The big turnout elected Eisenhower. Furthermore, various unions have since checked up on the voting attitudes of their own members; the U. A. W., to take one example, found that 25 per cent of the secondary leaders and an even greater number of the rank and file had voted for Eisenhower. Just getting out the vote is obviously not the answer.

BUT IF large parts of labor have learned what won't work, there is no clear evidence that it knows yet what will. The 1955 unification move is, we repeat, essentially a defensive tactic, dictated by the 1952 debacle. Labor still lacks faith in its own ideas, its influences, and its powers. Its spokesmen say, "We can't deliver the labor vote." They are still resigned to their role as second-class citizens in the Democratic Party. The illness of President Eisenhower, it must be admitted, has given a boost to labor's political morale. And now everyone is feeling more cheerful because of trends detected in the November 8 elections. As a result a new unified labor movement will carry [illegible] political activity at a level of intensity seldom seen in this country.

The question remains: Can labor ever reach its political goals by continuing to act as tail for the Democratic Party? Is there any evidence that the dilemmas that have perplexed labor in the last twenty years have decreased? Backed by a growing rebellion in the farm states and by the combined forces of the labor movement, the Democratic Party may very well win in 1956. But labor leaders cannot look forward to that victory with unmixed jubilation. Why should a new Democratic Congress act any better than the present one on key issues affecting the labor movement? Is Adam Clayton Powell likely to get more cooperation on F. E. P. C. than he does now? Does any labor leader seriously expect that victorious Democrats would repeal or basically amend the Taft-Hartley law? And how can the labor movement appeal to the general public when its foreign policy is no different from the Administration's?

To question still more deeply, can labor's economic program, which is essentially "guns and butter"—more defense with more social gains—stand the test of experience? In the 1952 elections labor's leaders gave unqualified support of the Democratic Party record, including Korea. This ran counter to the sentiment of a large segment of the rank and file, which yearned for peace and a new approach to world politics. The dissatisfaction helped Eisenhower and may well help the Republicans in 1956.

Can a unified labor movement be more effective in politics? More to the point, *should* labor be more effective in politics? In theory, a unified labor movement will set up housekeeping in well-cleaned quarters. If, as promised, corruption and racketeering are driven out of some sections of the labor movement, the American people will listen more attentively to labor's denunciation of Republican corruption and favoritism. If the discriminatory A. F. of L. unions let down their barriers, the Negro population will take more stock in the union champions of civil liberties. But not if the leaders continue to swallow the conservative and Dixiecrat tendencies in the Democratic Party. Senator Kefauver's phenomenal rise to national prominence is as much proof as anyone should need that large sectors of the American public, including union's rank and file, are tired of bossism and dictation from above. Will a united labor movement be sufficiently democratic to restore the confidence of its own members in the ideas and policies of the newly combined leadership?

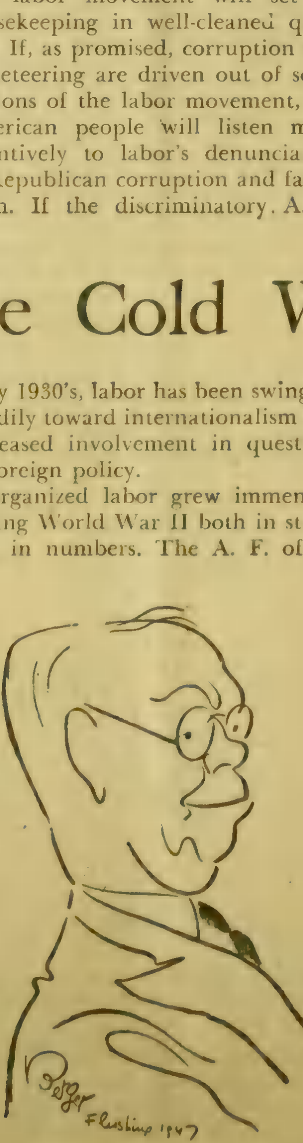
And last, is labor capable of a self-appraisal and analysis candid enough to expose the reasons for its past defeats? Is it willing to educate new leaders and to suggest fresh ideas that can meet the problems confronting everybody in an epoch of world tensions and in a society that is restless, uncertain, and changing almost from day to day?

Labor and the Cold War

THE TWO great American labor federations were scheduled to unite at a time when profound changes in the international scene are everywhere compelling a reevaluation of past policies. To many observers it seems that the cold war—or at least its more freezing aspects—has come to a close. The Western monopoly of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons has been broken; now the threat of atomic annihilation is faced by all nations equally. The Afro-Asian conference at Bandung last spring symbolized the rising tide of nationalism and anti-colonialism which is flooding great areas of the world. The "spirit of Geneva" was in turn a symbol of the vast popular demand for the secure establishment of world peace.

Under these circumstances there is full agreement among A. F. of L. and C. I. O. leaders that foreign-policy matters must be given major attention by a merged organization. This would be no more than the logical continuation of a trend which has been perceptible in the labor movement for more than a decade. From isolationism in the early 1930's, labor has been swinging steadily toward internationalism and increased involvement in questions of foreign policy.

Organized labor grew immensely during World War II both in status and in numbers. The A. F. of L., recovering from the challenge of the C. I. O., emerged in the postwar period twice the size of its younger competitor and securely established as the dominant labor branch. The war years constituted a period of relative labor-management peace, with the government becoming arbiter of wages and working conditions. The intimacy between organized labor and government thus established carried into the postwar years and paved the way for labor's active support of the government's foreign policies.



General George Marshall

At the war's end the A. F. of L. wasted neither words nor time in stating its opposition to the idea of Big Three unity, a policy which it has maintained without compromise to the present day. During the A. F. of L.'s 1946 convention, the Executive Council stated:

> The U. S. S. R. and its subordinate "friendly" nations are not interested in making peace but in utilization of the peace forum as well as the occupation of conquered territory as opportunities to extend the control of the Communist Party and expand a despotism as cruel and bloody as any recorded in history.

The convention revealed the existence of a "secret" but undeniably major international labor apparatus in support of the cold war. President William Green introduced Irving Brown as the A. F. of L.'s European representative who had spent the previous eleven months making contacts with trade unionists in Western Europe. In his report to the convention, Mr. Brown leaped to the attack: "I say that the irreconcilable conflict in Europe today is the conflict between democracy and totalitarianism and it is our job . . . to lend every possible aid to . . . the free trade-union movement." Mr. Brown called for the speedy rebuilding of Germany with no reference to denazification or the elimination of cartels. In this, the A. F. of L. was ahead of official United States policy, which was then still tied to the Potsdam agreement for denazifying, decartelizing, and demilitarizing Germany.

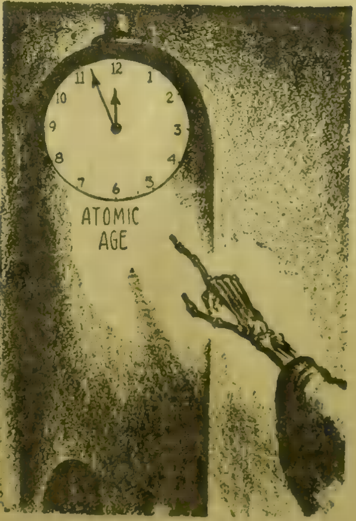
JAY Lovestone, a former founder and head of the American Communist Party, exerted a powerful guiding influence on the postwar operations of the A. F. of L. in the foreign field. Since 1944 he has been the executive secretary of the federation's Free Trade Union Committee; he is also director of international labor relations for David Dubinsky's International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Irving Brown and other A. F. of L. agents like him are serving under the guidance of Lovestone. They have spent large amounts of money in an attempt to win over labor unions throughout the world to our side in the cold war.

Veteran labor reporter Edwin A. Lahey recently reported that "Lovestone's office in New York is a 'drop' for the world-wide system of intelligence agents who keep him up to date on affairs behind the iron curtain both in Europe and in Asia. Lovestone insists that there is no formal connection between him and the Department of State. But it can be said without qualification that the C. I. A., headed by Allen Dulles, brother of the Secretary of State, has in recent years obtained much of its primary information about international communism from Lovestone." (Washington *Post,* August 21.)

As for the C. I. O., its 1947 convention in Boston was the turning point. Sharp conflict arose on the question of the Marshall Plan. There was general agreement that the United States should assist needy nations; the issue was whether the aid should be given within the framework of Big Three unity via the U. N. and UNNRA, or within the framework of a "free-world" bloc aimed at containment or perhaps even liberating the Soviet bloc. In the end the "free-world" idea won unanimous approval and the C. I. O. moved to partnership with the A. F. of L. in supporting the government's cold-war policy.

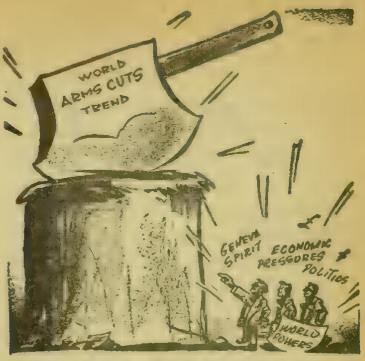
Big guns were brought into play to achieve this result. Boston's Archbishop Cushing, delivering the opening address, gave not the usual benediction but a major speech. He warned the convention against "potential traitors to America and to our organizations in the labor movement," and called upon the C. I. O. for support of "such points and plans of American foreign policy as will put our resources—food, money, coal, clothing, friendship, and faith" behind the democratic nations in the "war on hunger, poverty, cold, discouragement, and fear in the war-breeding areas of the world."

Three days later, for the first time in American history, a Secretary of State, General George Marshall, appeared to address an American labor convention. Marshall spoke briefly, with dignity, discretion, and great effect. He called for wholehearted support of his plan, which had not yet been drawn up in detail by the Administration or by Congress. He warned: "We are faced with the danger of the actual disappearance of the characteristics of Western civilization on which our government and our manner of living depend." A few minutes later, the convention debated its foreign-policy plank, a resolution which so adroitly combined old and new positions of the C. I. O. that it eventually won unanimous support.



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

The hour is late



Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

It matters little what you call it

The entire labor movement was now lined up as an ally of the State Department and in support of a bipartisan policy aimed at mobilizing the "free world," under American leadership, against the Russian "threat."

There remained some highly interesting mopping-up operations, especially by the C. I. O. The controversy over the Marshall Plan became the issue on which both the C. I. O. and the British Trades Union Congress left the World Federation of Trade Unions. It was also a crucial issue, together with the related Wallace campaign of 1948, in the C. I. O.'s expulsion of eleven Left-orientated unions in 1949. In the same year the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. joined with the British T. U. C. to form the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in competition with the W. F. T. U. The State Department now moved quickly to appoint labor representatives to the staffs of various American embassies and foreign missions.

Since the end of the Korean war, public pressure for peace has mounted steadily. The implied (and kept) promise of Eisenhower to end the conflict in Korea revealed the political power of the peace issue. The trial balloon sent up to test the acceptability of American intervention to save French colonial rule in Indo-China was quickly shot down.

It is true that only three Senators finally voted against the Presidential request earlier this year for power to wage war to save the Quemoy and Matsu islands from Chinese Communist invasion. Public opposition to the request, however, was overwhelming. The New York *Times* correspondent James Reston reported:

> The reaction throughout the country against getting involved in a war over Matsu and Quemoy has been so strong that the President has felt he had to take it into account. . . . This anti-war sentiment also has had an influence on Republican political leaders, who are urging that the most effective appeal in the next year's Presidential campaign will be for the Republicans to go to the country as peacemakers. . . .

Last winter a Gallup poll showed that of all Americans who had an opinion on the issue, peaceful coexistence was favored by nearly 3 to 1. Great church organizations—led as usual by the courageous and principled Quakers—such as the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the General Conference of the Methodist Church, and the World Council of Churches spoke out for their members in behalf of peaceful coexistence through negotiation.

But powerful forces in the country are opposing the trend to peace. The Republican leader in the Senate, Knowland of California, speaks for them when, in direct opposition to President Eisenhower, he charges that the Administration is appeasing world communism by accepting the "Soviet Trojan horse of coexistence."

Where, in this conflict of views, does organized labor stand? The A. F. of L., as represented by its Executive Council and President George Meany, stands with Knowland in aggressive opposition to the concept of coexistence. Speaking this year at the annual convention of the New York State A. F. of L., Mr. Meany expressed the fear that the Eisenhower Administration was substituting "massive appeasement" for its old doctrine of "massive retaliation." He urged that the United States reject "coexistence with gangsters." Again, addressing the American Legion convention last month, he assailed the "Geneva spirit" and brought the Legionnaires to their feet with an attack on the State Department for permitting "cultural exchanges" with Russia. He pledged that no trade-union delegations would visit the Soviet Union.

As early as 1952 the A. F. of L. was moving very close to open advocacy of war in the Far East. It urged official involvement of American military forces in both the Indo-China and Malayan conflicts. Early this year its Executive Council made a special plea to the West German Trade Union Federation to end its opposition to German rearmament—a plea which, incidentally, was firmly rejected by that strong anti-Communist body despite the best efforts of Messrs. Brown and Lovestone.

Nearly one-fifth of the Executive Council's report to the 1954 A. F. of L. convention directly touched foreign affairs. In it the council opposes colonialism and the United States pact with Spain, but the dominant theme of the report is the all-out crusade against the world "Communist menace" and the concept of coexistence. The report, which was unanimously approved by the convention, states that ". . . Geneva marks the culminating tragedy of all the many political, economic, and military mistakes made by the free world in the last decade." Nehru, Tito, Aneuran Bevan, and Ernest T. Wier are singled out as examples of dupes of the Soviet "peace line." The "new Soviet look," the report concludes, should lead to renewed effort by the United States to gain and hold allies in the cold war for a new offensive against the Soviet Union.

While the C. I. O.'s basic anti-Soviet orientation since 1947-48 is unquestioned, it has taken a back seat to the A. F. of L. in international operations; the crucial European field has been left exclusively to Lovestone and Brown. But there is evidence that the C. I. O. has been troubled by some of the consequences of the cold war. For example, John W. Livingston, vice president of the U. A. W., slated to be director of organizations in the merged A. F. of L.-C. I. O., reported in 1950 after a European visit:

> The Marshall Plan has been a miserable failure insofar as skilled wage-earners in Germany, Italy, and France are concerned. Huge profits of companies whose plants have been rebuilt and rehabilitated by Marshall Plan funds, and extremely low wages, have lowered worker morale to make effective and convincing Communist propaganda.

Similarly the president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers-C. I. O., Jacob Potofsky, who was scheduled to be co-chairman of the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. International Affairs Committee, said of the Marshall Plan in 1951: "Our money has been used primarily to strengthen the governments in power and the industrialists. The rich grow richer and the poor poorer."

The C. I. O. has vacillated on many foreign issues, reflecting its own doubts. When the Arbenz government was overthrown in Guatemala, the organization first expressed its antagonism to the military coup and then lapsed into discreet silence. At its convention last year it adopted a special resolution warning against the war dangers of the Knowland-China Lobby proposals concerning Formosa. A few months later, when Senators Lehman, Morse, and Langer, (all C. I. O.-endorsed) were locked in battle against the China Lobby program for the Quemoy and Matsu islands, the C. I. O. Executive Board, meeting in Washington at the time, uttered not a peep. Statements against colonialism, against deals with Fascist Spain, and Reuther's constructive and enlightened Positive Program for Peace have all lain dormant while the active and real impact of C. I. O. foreign policy has been to give approval to the cold-war policies of the State Department.

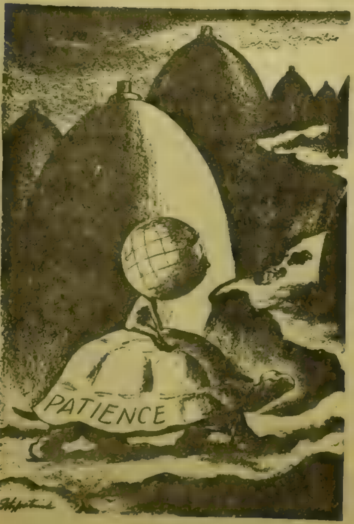
Within units of the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O., however, strong sentiment for peace and coexistence can be found. In November, 1954, the *Butcher Workman*, official magazine for the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen-A. F.

of L., edited by Patrick E. Gorman, said editorially:

> There are many, including the most forceful labor leader in the world today, President George Meany of the A. F. of L., who believe that coexistence with Russia is impossible. If this idea becomes the general thinking of the people of the United States then another world war is inevitable. In this era when uranium, hydrogen, and cobalt bombs are being stockpiled by the two great nations who know the secret of these monstrosities, we had better think twice before we definitely conclude that coexistence with Russia is out of the question. . . . This nation, as well as the nations of the world, must realize that the atom bomb is no longer the private property of any nation and if, as indicated herein, these monstrosities could destroy the human race, then we repeat again, it is COEXISTENCE OR NO-EXISTENCE.

The following month the publication of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union-A. F. of L. supported the stand of the *Butcher Workman* and added: "We can think of a lot of things that would be better for mankind than being blown together into a radioactive Outer Darkness, regardless of one's politics. One of them is quiet, unhurried collective bargaining, or diplomacy with everybody checking his shooting irons at the door."

Or consider the warning issued by the A. F. of L. paper, the *Colorado Labor Advocate*, just prior to the October foreign ministers' meeting in Geneva, that the ministers' task was "not rendered any easier by the undercurrent of distrust and cynicism." The paper expressed the hope that "Secretary of States Dulles and the United States delegation do not hearken to the voices of the all-or-nothing advocates who would just as soon provoke a world war as give in on a single point in the world game of give-and-take." And in October the annual convention of the Illinois A. F. of L., representing 900,000 workers, unanimously voted commendation to President Eisenhower for his efforts for peace at Geneva and urged continuing negotiations "on every possible level . . . in order to resolve the conflicts between East and West." This powerful A. F. of L. state body, underlining the peace issue in coming elections, urged that "labor-backed candidates for office become the best exponents of a genuine policy of peace in order to bring about the political defeat of those now in Congress and the Administration who oppose continuous negotiations to ease world tensions."



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Slow but Sure

The February 1 issue of *Labor's Daily*, published by the International Typographical Union-A. F. of L., praised Senators Lehman, Morse, and Langer for their fight against the "blank check for war" in the Quemoy-Matsu islands and warned against the dangers of "preventive" war. The May issue of *Labor*, the publication of the railway workers' union, also supported the Morse-Lehman-Langer position and declared that "conciliatory moves" by both the Soviet Union and Communist China had sent a "wave of hesitant hope throughout the world."

Many C. I. O. unions, too, have shown an independent attitude toward foreign policy and the cold war. In February, 1952, when the Korean war was still raging, the International Executive Board of the United Packinghouse Workers of America-C.I.O., after what it termed a "searching discussion," adopted a statement entitled The Road Ahead which set forth the following formula for peace:

> . . . A prompt armistice and an end to the fighting in Korea; a political settlement by good-faith negotiations in the Far East including recognition and admission to the U. N. of the government which now actually represents the Chinese people and with which, realistically, such a settlement must be made; settlement of world issues by international negotiation; and international armament reduction.

When the threat of war grew intense around Formosa early this year Al Hartung, president of the International Woodworkers Union-C. I. O. and a member of the C. I. O. committee working out the A. F. of L.-C. I. O. merger agreement, told a convention of his union: "I don't want your sons to fight for the rotten, corrupt leadership of Chiang Kai-shek. . . . One of our greatest mistakes was support for the kind of leadership such as Chiang Kai-shek's. We did it in Korea and now we're doing it in Formosa." And in February the *C. I. O. Packinghouse Worker*, in an editorial entitled Formosa Folly, blasted those who, they said, were responsible for the increasing threat of war. They charged that ". . . the Administration's policy is booby-trapped in a dozen different ways. It cannot succeed in the long run and responsible leaders had better come forward promptly with a policy based on world-wide political realities instead of wishful thinking and hysterical anti-communism."

WHEN, in 1953, Adlai Stevenson made an appeal to keep open all channels to a negotiated agreement with the Soviet Union, the *Advance*, organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers-C. I. O., editorially praised his stand and said: "No matter how we despise communism, that is no excuse to slam the door to the conference room. That door must be kept open and we must continue entering the room in a dignified pursuit of resolving peacefully the differences that exist between the democratic world and Soviet dictatorship." The Textile Workers Union-C. I. O. echoed the sentiment: "Stevenson stressed what cannot be repeated too often—our country must make it clear to the world that our goal is peace; that if we possibly can, we want to live in harmony with the Russians, not to exterminate them."

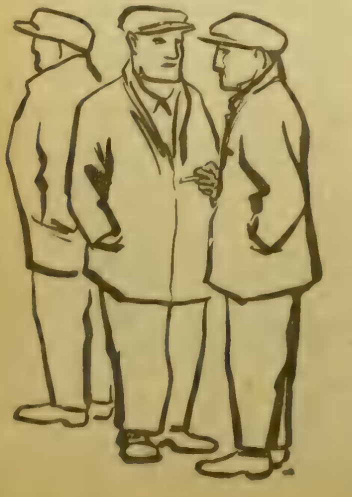
The August 1 issue of *Advance* reprinted in full the famous Russell-Einstein statement (signed also by seven other noted scientists) calling for a ban on war. It added a note of its own: "Today, more than ever, the quest for peace and an end to war is the one single goal of man, for today, man finally contains the means of his own complete destruction—the hydrogen bomb." Jacob Potovfsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, is slated to be co-chairman (with the A. F. of L.'s Matthew Woll) of the International Affairs Committee of the merged federations.

Thoughtful observers everywhere are suggesting that America's foreign policy is failing in its professed aims. The millions who are in search of peace have the right to look to the ranks of labor for support—and perhaps for leadership. Whether that challenge is met will depend on whether the drive toward peace, undeniably widespread through the rank and file of the labor movement, can break through the crust of a top-level policy which sees "containment" and "liberation" as more desirable goals than peaceful coexistence.

The Challenge of Automation

AUTOMATION, the rapidly expanding technique of replacing both skilled and unskilled workers by even more skilled and infinitely more productive machines, presents labor and the national economy with their major future problem. While automation is essentially only another phase in the advance of technology which has marked the industrial revolution since the beginning of the nineteenth century, the speed of its development and the magnitude of the labor displacement which it threatens creates apprehensions made even more vivid by memory of the technological displacements of the past.

It is not only that the hands of men are being replaced by more accurate machines, but the mind of man, hitherto an essential component of labor's skill, is being replaced by the electronic mind which does not make errors in its mental processes, and in which vacuum tubes replace man's fallible memory. The linking of the electronic mind in the form of the computer and its variations to the high-speed producing and assembling machines poses a threat similar to that of the steam loom of the early 1800's, but of such a difference in magnitude as to invite the comparison between the H-bomb and gunpowder.



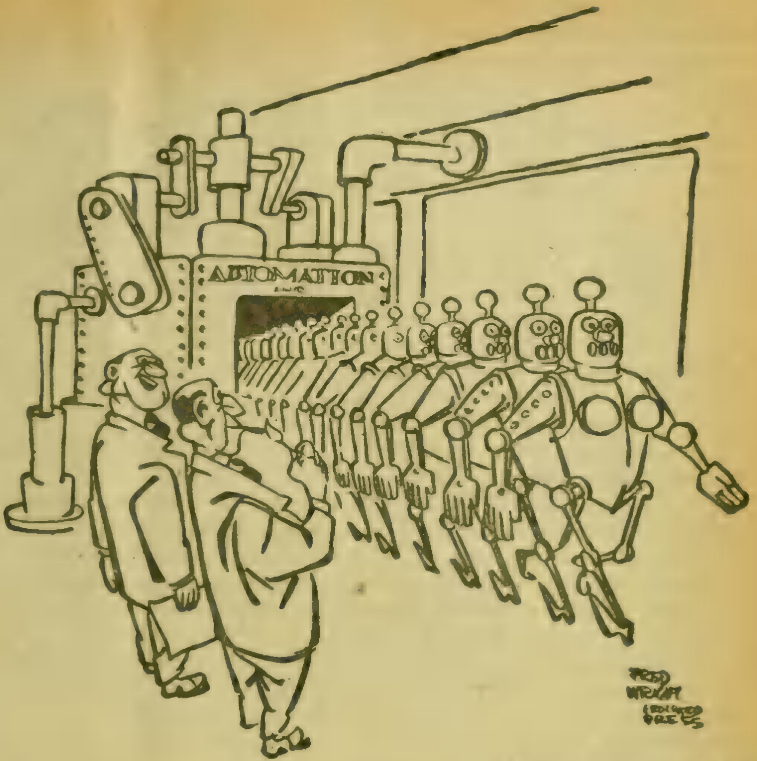
The modern union knows that the only possible orderly solution of the problem created by automation lies in continuing full employment, so that men displaced by machines can find other jobs. Since World War II, the prosperous economic environment has permitted individuals, for the most part, to shift to jobs in which they were interested. However, although our labor force is at present at an all-time high, trade unions have grave misgivings about the continuance of full employment. Fundamentally, they see that while our industrial production is 41 per cent above the years 1947-49, employment has risen only 8.3 per cent. October figures showed a rise in the employed, yet unemployment as calculated by the Bureau of the Census was reported at 2,100,000. Despite the high activity, jobs in manufacturing industries in September, 1955, were 600,000 fewer than in September, 1953—80,000 below in mining and 100,000 below in transportation, public utilities, and contract construction. Obviously man-hour productivity has been rising rapidly.

Prior to World War I, man-hour productivity increased at a rate of less than 1.5 per cent per annum. It was 2.5 per cent in the inter-war era. Since 1947 it has attained a level of over 3 per cent. There is every likelihood that it will rise to 4 per cent before the end of the decade and 5 per cent thereafter. To single out one industry: in textiles, where man-hour productivity has been growing at the rate of 5 per cent per annum and total output has been stationary, employment has dropped during the last five years from 1,250,000 to less than 1,000,000 —a decrease of 20 per cent.

Superimpose on this somewhat unstable structure the dislocation of modern automation, and we can see the problem in its bare essentials. Take, for example, an instance of "Detroit" automation which has so avidly been taken up by several large automobile manufacturers. In this system, a number of machines are linked together so that the material is automatically carried, positioned, and processed from one station to another in a continuous production flow. The new Milpital, California, Ford assembly plant, which uses this system, requires thirty man-hours per assembled car in contrast to the thirty-five man-hours at the older Richmond plant.

The dislocation process threatens the job security not only of the ordinary worker, but also of the highly skilled technician. For example, some of the major glass companies have developed machinery which detects flaws in the glass passing under

its electronic eyes. In the past, highly skilled workers have marked out with crayon those sections which must be cut from the flowing stream of glass to eliminate flaws. The accuracy of their markings and their experience in detection of flaws earned them high wage rates. Now the machines mark the flaws with even greater accuracy and with a saving of all the labor previously engaged on the job.



Federated Press

"And this will cut down the demand for a Labor Day holiday, too"

NOT ONLY manufacturing companies, but banks, insurance companies, railroads, airlines, and public utilities are moving to automation to increase rapidity of calculation and facilitate business decisions. Centralized warehouses are able to cut labor costs by 50 per cent and space by 25 per cent. New military uses, of course, have utilized these same techniques in guided missiles, radar control, and submarine detection. The newest application of tape controls of machine tools is opening up varied industrial applications.

This enormous increase in productivity which will give us more goods and services at lower costs poses a lesser threat if consumer demand keeps pace, and there is no doubt that consumer habits are changing rapidly. The American consumer has been adding to the dynamics of our economy. He has moved to the suburbs and changed his way of life. As a home-owner, he has turned to a myriad of do-it-yourself activities. The television has tied him to his living room, and vacations have added to his desire for transportation and mobility. He is more than ever susceptible to fads and new crazes. In the postwar years the growth of the Southeast and Southwest has opened up new markets and new industry has settled there. So long as the present level of high profit and full employment is maintained, we can expect the American citizen to consume more and more.

But the lessons of history are against complacent acceptance of the "high plateau" theory, i. e., that increased consumption will keep abreast of high production. The tragedies of the first industrial revolution are being studied in the schoolroom by our children. The depression of 1929-33 was associated with technological displacement. Innovations and technical obsolescence are no guaranties of high employment, and new technology often discourages investment for fear of rapid obsolescence and the necessity for accelerated depreciation. And if lower employment and decreased earnings retard consumer spending, the "plateau" will tilt sharply downward.

Furthermore, the task of maintaining full employment is a staggering one. We must provide employment for many of the 2,100,000 currently employed who want jobs, and in addition we must also annually create enough new jobs to absorb the 800,000 new workers who join the labor force each year. And new jobs must be provided for the more than two million workers who have to change occupations yearly because of the rising productivity which we have been discussing.

That automation and its increased productivity and displaced personnel will raise grave problems needs no further elaboration or proof, but the question of what should be done to solve these problems must be answered.

Firstly, purchasing power must be kept high by a graduated-tax system that eliminates many of the present loopholes which favor property interests and which have reduced effectiveness in assuring an adequate balance in our income distribution. Rising wage levels secured through collective bargaining and national wage patterns can help to keep the balance, but there must be no oversight, as at present, of millions of potential consumers who, because they are not enjoying adequate increases in income, are limiting the ability of the economic system to respond to the challenge.

Secondly, the existing safeguards set up to protect purchasing power must be maintained and expanded. Unemployment insurance, old-age pensions, workmen's compensation, sickness benefits, and minimum wages are examples of balancing elements which have been built into our system through legislation. But in light of the increased need for purchasing power demanded by growing productivity, more liberal coverage and benefits are required. The unions are demanding higher rates for automated jobs, guaranteed annual wages, and additional unemployment benefits. Earlier retirement benefits have been urged for the displaced who are unable to adjust themselves to the technological revolution. Severance pay and early vested private pension systems can help to cushion bumps of a highly dynamic society.

Thirdly, theories of labor seniority will have to be restudied because individual workers will suddenly find their lifetime investments in their skills are worthless. Seniority systems will have to call for greater degree of transferability from plant to plant; for the highly skilled worker, unlike in the past, stands in as much or more danger of displacement by the vacuum tube and the servo unit as his less skilled coworker.

Finally, the shorter work week, the classic answer to increased productivity, deserves new study and new emphasis. A shorter than forty-hour work week is already prevalent in coal mining, rubber, building, and women's apparel, but leadership in this field must now be exercised by unions in the mass-production industries. The thirty-hour week has already become a popular battlecry among the A. F. of L. craft unions, and the newly unified labor movement will no doubt take up this issue as the most effective method of preventing productivity from completely overbalancing distribution. The shorter work week, with its attendant opportunities for developing additional consumer demands by reason of greater opportunities for leisure, presents the best single answer to automation.

We are not only on the verge of a new phase of the industrial revolution; we are in it. America's strength and future depend upon the solutions which government, the trade unions, and the public at large find for the multiple and complex problems presented by automation.

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BOOKS

Defining the True University

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN THE UNITED STATES. By Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger. Columbia University Press. $5.50.
ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN OUR TIME. By Robert M. MacIver. Columbia University Press. $4.

By H. H. Wilson

THANKS to the initiative of an American business man, those seeking to understand a major aspect of our intellectual development are given access to two useful volumes. Mr. Louis M. Rabinowitz of New York, recalling stimulating discussions in his youth with representatives of various philosophical and political faiths, and deeply troubled by contemporary anti-intellectualism, conceived and financed the American Academic Freedom Project at Columbia University. It is perhaps a comment on our times that Mr. Rabinowitz approached more than one university before finding one willing to undertake the study.

Hofstadter and Metzger provide historical perspective for the description of freedom and enterprise in contemporary college and university. Theirs is the first detailed account of this phase of American intellectual and social history. Though Professor Hofstadter modestly disclaims its adequacy, most readers will find his summary of the experience of Western European universities a brilliantly concise and perceptive essay. He relates the corporate position of the universities to the social structure of the Middle Ages, explains the meaning of intellectual freedom for the individual scholar, describes the techniques utilized to circumvent authority in the pursuit of truth, and outlines the slow development of toleration and religious freedom, essential forerunners of academic freedom.

The remainder of the historical volume describes unique characteristics of American development. Part One, Hofstadter's responsibility, deals with the prehistory of academic freedom up to the Civil War, and Part Two traces the development of the modern university. A majority of the colleges were sponsored by religious denominations, with some slight state supervision, and until secularization occurred there could be no conception of intellectual freedom.

From the beginning the colleges were controlled by non-resident boards, with the president as spokesman for absentee proprietors. Legally this is still the situation in most institutions, though in practice trustees of the leading private institutions have delegated considerable power to their faculties. Hofstadter believes that this "lay government has been one of the most decisive factors in the problem of academic freedom in America."

APPARENTLY the founders of Harvard and of William and Mary had intended to follow the Oxford-Cambridge pattern of faculty government, but this was impossible because "there was as yet no teaching profession." In the subsequent development, Yale and Princeton, rather than the first two colonial colleges, became the models for the American system of control.

Though it pays little direct attention to students, the book makes the point that freedom of thought was first explicitly formulated as religious freedom for students. The colleges were competing for enrollment and could not afford to antagonize members of any denomination. Teachers were still expected to conform to religious orthodoxy and to reflect the views of the trustees. Prior to the Civil War there was no clear formulation of the concept of academic freedom.

Under the impact of Darwinism after the Civil War and the resultant challenge to religious authority, and under the influence of the German university, the goals of the American colleges drastically shifted. From conserving institutions they were slowly transformed into centers for scholarly research, even though they were never able to outgrow their parental role. Metzger suggests that this transition was speeded by "the unhinging of moral certainties by urban living, the fading out of the evangelical impulse, the depersonalization of human relations in the process of industrial expansion." And these deeper social forces destroyed "that integral vision, that firm and assertive credulity, required of institutions devoted to conservation." With the growth of scientific education came a rationale of academic freedom, a concept of scientific competence, which encouraged resistance to administrative abuses and the recognition of academic freedom as a positive value.

Next in importance to the influence of evolutionary science was the fact that some "nine thousand Americans studied at German universities in the nineteenth century." They brought home with them the conception of the university as a research center, and many of these men played a prominent part in the establishment of major graduate schools or departments. Though modified by American notions of the proper function of education, the chief German contribution remained intact: "the assumption that academic freedom, like academic searching, *defined* the true university."

PROFESSOR MACIVER addresses himself to the questions: "Why should a people that prides itself on democracy and its love of liberty be so embroiled in troubles where the liberty of learning and of teaching is concerned? Why are there so many more cases here than in the democratic countries of Europe?" He believes that the answer is to be found in the relation between two distinct phenomena: the unique form of academic government and the character of public opinion. Because of the multigroup character of American society the sense of common interest tends to be shallow. Democracy and freedom are interpreted in an individualistic, competitive way almost totally lacking in ethical or spiritual content. Education is looked upon as essentially instrumental or functional. The school system easily becomes a device for

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indoctrination, a means for producing cheerleaders for the status quo. Much of the current controversy over schools and colleges is, therefore, an argument over the content of the indoctrination. Education, the communication of knowledge, the pursuit of truth, the development of analytical intelligence becomes suspect. In the absence of well-established traditions subscribed to by the whole population, demagogic appeals get a hearing. "The education which our youth, and through them the people, receive in 'civics' and kindred subjects is often conventional, superficial and pseudo-historical." We have failed to convey an adequate understanding of basic democratic principles. We seem rather, as Learned Hand suggests, to have "deliberately systematized the production of epidemics in ideas."

IN THE United States the authority structure of education includes legislatures, boards of trustees, presidents and administrative officials. Behind them are other groups—parents, fund raisers, alumni—which exert influence if not power over the educational system. This is in sharp contrast to the position of universities in European democracies where, as Professor Anatol Murad has written, "The faculty runs the university and is the university." Under the American pattern university trustees and administrators have a major responsibility to resist encroachment on the university's function. With a few notable exceptions, those in authority have capitulated and "even aided and abetted the attack." It is also true that faculties have too often failed to rally to the defense of their colleagues.

Perhaps John Jay Chapman was too harsh in commenting that "the average professor in an American college will look on at an act of injustice done to a brother professor . . . with the same unconcern as the rabbit who is not attacked watches the ferret pursue his brother up and down through the warren to predestinate and horrible death." But he was certainly justified in concluding that the professor must teach the nation to respect learning and the functions of the university. However strong his reluctance to enter the arena, he withdraws from defense of civil liberties, including academic freedom, at the risk of permitting the destruction of his reason for being.

Professor MacIver's discussion of the crucial decision to ban Communist teachers will leave many readers dissatisfied. We may all share his conclusion that this is a most difficult problem on which "men of the highest integrity, scholarship, and regard for academic freedom take opposite sides." Nevertheless, in attempting to distinguish between "the problem of *appointment* and the problem of *dismissal*" it seems to this reviewer that Professor MacIver has deserted a basic principle on which the doctrine of academic freedom rests: the professional competence of the individual scholar. Once this standard of judgment is abandoned the defense of academic freedom becomes a matter of expedience or convenience. It is unconvincing to argue that "no principle of academic freedom is directly violated" when a college refuses to hire a Communist. Surely this is to apply standards other than those of scholarly competence. And it would seem to contradict the statement that "to oust a scholar for his views, not for any legal crime or serious moral obliquity, is a betrayal of the ideals of the university." Does not the *automatic* ban on the employment of Communists or representatives of any other doctrine, in effect, oust the scholar from the practice of his profession? This is an academic discussion, for the fact is that probably no university in the Western world today, and precious few in any period, would consider an avowed Communist for appointment to the faculty. What is important is that by taking this position Professor MacIver is forced to rely on expedience or convenience to justify the retention of a teacher who is known to be a Communist. The demoralization of the university community as a result of such action, he argues, would be more harmful than retention of the teacher.

Whatever conclusion one may reach on this and other debatable points in the analysis, we may be grateful to Professor MacIver and his associates for a painstaking work of significant scholarship.

Enough Water to Go Around

WHY NOT SURVIVE? By Michael W. Straus. Simon and Schuster. $4.

By Thomas J. Hamilton

MR. STRAUS'S twenty years of high office in the Department of the Interior have given him an unrivaled knowledge of what the United States is doing and is leaving undone to conserve its natural resources. Moreover, the Reclamation Bureau, which he headed in his last years in government service, has been extremely far-sighted in helping other nations to solve their conservation problems.

Unlike many of the champions of conservation, Mr. Straus is no prophet of doom. Though one third of the world's people go to bed hungry every night, though the waste of natural resources continues, and though the increase of population is so great that it counterbalances the gains that are being made, he is convinced that there is a solution. The answer, of course, is to be sensible about the dwindling supplies of natural resources, and in particular to be sensible about water, which in many ways is the key to the problem of survival, not only in the United States but in most countries of the globe. For if water is not used it simply runs off into the sea, carrying the top soil with it.

Mr. Straus is an unrepentant New Dealer and advocate of public power, and is scathing in his attack upon the private-power lobby, which under the Eisenhower Administration apparently is making considerable headway in its attack upon what it (and the President) is pleased to call "creeping socialism." But the important thing is that the work of harnessing the rivers of the West should go on. Whatever a reader's views on the private versus public power controversy, he should be convinced by the author's explanation of the constantly increasing need for water for industrial as well as domestic use that somehow the controls must be installed.

That means Easterners primarily, for there is hardly a citizen of the seventeen Western states served by

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THOMAS J. HAMILTON is chief of the United Nations Bureau of the New York Times.

the Reclamation Bureau who needs to be told that water is important. The parochialism of Easterners is understandable up to a point. But New York City is itself feeling the pinch, and is constantly being forced to range further afield, into Pennsylvania or wherever it can go to bring in the water for its increasing millions.

These are simple truths that somehow fail to arouse public interest until it is too late. Mr. Straus has written this account of the need for conservation with a salty humor that ought to shake the public inertia. The first necessity, of course, is to arouse public interest and support for a conservation program; the second is to develop a coordinated program which will take into account the complexities of social and economic change.

For example, it is a poor service to a backward country to improve its health facilities if nothing is done to provide additional food to take care of increased population. As Mr. Straus points out, the improvements in water supply and hygiene introduced by the United States into Puerto Rico resulted in many more mouths to feed, and no additional food. And he even reproves the zeal of some Reclamation Bureau engineers who have no sooner finished installing a dam than they go off to install another one, without stopping to survey the economic and social changes produced by the first.

Muscles and Manners

SELECTED POEMS. By Roy Campbell. Henry Regnery Company. $6.50.

COLLECTED POEMS, 1955. By Robert Graves. Doubleday and Company. $4.50.

By John Ciardi

ROY CAMPBELL'S "Selected Poems" appear in his fifty-third year and offer themselves as a sort of retrospective show that might accurately be billed as Three Decades of the Muscle Man. No poet writing in English has equaled Campbell's violence, though Robinson Jeffers must be entered in the competition. None has presented a mind—to me at least—more despicable, a mind compounded of storm-trooper arrogance, *Sieg Heil* piety, and a kind of Nietzschean rant sometimes mixed with a ponderously uncomical sense of satire.

The center of that mind—and of its poetic style—is all sledgehammers. It would be comforting to one's sense of liberalism to report that the result is all merely thud-thud. What must be reported instead is that the sledgehammers are sometimes magnificent as in the description of a dawn seen in the eyes of Campbell's magnificent Albatross:

> Then through the gloom wherein, like tiny spiders
> Webbed in their flimsy rays, the systems spawn,
> Up dim blue rocks of cloud, with scarlet fibres,
> Crawled the gigantic lichens of the dawn.

But if this adulation of brute splendor shines as a magnificence in the physical world, the same muscularity applied to human orders becomes a disaster. No poet in English has come nearer composing the entire litany for the storm trooper—the mystique of the superman, the paean to muscular arrogance, even the sentimental piety of the romantic thug. So, in the Dedication to Mary Campbell, the poet is described as born of his own disdain, emerging from the rabble to live by sterner laws and a god superbly stronger; he is plotted against and hated by the small ones, is murdered at last by their leaden blows, but dies trailing his scorn and knowing that in death the Valkyrie will descend to him. So in To a Pet Cobra:

> I too can hiss the hairs of men erect
> Because my lips are venomous with truth.

So in A Song for the People:

> Could they be crushed the deeper in the slime
> When forth we ride elate with bloody heels
> Or jingle in the silver spurs of rhyme?

Small wonder that Campbell fought for Franco; only the accident

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JOHN CIARDI teaches at Rutgers. His "AS IF, Poems New and Selected" was published in September.

• Shape-Up and Hiring Hall

By Charles P. Larrowe

How the two vastly different methods of hiring casual labor on the East and West Coast ports influence collective bargaining relationships, union structure, and the welfare of rank-and-file longshoremen. A social, economic, and political analysis of a controversial basic industry with particular emphasis on developments on the New York and Seattle waterfronts. An important contribution to our knowledge of the function of labor markets.

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

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Another Open letter

Dear Nation Reader,

The "Labor Issue" of The Nation is an excellent occasion to announce the publication on November 21, of Labor's Untold Story, a one-volume history of labor "with its teeth and claws left in." This is not an antiseptic account of this big story, but an account which shows how the struggle between classes in America has been fought, who fought, it, who led it, what weapons of persuasion were used—on both sides, and the relationship of organized labor's struggle to the main line of American history.

Labor's story is largely untold because working men and women have seldom written labor history. This book tries, with scholarly regard for facts and interpretation, to tell the story of unions and labor struggles, not from the lofty "objective" view which is either the last resort of professors who have not made up their minds or that of those whose minds have been made up for them, but from the embattled viewpoint of the men and women who have done the nation's work. It makes refreshing, informative, and highly useful reading in these times.

LABOR'S UNTOLD STORY

by Richard O. Boyer and Herbert M. Morais 4.75

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of writing in the wrong language could have kept him from being drafted as Poet Laureate of the Third Reich.

"A poetic tornado," as Edith Sitwell calls him? At least that, or perhaps the wind seems more impressive when it blows through the chinks of the Stately Homes. "A poet of genius," as Dylan Thomas called him? Beyond argument: Campbell can make an English line hammer beyond belief, or tune a simple and persuasive lyric. Yet in everything his limitations are inescapable. A bull can startle, but no bull sings entirely like a man. In time one tires of so much noise, and in art there is no apology for boredom.

ROBERT GRAVES is no such muscled monster and one turns to him in delight, but only to end uncertain. If Campbell concentrates on beating the drums with now and then a sentimental tootle on the flute, Graves wanders lightly through the entire orchestra, trying out all the instruments, often stunning the listener with his virtuosity, but never quite able to settle on one instrument and play it for all it is worth and a bit more. We are charmed by Graves, relaxed and grateful. We even find ourselves jumping to our feet to applaud. But always the music stops just short of the true and final impossible. We recall that we have attended a performance, a grand performance. What we have not experienced is that final opening of the air that swallows all difference.

Of the two poets it is certainly Graves I prefer to curl up with and it is certainly Graves I shall return to more often and more happily. But all in good time, all in good temper, all in good grace. It can wait. Why? I think what I am laboring to say is that a poem with no despair in it is insufficiently plumbed. The despair is humanly there in Graves, but I suspect it of being half literary, a despair too well-mannered to reach through.

Nothing is more characteristic of poetry than the variety of excellences possible within it. It is not strange, therefore, in the end to conclude that these two poets, so opposite in their merits and limitations, seem to emerge as equals in stature and achievement. Both are impressive, both have clearly found their place in English letters. And both succumb to limitations—however different in kind—that must certainly keep them out of the first row or the second in whatever Pantheons may be.

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According to editorial writers, columnists, business leaders and many politicians — even including those with the best of intentions— the labor movement has now "come of age" and is "accepted" as a permanent part of American life. **We wish they were right.**

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Yes, the labor movement is strong, to the great benefit of workers and the nation. But even as we take pride in our strength, and in the forthcoming convention that will make us stronger, let us remember how great a task still lies before us. **In the truest sense, we are only beginning.**

Textile Workers Union of America, CIO

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Executive Vice President

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General Secretary-Treasurer

The Cult of Absurdity

THE MYTH OF SISYPHUS AND OTHER ESSAYS. By Albert Camus. Translated from the French by Justin O'Brien. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.50.

By Jacob Korg

EXISTENTIALISM is the second philosophy of affirmative nihilism to emerge from France in wartime. During and after World War I, many French intellectuals expressed their dissatisfaction with civilization through the Dada and Surrealist movements. Dada was a form of organized artistic suicide; Surrealism, while it offered a remedy for the spiritual depravity of modern life, continued to recommend suicide as a particularly eloquent form of ironic protest. Albert Camus's existentialist essay, "The Myth of Sisyphus," continues and develops this tradition. Written in 1940, it begins with the deep pessimism about life in general that war is likely to arouse in sensitive minds. And it takes the problem of suicide to be the key to the problem of existence itself. Unlike his forerunners, however, Camus finds that the logical requirement of the human situation is not self-annihilation but self-fulfillment.

His argument begins with a premise that seems to him obvious and undeniable: that man is a stranger in a meaningless universe. The nonhuman and irrational world man lives in can be made intelligible, according to Camus, only if it is falsified by reduction to human terms. He condemns as cheating the process of going beyond knowledge in an effort to spare ourselves the sense of our isolation. And he dismisses as trickery ideals and beliefs which seek to make the universe coherent by imposing human values on it.

Camus courageously insists on a rigorous fidelity to his evidence, even when it leads him to the disquieting paradoxes inherent in his premise. Human beings know enough, he feels, to see that true knowledge is impossible for them. Thought must follow the rules of reason, but the only use of reason is that of proving its own limitations; ". . . reason is useless, and there is nothing beyond reason."

Camus's word for describing man's incongruous position is "absurd." For him, absurdity is the essential quality of life. It lies neither in man alone, nor in the universe alone, but arises when man and the universe are thrust together. The remedy is not suicide, which would merely dissolve the situation by eliminating one of the contradictory elements, thus repudiating reality, but full recognition of the absurdity of life. Once that conscious clarity has been achieved, Camus feels, man can make his absurdity a way of life rather than a source of suffering. Such a way of life would mean "permanent revolt" against the conditions of existence, "keeping the absurd alive." The absurd standard of conduct envisioned by Camus is another link with the Surrealists. They admired the *acte gratuit,* the pointless anti-social action which illustrated the irrationality of life. Camus's existentialism demands that man engage in a lifelong *acte gratuit,* an unceasing denial that the order of the universe has any claim upon him.

Thus, it grants anarchic freedom of action; but it involves responsibility for acting as well. The absurd man must become *"engagé,"* as Sartre puts it; he must fulfill his humanity by a life rich in experiences, and in thus acting out his liberty, achieve a majestic superiority over the hostile universe which entraps him.

The prototype of the absurd man is Sisyphus, who, though he is condemned eternally to a useless task, has a moment of rest while he returns to the bottom of his hill to begin his labors again, in which he can consider his situation and become fully aware of it. By knowing his fate, says Camus, he rises above it. "There is no fate that cannot be surmounted by scorn."

According to Camus, action and artistic creation are valuable, not in themselves, but as illustrations of the absurd theme. The absurd man's realization of the "splendor and futility" of life is its own reward. This seems clear enough from Camus's novels. In both "The Stranger" and

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JACOB KORG is a member of the Department of English at the University of Washington.

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"The Plague" the horror of life makes an overwhelming impression, while the sense of their independent humanity achieved by the heroes of absurd revolt is almost pathetic. The protagonist of "The Stranger" begins as an unthinking clod who is unaware of the aimlessness of his life. When his unwilled crime and his terrible sufferings in prison bring him to a realization of the absurdity of things, he has the satisfaction of meeting his death with defiance. In gaining this lucidity he experiences a moment of incomparable life. But that does not save him from execution.

Camus compares his philosophy to a sick man's knowledge that he must learn to live with his ailments when they cannot be cured. It is not a fair parallel, for Camus tries, not merely to live with the absurd, but to make a guiding principle of it. Sartre has called existentialism a "coherent atheism" and a knowledge that life begins "on the far side of despair." Camus's scrupulous logic and aphoristic style create a kind of poetry of thought which give a fine expression to the atheism and the despair. But, as his acknowledgement that "The Myth of Sisyphus" is "personal" suggests, his philosophy will not succeed in taking most readers beyond them.

Reflection of Dewey

JOHN DEWEY. His Contribution to the American Tradition. By Irwin Edman. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $3.50.

By Abraham Edel

THE EVALUATION of John Dewey's philosophy will, I suspect, extend over a constantly wider segment of American critical thought during the next generation. This will happen not only because of his acknowledged stature but because—and here lies its special importance—American life casts its philosophical reflection in Dewey's work. An evaluation thus constitutes peering into the mirror, not without anxiety, and it can accordingly become an achievement in self-consciousness.

For it may see in Dewey the American emphasis on activity and the practical, on growth and development, on individual self-reliance and shared experience. It will find American planlessness in his opposition to fixity. It will find the American forward-looking impulse and its perennial democratic creed widened into a conception of a way of life. It will find the confidence that intelligence, inherent in technological advance remodeling the form of life, need not remain a process alien to the human spirit. But it will also find that values and traditions have to be submitted to the critical play of the same intelligence—in short, a thorougn-going naturalism in the view of man extending even into the interpretation of ethics and religion.

Responsible criticism still has much to do, in spite of the already considerable writing on Dewey, in taking apart these and other strands—to sharpen and evaluate each, estimate the peculiar unity that binds them together in Dewey's thought, locate the vague spots and the discrepancies and see what frustrations and contradictions in American life they reflect, and what gaps they leave in application. All this will take time, not only because Dewey's work is many-sided but also because its ideas have to be estimated in their fields of influential practice, especially education, as well as in their theoretical formulations. And a special part of the total task is to evaluate the criticisms levelled against Dewey in the present cultural conflicts; for even when extreme they raise questions worth facing. For example, when rightist criticism sees Dewey as a soft vestibule to Marxism, it is worth probing for a realistic picture of the precise and exact communities and differences in the two outlooks, and not resting on the fact of Dewey's frequent criticisms of Marxism. Similarly, when leftist criticism attacks Dewey's thought as expressive of bourgeois opportunism, it is worth exploring whether or at what precise points Dewey's formulations about the nature of principles as instruments do leave any openings for the intrusion of opportunism. All in all, such wider evaluation of Dewey's outlook has now become a necessary task, especially for a liberalism that seeks to hold a place in contemporary social thought.

The present volume in the "Makers of the American Tradition" series gives us selections from a half dozen of Dewey's books, dealing especially with his conception of philosophy, of man and his nature, of method, of culture and freedom, of education, religion, and democracy. The selections are for the most part in large chunks, reflecting amply Dewey's mode of philosophizing and the special flavor of his writing. It is proportionately fitting, too, that the selection on education occupies about a third of the book.

Irwin Edman's introductory essay, brief though it is—it was written shortly before his own untimely death—proves valuable in two quite different respects. It is, in the first place, a perceptive underscoring of central elements in Dewey's thought. Especially interesting here is Edman's insistence that Dewey's instrumentalism is not an endless pursuit of means, but gives due place to "consummations," shared experience in love, friendship, and art. This is a point to which Edman, with his own attentiveness to the esthetic phases of life, would be more critically sensitive. But in the second place, the essay provides data for the wider evaluation of Dewey that I have outlined above. For it shows very clearly what Dewey's philosophy meant to those who were near him as students, colleagues, and kindred spirits, and who took over the development of his insights in changing times. Edman, noting that we live at a brutal moment of modern history, recalls Dewey's reaction to the despair that comes when old landmarks are gone and the seas are rough: "It is a wonderful era, he suggested, to be young and to be a philosopher."

ABRAHAM EDEL is a member of the Department of Philosophy at the City College of New York and author of "The Theory and Practice of Philosophy" and of "Ethical Judgment: The Use of Science in Ethics."

Next Week

Books for Christmas

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Charles the King

THE KING'S PEACE, 1637-1641. By C. V. Wedgwood. The Macmillan Company. $5.50.

By Donald A. Roberts

THIS VOLUME, the first of a projected three which will have the general title "The Great Rebellion," dramatically brings to life the four fateful years when Britain moved relentlessly from peace, social and literary brilliance, and prosperity to civil strife, angry disputation, and disintegration. The first fruits of the King's blundering policies and of his absolute rule, many of them very bitter fruits for church and monarchy, were harvested by laborers whose vigor and determination Charles could not understand.

When the King, in exasperation, dissolved Parliament in 1629 he decided to follow his own theory of government, to rule alone. He did so for some eleven years. Difficulties arose almost at once, but they became more acute as time passed. And during the period covered by this volume they reached a climax. Since the power to collect revenues resided in the Commons, Charles was forced to devise new means for the collection of the money necessary for the proper functioning of the government. Such devices as Ship-money and other unpopular direct taxes, the granting of monopolies, forced loans, the sale of unwanted knighthoods for excessive sums brought in revenue, but they also induced grave economic problems and irritated important groups of people.

MANY other difficulties arose from the less fortunate aspects of the King's character. His belief that the king was the law, his stubbornness, his uxoriousness, his reckless loyalty to favorite ministers, his profound confidence in his own opinions, his euphoria, his inability to understand the temper of those who disagreed with him, all these led to schemes and deeds that were the forerunners of invitable doom.

Though the "canonization" of Charles be accepted with great reserve it is impossible to doubt his

DONALD A. ROBERTS is associate professor of English at the City College, New York.

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profound devotion to the Church of England or that to a large degree he gave his life for its life. But he was incapable of recognizing the deep-seated Protestantism of his own people or the Scots; it was a spiritual blind spot. However distant the Established Church actually stood from the Church of Rome, the average citizen was confused by ritual and vestments and even more puzzled by the King's attitudes and actions. He favored Roman Catholic Spain over Protestant Holland, he allowed the Protestant cause of his sister and her sons in the Palatinate to founder, he permitted his queen to receive Papal emissaries and to hear the Mass in her private chapel, and, most serious of all, he persisted in his attempt to force episcopacy and the Book of Common Prayer upon his Presbyterian Scottish subjects.

Charles withdrew Strafford from Ireland in order to strengthen the regime in England, but he failed to appoint a suitable substitute with the result that political, economic, and religious chaos engulfed that unhappy land. He managed the Scottish war most ineptly and compounded his failure by stupid and dishonest negotiations. He bungled his cause in the Short Parliament of 1640. The result was that when the Parliament, destined to be called Long, assembled in firm and angry mood the King's fortunes were ebbing fast. The opening of that Parliament was the beginning of the end for Charles and for the absolution he cherished.

Miss Wedgwood tells the fascinating story of the eve of the British civil war with remarkable lucidity. The web of events is adroitly woven; the narrative moves with a brisk but measured pace; the ideas that swirled about the nation and the capital are clearly and objectively analyzed. The King emerges in full character, but so do a score or more of the principal figures of the time, Strafford, Laud, Pym, Falkland, Vane, Argyll, Montrose, to mention but a few. The deft incisive character sketches are gems of historical writing. The author dedicates her book to George Macaulay Trevelyan. It is fitting that her name should be linked with those of two such great writers of history as Macaulay and Trevelyan. She has a distinction of style akin to theirs, and she is a historian of their stature.

Books in Brief

Terror and Myth

THE WALKER AND OTHER STORIES. By Patrick O'Brian. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.50.

Patrick O'Brian's violence-ridden short stories are haunting lyrics of fiction. Ranging from the Welsh country of England to Ireland and France, O'Brian evokes space and force of landscape—mountain, bog, or dark wood. Here are no stories with "a feeling for nature," but rather a constant use of natural setting to create moods of quiet terror or laughing myth.

Two things fascinate O'Brian: light and dark, and hunting. Men hunt animals and each other, and the landscape itself becomes a presence that crushes or lifts up without reason. O'Brian's hunts, however, are a far cry from the explosive postures of Hemingway; the forward thrust of his action is caught and held in long, echoing rhythmic images. There is greater awareness of all that makes up the flesh of a scene—color of sky, movements of trees, sounds of earth.

Perhaps the most distinctive quality of O'Brian's prose is its "sprung rhythm." There are passages that leap, hesitate, and plunge for effects like those achieved in poetry by Hopkins. For example: "She fell back on the doorway. He was there and upon her. Slam, slammed the door on him, crouching at the handle: but the key would not, would not turn, and as the door opened the desolate howl of the dog came up the staircase."

When Socialism Prospered

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA. A History. By David A. Shannon. Macmillan. $4.50.

Dr. Shannon, a professor of history at Teachers College, Columbia University, succinctly traces the rise and collapse of the Socialist Party from its foundation in 1901 to the present. Aware that the Party was essentially a federation of autonomous state and local parties which differed greatly from one another, he properly begins with a concise, region-by-region analysis. He then discusses the various social groups and philosophies which mattered in the Party before World War I.

After this promising beginning, Dr. Shannon, in common with other historians of American socialism, sifts his focus to a narrow chronological account of socialism's electoral fortunes and its internecine warfare. This focus badly distorts the picture. It results in almost total neglect of what Socialists in particular towns and industries did to build industrial unions. It means that Dr. Shannon, in discussing the 1930's, talks about the presidential campaigns of Norman Thomas rather than about the Reuther brothers, the C. I. O., and the National Unemployed League.

In brief, Dr. Shannon, having shown that the national office of the Socialist Party was relatively unimportant and had little power, proceeds to write a history of the national office. The consequences of this emphasis are most apparent when the author finally comes to analyze the collapse and death of the Socialist Party. His discussion here is quite perceptive and, I think, basically sound. But it bears little relation to the rest of the book, and probably even Dr. Shannon would admit that he has not produced the evidence to sustain his interpretation.

The Facts About Shay

A LITTLE REBELLION. By Marion L. Starkey. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.

Thorough research in an astonishing range of sources enables Miss Starkey to recount the daily activities of all the leading participants in Shay's Rebellion from 1786 to 1788. This research job is now done, once and for all. But the meaning and impact of the facts is much less clear in Miss Starkey's telling. She offers almost no insight into the concrete grievances which prompted thousands of Massachusetts farmers to take up arms against their state government. Not knowing the origin of the affair, we can scarcely understand its course and outcome.

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Records

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EPIC SC-6010 offers another new recording of "Don Giovanni," with George London, Dermota, Zadek, Jurinac, Sciutti, and the Vienna Symphony and Kammerchor under Moralt. Zadek exhibits the right voice and style for Donna Anna, but with a tremolo that flaws her excellent performance though it isn't enough to be unpleasant; and even with this flaw I find hers a more effective Donna Anna than Danco's in the new London recording. And with the beautiful voices of George London and Jurinac the Epic performance is on the whole the better sung of the two.. But the London version has the Vienna State Opera Orchestra's refinements of tone and execution, and Krips's more incisive treatment of the music. As for reproduction, whereas London gives us voices and orchestra together, Epic gives us voices in front, orchestra in back but clearly audible; and the Epic sound doesn't require the cutting down of range that the London does to be agreeable.

Vanguard 470 offers a new performance of Haydn's fine "Lord Nelson Mass," with Stich-Randall, Hoengen, Dermota, Frederick Guthrie, the Vienna State Opera Orchestra, and the Akademie Kammerchor, conducted by Rossi. The soloists are not superior to those of the old Haydn Society recording, but the orchestra is; and even more striking is the difference in the conducting—the fact that in the shaping of the Vanguard performance one hears the operation of a professional, which one doesn't hear in the other. In addition to which the new performance is reproduced with greater beauty of sound; but the record, unlike previous Vanguard records, produces noises like those from scratches.

This is true also of the records of Vanguard 471/2, which offer a new performance of Haydn's "Creation," with Stich-Randall, Felbermayer, Dermota, Guthrie, Schoeffler, and the chorus and orchestra of the Vienna State Opera, conducted by Woeldike. This time the soloists are better than those of the old Haydn Society recording, except for Guthrie whose bass hasn't the weight and sonority of Hann's; but it is the old performance that exhibits the striking superiority in conducting. Woeldike is thoroughly competent, and his performance well-paced and effective; but though the old performance is dimly reproduced one can hear the Vienna State Opera Orchestra play under Clemens Krauss with refinements and subtleties of execution and phrasing, and the introduction given a clear and continuous outline, that one doesn't hear in the new performance.

Bach Guild 551 offers Tallis's "Lamentations of Jeremiah" and five of his hymns, in which the vocal polyphony is beautiful but, after a time, too unvaryingly so—to my ears at any rate. They are sung well by the Deller Consort of five and six voices.

Angel 35257 offers three pieces by Victoria that are lovely, though without the dark intensity that is characteristic and moving in other pieces of his, some fine sixteenth-century vocal polyphony by other Spanish composers, and a number of traditional pieces, sung superbly by the Capilla Clasica Polifonica of Barcelona under Ribo.

The Vivaldi "Gloria" and Concerto "Per la Solenita di San Lorenzo" on Columbia RL-6632 are minor pieces, performed well by soloists, chorus, and chamber orchestra of the Scuola di Arzignano under Pellizzari.

The performance of Schubert's "Winterreise" on Angel 3521 is the finest I have heard on LP records. Hotter sings with beauty of voice and with flawless art in expressive phrasing; Moore supports the singing always with sensitiveness and occasionally with the projective force the piano parts should have at all times.

Haskil's playing of the solo part of Mozart's Piano Concerto K.271 with the Vienna Symphony under Sacher, on Epic LC-3162, is so lacking in incisiveness and force as to be unsatisfying both in the high-spirited opening movement and the poignant Andantino; and the Casals Festival performance with Hess remains the one to acquire.

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Unsatisfying for the same reason is Haskil's playing of the Adagio movement of Mozart's Concerto K.488 with the same orchestra and conductor, on Epic LC-3163; but her playing in the other movements, and in K.466 with the same orchestra under Baumgartner, is more adequate. The recorded sound of K.488 is agreeable; that of K.466 unpleasantly sharp, requiring cutting down of range. I would recommend Gieseking's performance of the first, Schnabel's of the second.

A superb performance of Prokofiev's Violin Concerto No. 1 by David Oistrakh and the London Symphony under von Matacic is reproduced beautifully on Angel 35243. Bruch's G minor is on the reverse side.

Two major works of Bloch, the early "Schelomo" and the later and finer "Voice in the Wilderness" for cello and orchestra, each with impressive writing in the brooding slow sections, are played well on London LL-1232 by Nelsova and the London Philharmonic under Ansermet. The recorded sound is harsh and sharp with full-range reproduction, agreeable with the range cut down to 10,000 cycles.

Bach's Brandenburg Concertos are performed well by Sacher and the Basle Chamber Orchestra on Epic SC-6008; but details requiring mention are the trumpet-playing in No. 2 that is accurate but not beautiful in tone, the harpsichord-playing that is too heavy in No. 4 and stolid in No. 5, and the sound that is harsh and sharp in the second movement of No. 3.

Films

Robert Hatch

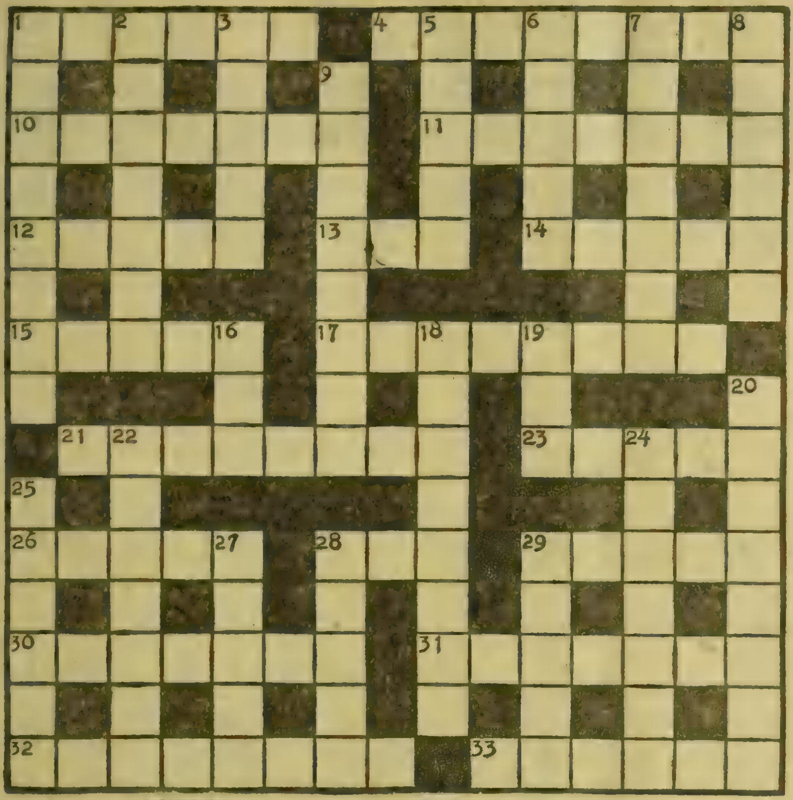
WHEN YOU GO to "Diabolique" at the Fine Arts in New York you are handed a "contract" of secrecy; a similar appeal is flashed on the screen, and newspaper ads carry the headline, "Don't Reveal the Ending!" An exhibitor who takes such steps to protect the secret of his picture presumably knows that he has little but the secret to sell. Nevertheless, there is a certain fun to pitting yourself against a well-fabricated mystification, and the materials of "Diabolique" are first-rate. It is well cast, plausibly directed, photographed with an excellent appreciation of the mood induced by damp stone and grey sky. It uses the familiar melodramatic screen devices—creaking doors, gloved hands, a blurred face at the window, a hamper about to burst and expose its hideous contents—but it revives them with style. There are no logical flaws in the laying of its outragous plot.

What turns me against "Diabolique" is my dislike of Henri-Georges Clouzot, who wrote and directed it. Clouzot is a man of intelligence and skill who shows himself to be excited by only two sensations—cruelty and disgust. His appeal is as degenerate as the horror comics, and more offensive because it is more cultivated. "Le Corbeau," which he made under the Vichy regime, was a study in all-pervasive venom, and was used effectively by Goebbels to revile the French. "The Wages of Fear" licked its lips over every variety of pain, and "Diabolique" is abominably cruel. I cannot discuss the central cruelty without breaking the reviewer's bargain, but there is sufficient peripheral sadism for my purpose. Take the scene in which a sick woman is forced by her husband to chew and swallow a meal of tainted fish under the eyes of some fifty school boys. Or the scene in which a drugged man—again the husband—half awakens when he is flung into a bath tub and feebly paddles with his hands as his head is thrust under water. These episodes are disgusting and they are infuriating.

The pain and the disgust are not in themselves what anger me, but the fact that they are Clouzot's amusements. Degradation is the fifth horseman of our age and few artists can ignore him. Kafka's "The Metamorphosis" is more horrifying and nauseating than anything Clouzot can do, but it is also an outcry of compassion and concern. "Diabolique" is a giggle from Auschwitz.

Crossword Puzzle No. 649

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Block the rower's seat. (6)

4 Entertainers who can hold their liquor. (8)

10 Aim in the wrong direction? It's about like a wing, and might lay you low. (7)

11 A deed is accomplished just south of 24. (4,3)

12 Awkard roles for anything but a winner. (5)

13, 2 and 24 down Were they biblical 4? (3,5,2,7)

14 Rush an excessive quantity. (5)

15 Go through the arms? (5)

17 After-dinner mints? (Partcularly British, although the spelling is American!) (9)

21 One who gives title, like a Roman of distinction? (8)

23 and 8 down The going rate for oak leaves? (The third and sixth are lowered, if one prefers 29 down.) (5,6)

26 6, when decapitated, are likely to be falling down. (5)

28 See 6 down.

29 This man is probably good with a 15. (5)

30 Silversides of California, an outgrowth of the iron gun. (7)

31 The higher such things go, the smaller they get. (7)

32 Tear asunder certain things of value. (8)

33 Sits and ponders? (6)

DOWN

1 Tramples an order in an order, perhaps. (7)

2 See 13 across.

3 Not so dense! (5)

5 Inappropriate, like bills after you've paid them? (5)

6 and 28 across Relatively ursine, but the sound certainly isn't covered! (8)

7 Enthrall. (7)

8 See 23 across.

9 When less than whole, is an old halberd, as well as a devoted adherent. (8)

16 High priest of Belial. (3)

18 Speedwell, portrayed in a cover of sorts. (8)

19 Scratch up the butter? (3)

20 Certainly doesn't make a peaceful gesture! (8)

22 There's a point to this, plus ice. (7)

24 See 13 across.

25 Loud, yet on the conservative side. (6)

27 See 29 down.

28 Diamond expert with a large head of cattle. (5)

29 and 27 down Youth's clothing, half red, have black? (5,5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 648

ACROSS: 1 BAPTISMAL; 9 BIGOT; 11 SCAPEGOAT; 12 APSIS; 13 BELTS; 15 DUPLICATE; 18 LADYBIRDS; 19 GRIPS; 22 CAPACIOUS; 25 OLD MASTER; 26 MOIRA; 27 SPRIT; 28 DISPLAYED. DOWN: 1,3, and [illegible] across BABES IN THE WOODS; 1 and 10 across BABES IN TOYLAND; 2 PIGTAILED; 4 and 20 MAIL-ORDER HOUSE; 5 and 24 LET IT STAND; 6 WAYFARING; 7OPALS; 8 SIDESTEPS; 13 BILLHOOKS; 14 SUBTENANT; 16 PASSPORT; 17 ADIPOSITY; 21 UNDER; 22 CITED; [illegible] CAMEL.

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*** Fortune Magazine, Nov. 1955**

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Bill of Rights Day

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by Henry Lee Moon

In Colleges

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

No Dissent in Dixie

Columbia, South Carolina

THIS IS the story of Dr. Chester C. Travelstead, dean of the School of Education at the University of South Carolina here. On August 19, without warning or prior discussion, Travelstead received a one-paragraph letter dismissing him from the university. Sixty-nine days later, on October 27, he was given a "hearing" before the executive committee of the board of trustees.

Travelstead is forty-four; his adult life, except for three war years in the navy, has been spent in education. By ancestry, birth, schooling, and residence, he is a Southerner. Born and educated in Kentucky, he received his doctorate at the University of Virginia and taught at the University of Georgia before his appointment as dean here. Here are the events which led to his dismissal.

On May 2, Dr. Travelstead wrote a letter to Governor George Bell Timmerman, Jr., of South Carolina. He wrote as a private citizen, using personal stationery and his home address, challenging the governor on a speech the latter had made defying the Supreme Court's famous desegregation decision. Dr. Travelstead's letter said in part:

> You said in your speech, Governor, that "the opinions of the Supreme Court of the United States in the school-segregation cases upholds for the first time in judicial history that equality of treatment is discriminatory." It is my considered judgment, Governor, that it was not the intent of the Court to say that "equality of treatment is discriminatory." Rather did it say in effect that segregation is in and of itself discriminatory and therefore in violation [of the Constitution].
>
> You have said, Governor, that the recommendation [to the General Assembly of South Carolina] to abolish the [state] Compulsory Attendance Law "had not weakened ourselves in this respect." Apparently, Governor, it is the firm belief of most educators and leaders in state and national government that compulsory school attendance at public or private schools has been the backbone of our democracy.
>
> You have attacked, Governor, the integrationist and have said that he is "seeking to abolish parental rights in education. . . ." It is without evidence to say that those who in 1955, for moral, civic, and legal reasons believe that segregation is outmoded and should therefore be abolished are men of "little character" attempting, as you say, "to lynch the character of a fourth of our nation." It is my opinion, Governor, that many men of great stature are sincerely convinced that the Supreme Court's ruling was both timely and sound.

On May 31 the president of the university, Donald Russell (who served as Assistant Secretary of State under Secretary Byrnes) called Dr. Travelstead to his office and asked him for a copy of the letter. While Dr. Travelstead was not told to desist from writing such letters, Mr. Russell informed him that "such controversial matters make politicians mad"; he further remarked: "Let us do everything possible not to make the politicians mad."

On July 28, the dean received a notice of his reappointment for the 1955-56 school year, accompanied by a substantial increase in salary. No mention was made of his letter to the Governor, nor were any conditions attached to the appointment.

On August 2, Dr. Travelstead spoke in Drayton Hall on the campus before approximately 400 summer-session students and faculty members. His speech was entitled Today's Decisions for Tomorrow's Schools; in it he enumerated eight major educational problems facing America today. The last problem discussed was that of integration in the public schools. Said Dr. Travelstead:

> It is my firm conviction that enforced segregation of the races in our public schools can no longer be justified on any basis and should therefore be abolished as soon as practicable, even though as a white Southerner I have since my early childhood taken for granted the practice of segregation. . . .

Three days later Dr. Travelstead was again called to President Russell's office. The university head told him that he had received several complaints that the part of the August 2 speech dealing with segregation "cuts our throat with the legislature when we request funds for the university." This was the last time the dean saw Mr. Russell. On August 19 he received his dismissal: "The executive committee of the board of trustees is of the opinion that it is not in the best interests of the university to renew your appointment as Dean of the School of Education."

The next day the dean asked President Russell for a hearing. He was finally given one on October 27 by the five-man executive committee of the board of trustees. The executive committee told the dean: (1) That persons employed by the university should not engage in discussions of controversial issues, and (2) That it is not necessary for the board to issue a statement of its policy with respect to academic freedom and free discussion on the university campus. A member of the committee said: *"A person should have enough common sense to know what he should and should not discuss—without any clear-cut policy about such matters."*

Thus South Carolina loses one of its ablest educators, the rest of the faculty has been effectively silenced, and the University of South Carolina becomes a beleaguered fortress of academic freedom in what Governor Timmerman calls "The War of Northern Aggression." Meanwhile, Dr. Travelstead has been appointed dean of education at the University of New Mexico.

HARRY L. GOLDEN

[*Harry L. Golden is editor of the* Carolina Israelite.]

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1955
VOLUME 181, NUMBER 25

THE *Nation*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Shape of Things

Mr. Dulles Should Go

President Eisenhower would serve the interests of the nation well if, before the year ends, he were to ask for the resignation of Mr. Dulles. If foreign policy is to be a major issue in the 1956 campaign—in our view a desirable development—then the debate should not pivot on the personal shortcomings of Mr. Dulles. The Democrats must not be permitted to duck the obligation of offering alternative policies by concentrating their fire on the Secretary as the Republicans made a scapegoat of Mr. Acheson in 1952.

But Mr. Dulles should be removed for another reason also: demonstrated incompetence. He is not, of course, to be held accountable for the failure of policies which were actually initiated by Mr. Acheson and others. Good Secretaries of State have been wrong on occasion but habitual blundering is not to be tolerated. Mr. Dulles has consistently been more concerned with domestic political currents than with world opinion and he has shown a talent, bordering on genius, for arousing distrust and antipathy in the chancellories of friendly and neutral nations. Goa is only the most recent illustration of this talent—witness an item in the Toronto *Star* of December 3 which failed to attract much attention here. Mr. Dulles, it seems, has accused the Canadians of keeping him in the dark on their efforts to bring eighteen new members into the United Nations. Spokesmen for the Canadian Embassy emphatically reject the charge. The issue, they say, was discussed with Mr. Dulles himself at the United States-Canadian joint economic session in Ottawa last September. And the State Department, they add, has been thoroughly briefed about all subsequent departures and developments.

In the Goa matter, Mr. Dulles states in self-defense that the Russians were attempting to incite India to use force against the Portuguese. The conduct of Bulganin and Khrushchev was crude enough, but neither had actually suggested the use of force. In saying that the United States wants a renunciation of force in the settlement of the Goa and other international disputes, Mr. Dulles would have the world believe that he has forgotten that Nehru put the damper on further popular demonstrations in August precisely because India was committed to the peaceful settlement of its dispute with Portugal. By issuing a joint statement with Portugal's Foreign Minister, Mr. Dulles implied that he had prejudged the Goa dispute. The joint statement not only undercut the work of a fine Ambassador in New Delhi, it played directly into the hands of the Russians. "Monolithic stupidity," comments the *Times of India;* we agree.

A sophisticated defense has of course been entered for Mr. Dulles. For example, some say his real aim is to disengage American power and that his brash talk of "massive retaliation" and such bold gestures as the Formosa resolution were intended to conceal his real purpose—to deceive the right-wing of the Republican Party, the better to slit Chiang Kai-shek's throat at a later date. No one doubts that the Secretary is devious. But even he can hardly expect voters to assume that he generally means the opposite of what he says. Lacking access to his diary or his secret thoughts, voters must judge his diplomacy by its results; and political debates must be based on the public and not the secret report.

If the President wants to strengthen the bipartisan approach to foreign policy, let him name the distinguished Senator Walter George as Mr. Dulles's successor. Should he prefer to name a Republican, then let him select some one who more closely represents his personal point of view—say, for example, Paul Hoffman, Nelson Rockefeller or Milton Eisenhower. In either case, the removal of Mr. Dulles would mitigate the partisan resentment which the Democratic leadership, remembering his role in drafting the Republican foreign-policy planks in 1952, naturally feel toward him. At the same time, the President would be denying the Democrats an opportunity to make Mr. Dulles a scapegoat for the failure of policies which, in some cases, they themselves initiated. Is it too much to expect a real debate on foreign policy in 1956 instead of shrill name-calling and the airing of ancient partisan feuds?

Mr. Ford at Bay

Henry Ford II, grandson of one of the most useful if controversial Americans of his generation, is a most attractive public figure. His name has come to be associated in the minds of most Americans with progressive, decent, humane industrial relations as thoroughly as his grandfather's name was associated with the opposite type. His frequent statements and speeches on public issues have put him in the vanguard of this country's forward-looking industrial leaders. With his encouragement and largely at his initiative, the Ford family fortunes have been devoted to various philanthropies on a scale that dwarfs similar benefactions. To administer these huge funds, Mr. Ford selected a distinguished group of citizens to serve as board members. In short, Mr. Ford merits public approbation and esteem. He is the type of industrial leader for whom all of us should be grateful. Yet our sense of civic decency has so deteriorated that this distinguished industrial leader can be placed in the public pillory by two political pranksters—Fulton Lewis, Jr., and a young man named Buckley—aided and abetted by the miscellaneous claque that cooperates in their pranks.

What Mr. Ford's humiliation demonstrates is that our anxieties do have their roots in economic insecurity, the insecurity of wealth no less than the insecurity of poverty. For here is Mr. Ford behaving with less sense of personal security than a worker on one of his assembly lines, despite his millions and the record-breaking sales of the Ford Motor Company. Other sturdy pillars of our economy and public life—the New York *Times* is a case in point—have been humiliated in much the same fashion. To bolster the morale of these faltering giants let's all buy a Ford for Christmas, even those of us who already own one, and, for the same reason, take a second subscription to the New York *Times*. God-and-Man-at-Yale Buckley won't like it, and Fulton, Jr., will scold, but let's do it anyway.

Insurrection

> Insurrection. A rebellion of citizens or subjects of a country or state against its government. Any open and active opposition of a number of persons to the execution of the laws of the United States, of so formidable a character as to defy, for the time being, the authority of the government, constitutes an insurrection, even though not accompanied by bloodshed and not of sufficient magnitude to make success possible.
>
> —Bouvier's Law Dictionary (1934).

The failure of state authorities to safeguard the lives, liberties and rights of a million Negro citizens and residents, coupled with organized opposition to the execution of federal laws and decisions of the Supreme Court, has placed Mississippi in a state of open insurrection. Any doubt that it is insurrection, not mere agitation, in which the state's white-supremacy advocates are now indulging was removed by Senator James Eastland's recent speech in Jackson to a gathering of 2,000 members of Mississippi's White Citizens Councils. With the crowd roaring "aye," the Senator's insurrectionary manifesto was adopted without debate or dissent. The Senator proposed that the state adopt six laws (it seems certain that they will be adopted) designed to: (1) Provide penalties against "any person interfering with state law under the color of federal authority" (the Governor-elect has said that this measure would include F. B. I. agents who interfere with a state case); (2) Tighten the statutes against "unauthorized practice of law," as by making a lawyer subject to court action under certain circumstances if he handles a case aimed against segregation laws; (3) Eliminate the compulsory school-attendance law; (4) Outlaw common-law marriages; (5) Strengthen the state libel laws; (6) Create a state authority, supported by Negro as well as white taxpayers' contributions, to maintain segregation. Among the Citizens Council members who voted for the proposal were Governor White, Lieutenant Governor Carroll Gartin, ex-Governor Fielding Wright and John Satterfield, president of the Mississippi Bar Association.

When an American state plots to abolish its public-school system—Virginia is the latest state to do so—it has taken a long step toward public repudiation of constitutional obligations and responsibilities. Should the Mississippi legislature adopt Senator Eastland's program it will have formalized the existing state of insurrection. How much longer can the Senate Internal Security subcommittee avoid an investigation of its chairman? Or does the subcommittee approve of insurrection? And just what is the difference between subversion and insurrection?

Staff Note

With this issue we are pleased to announce that Robert Hatch, our film critic, has joined the staff as an editor and will have charge of the Books-and-Arts section. He will also continue to review films. Mr. Hatch's first editorial job was with the O. W. I. in London and Munich during and after the war; he edited *Voir* and *Heute,* large-format news magazines that sold throughout France and Germany. Upon his return to the United States he became film reviewer and literary editor of *The New Republic,* leaving that magazine when its editorial offices were moved to Washington. After working as an associate editor of *Scientific American* for a year, Mr. Hatch in 1954 founded *Center,* a magazine of the performing arts published by the New York City Center. He edited *Center* until his recent transfer to *The Nation's* staff.

Shortly after the first of the year, if the current newsprint shortage abates, *The Nation* will alternate twenty-four and thirty-two page issues with most of the added space being allocated to Mr. Hatch's Book-and-Arts section which will include, among other new features, an occasional column on radio and television.

With this issue, too, we regretfully announce the retirement of J. A. del Vayo as foreign editor. However, he will continue to write for us from time to time as European correspondent, with Paris as his base of operations. For the last several weeks Mr. Del Vayo has been enjoying some accumulated vacation time. The first of his dispatches from Europe will appear shortly after the first of the year.

Next Week

Mark Watson, noted military-affairs analyst of the Baltimore *Sun,* discloses the important lessons learned from the recent military maneuvers known as Operation Sagebrush.

SCORE ON INTEGRATION

THURSDAY, December 15, was Bill of Rights Day. The Supreme Court's decision of May 17, 1954, on public-school desegregation furnishes as good a yardstick as any by which to measure the significance of the day and our right to celebrate it.

On this and the following pages, two especially competent observers review the progress of desegregation in the nineteen months since the Supreme Court's decision. Henry Lee Moon, who reviews the situation in the public schools, is the author of Balance of Power: The Negro Vote *and of numerous magazine articles on the race problem. Guy B. Johnson, who deals with desegregation in colleges and universities, is professor of sociology and anthropology at the University of North Carolina, has written widely on race relations and is now collaborating with his wife on a book on integration on Southern campuses.*

The reader's attention is also called to Harry Golden's story on the inside front cover concerning the fate of one courageous dean on a Southern campus who defied the mores of his board of trustees and of the politicians who hold the university's purse-strings.

1. In Public Schools . . *by Henry Lee Moon*

WITH instructions "to take such proceedings and enter such orders and decrees . . . as are necessary and proper to admit to public schools on a racially non-discriminatory basis with all deliberate speed the parties to these cases," the United States Supreme Court on May 31 remanded to the lower district courts the trail-blazing public-school segregation cases. The order reaffirmed the supreme tribunal's unanimous decision a year earlier which banned racial segregation in public education.

Even before the 1954 decision, two of the six communities involved in the litigation had opened their white schools to colored pupils in compliance with a ruling of the Delaware supreme court. In two others—the District of Columbia and Topeka, Kansas—desegregation was promptly initiated following the Court's 1954 edict.

At what speed, however, have the district courts moved to implement the Supreme Court's edict of May 31 in the remaining two cases—Clarendon County, South Carolina, and Prince Edward County, Virginia? In July, special three-judge federal courts sitting in Columbia, South Carolina, and Richmond, Virginia, heard arguments upon a motion filed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for a judgment and decree to enforce the Supreme Court mandate. In both cases the court ruled invalid existing state laws requiring segregation in public education and ordered the local school boards to refrain from "refusing on account of race or color to admit to any school under their supervision any child qualified to enter such school, from and after such time as the defendants [school boards] may have made the necessary arrangements for admission of children to such school on a non-discriminatory basis with all deliberate speed as required by the decision of the [Supreme] Court." The catch is that in neither instance was a time limit for compliance set. And in neither South Carolina nor Virginia has there yet been any desegregation in public schools other than in institutions located on military establishments for the children of service or civilian personnel. Meanwhile the old segregation barriers were being rolled aside in the District of Columbia, in Kansas, and to a lesser extent in Delaware as the issue of who attends class with whom tended to fade into its proper insignificance.

THE picture of the segregation issue in public education today encompasses a vaster canvas than that afforded by the six communities in which the decisive cases originated. When the N. A. A. C. P. first took these cases to the Supreme Court in 1952, racial segregation in public education was the required pattern in seventeen states and in the District of Columbia. Among these, only in Delaware had any dent been made in the wall of segregation in public education. Four other states had laws permitting but not requiring segregation. In numerous communities in Northern and Western states, separate schools were imposed by residential segregation or custom.

In the nineteen months since the Supreme Court's first ruling, some measure of public-school desegregation has taken place in eight of the seventeen states. In at least three of the remaining nine, there is indication that certain localities have been restrained by inhibitions and prohibitions at state level from following through with plans to start desegregation.

A rundown of the situation in the seventeen states and the District of Columbia which had segregation statutes on their books reveals the following:

Integration Initiated

Arkansas. Schools in three towns involving fewer than fifty Negro and about 1,600 white pupils desegregated; committees appointed to plan future integration in Little Rock, Hot Springs and several other cities.

Delaware. Of a total of 104 school districts, twenty-one with 1,230 of the state's 10,500 Negro pupils have desegregated. As desegregation proceeds southward from Wilmington, it encounters increasingly stubborn resistance.

District of Columbia. With 80 per cent of the District's 169 schools integrated, Negro and white parents have joined in demanding higher educational standards, additional teachers, and more adequate facilities.

Kentucky. In twenty-four of the state's 224 districts some 300 of Kentucky's 43,360 school-age Negro children are attending mixed classes. Meanwhile, special committees to study the problems of desegregation have been appointed by fifty school boards.

Maryland. Following the lead set by Baltimore in 1954, eight of the state's twenty-two counties with school-age Negro children have started desegregation. Of a total of 240,000 pupils in these eight counties, about 20,000 are Negro. Slightly more than 1,000 of these colored children are now attending mixed classes. Except for two counties which have completed plans and one in which no Negro school-age children live, all Maryland counties have desegregation under continuing study.

Missouri. An estimated 85 per cent of Negro school children in the state are attending schools in which integration has begun. Success of desegregation programs in Missouri is attributed to careful planning at the local level.

Oklahoma. Of the 1,463 school districts in which Negro children live, 271 have begun integration, including ninety which have completed the process.

Texas. Desegregation program initiated in sixty-five school districts of the state involves less than 2 per cent of the total number of Negro students in the state.

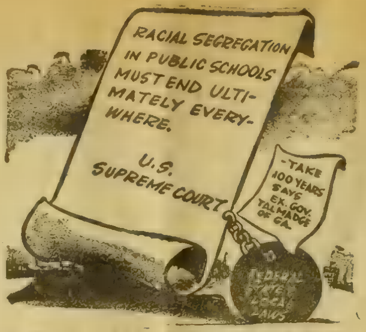
West Virginia. All but ten of the state's fifty-five counties have begun to remove racial segregation from the public schools. One of the ten has announced plans to begin desegregation in January, 1956.

No Action to Integrate

Alabama. Legislation designed to retain school segregation was enacted into law despite the refusal of Governor James E. Folsom to sign the measure. Three local anti-integration bills were passed over his veto.

Florida. Except for schools at two air-force bases, public elementary and secondary schools throughout the state remain segregated. Meanwhile, biracial committees in one-third of the state's counties are studying ways and means of desegregating.

Georgia. At least three communities have set up committees to make a study of desegregation problems in this state whose leading politicians are committed to maintaining segregation come what may and at whatever price.


RACIAL SEGREGATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS MUST END ULTIMATELY EVERYWHERE.
U.S. SUPREME COURT
-TAKE 100 YEARS SAYS EX. GOV. TALMADGE OF GA.
LAWS

Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

The Stumbling Block

Louisiana. Settling down to a last-ditch fight to keep segregation, the state has appropriated $100,000 to retain lawyers whose sole duty shall be to assist localities in litigation to resist desegregation.

Mississippi. No steps toward integration. Additional legislation proposed to reinforce segregation. Approval of funds for equalization of schools in certain communities.

North Carolina. Apparently under pressure of state policy, local school boards which earlier had expressed willingness to take steps toward compliance with the Supreme Court order have failed to proceed with their plans. A proposal, advanced by Governor Luther H. Hodges, to continue public-school segregation on a "voluntary" basis has been flatly rejected by the N. A. A. C. P. state leaders, by Negro school teachers and other spokesmen for the race.

South Carolina. In the words of James M. Hinton, state president of the N. A. A. C. P., South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi have been "acting like jackasses" on the segregation issue. South Carolina took the lead in preparing for the abolition of the public-school system rather than comply with the Supreme Court ruling. No step toward compliance has been taken by any school board in the state beyond the "study" which the Clarendon County board told the federal district court it would make.

Tennessee. Desegregation has occurred only at the federally controlled community of Oak Ridge where it was initiated in September and apparently has been successful. Despite pressure, the Chattanooga school board reaffirmed its earlier announced intention of complying with the Supreme Court's ruling.

Virginia. As before, nearly a century ago, Virginia is following South Carolina's lead to chaos and defeat. A special session of the General Assembly, called by Governor Thomas B. Stanley, early in December approved the report of the Gray Commission on Public Education. The two-pronged plan provides (1) payment of tuition for attendance at private segregated schools and (2) authorization to assign pupils to schools on other bases than race, such as adaptability, adequacy of facilities, health, etc. The proposal requires amendment of the state constitution at a convention called for that purpose by a popular referendum.

Meanwhile public-school segregation tended steadily to disappear in the four states with permissive legislation. Early in 1955, New Mexico and Wyoming repealed statutes which permitted racial segregation in public schools. In Wyoming it had long been a dead-letter law. State-court rulings in 1953 and 1954 held Arizona's school-segregation law unenforceable. In Kansas, the process of integration has been retarded by a United States district court ruling this year upholding Topeka's lax transfer system which permits students to select the school they will attend irrespective of district lines.

STIMULATED by current efforts to achieve integration in education, many Northern communities have re-examined their own programs and given new attention to school problems stemming from the prevailing pattern of residential segregation. In New York City a study prepared by the Public Education Association and submitted to the Board of Education Commission on Integration in October, 1955, found that "there is no significant evidence to indicate that ethnic separation is seriously considered in drawing school-district boundary lines." However, the study also revealed that facilities and educational standards in predominantly Negro or Puerto Rican neighborhoods are generally lower than in other sections of the city.

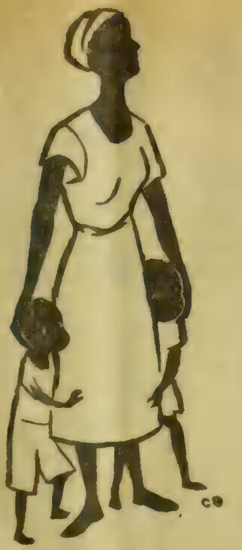
Legal and community actions to end segregation in public schools have been instituted in such widely scattered areas as New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and California.

The main battleground, however, remains in the South, particularly in the nine states which still present a solid segregation front. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has spearheaded the drive to end segregation in public education, recreation and transportation, is confident that this front will be broken. Despite threats, intimidation, economic reprisals and delaying legislative tactics there is no indication that the antisegregation forces are retreating from the demand that the states comply with the Supreme Court's rulings.

Meeting in Atlanta, June 3-4, after the May 31 decision, N. A. A. C. P. leaders from the affected states called upon the local branches of the association to file petitions with their respective school boards requesting that the boards proceed in accordance with the Supreme Court ruling. The regional leadership further instructed the branches to report to the association's legal department failure of any local school board to "make a prompt and reasonable start toward full compliance with" the court's decision.

FOLLOWING the Atlanta conference, branches of the N. A. A. C. P. filed petitions for desegregation with 170 local school boards in seventeen states. These petitions were variously received. In Mississippi they created consternation and revealed the blind race hate of the "white supremacy" exponents. In some localities they were ignored. Some local boards seriously considered the petition and conferred with local N. A. A. C. P. leadership. In certain other communities the petitions proved unnecessary because the local boards did not hesitate to comply with the new order.

In areas where resentment has been most bitter—as in Mississippi, in Selma, Alabama, and in Orangeburg, South Carolina—measures were instituted by hate groups to force signers of the petitions to withdraw their names under threat of economic penalties.



Under this sort of pressure, some persons who signed the petition asked that their names be withdrawn. In the long run, those who yielded were no better off than those who stubbornly refused to withdraw their names, for the bigots double-crossed the former. They were fired from their jobs and not rehired after removing their names. Just as the others, they were denied credit by the merchants and banks. They were refused services and goods at local stores. Retailers could no longer purchase merchandise from local wholesalers. Negro workers were warned not to patronize professional men who took an active role in demanding an end to segregation. In Selma, Alabama, the local White Citizens Council boasted that sixteen of the twenty-nine Negroes who signed the desegregation petition had lost their jobs. In Yazoo City, Mississippi, the W. C. C. scored even higher, forcing fifty-three of fifty-five signers to withdraw.

SINCE the Supreme Court handed down its great decision of May 17, 1954, more than a score of cases invoking segregation in public education have been argued in various state and federal courts. In view of the forthright declaration by the nation's highest tribunal, none of the lower courts have attempted to validate segregation, but several have been exceedingly lenient in indicating how long the present illegal practice may endure.

In a 5 to 2 decision the Florida supreme court held that the federal ruling does not indicate "a clear legal duty" to admit Negro applicants "at any particular time in the future." In Dallas, United States District Judge William H. Atwell dismissed a suit to compel the school board to desegregate immediately. Similarly, in Memphis a federal district judge approval a gradual plan of integration over a period of five years.

Notable among rulings taking a strong affirmative position in support of compliance are the decisions of the supreme court of Texas in the Big Spring case and that of United States District Judge Thomas C. Trimble in the Hoxie, Arkansas, case.

In Big Spring, Texas, the local White Citizens Council sought to enjoin the board from integrating the schools on the ground that Texas law required segregation. This argument, the state supreme court said, "is so utterly without merit that we override it without further discussion except to say that Section 2 of Article VI of the Constitution of the United States declares: 'This Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof . . . shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.' "

Upholding the desegregation order of the Hoxie, Arkansas, school board, Judge Trimble ruled "that there are no valid segregation laws of the State of Arkansas, for they have been declared unconstitutional and void by the Supreme Court of the United States."

Viewed from one perspective, the speed with which desegregation is proceeding may seem exceedingly deliberate. Yet in the long view it is incontestably evident that segregation, not only in education but in all phases of public life in America, is doomed. The basic conflict which it poses to the American ideal of a free society, is daily becoming more clearly recognizable.

With the courts and federal agencies dealing repeated and telling blows to the sagging body of old Jim Crow, with public opinion becoming more enlightened and more aroused by such Dixie atrocities as the unpunished lynching of Emmett Louis Till and others in Mississippi, with the quiet and brave determination of Southern Negroes to keep up the fight for freedom and integration, we may confidently look forward to the realization of the N. A. A. C. P. goal as expressed in the slogan: "Free by 'Sixty-three," the centennial of the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation.

2. In the Colleges . . *by Guy B. Johnson*

Chapel Hill

IN STRIKING contrast to the bitter public controversy over the segregation issue in the Southern public schools is the fact that integration of Negro students in Southern higher education is largely a *fait accompli.* This quiet revolution in the traditional patterns of race relations has been accomplished for the most part since 1948.

Prior to 1948 the number of higher institutions in the South—i.e., the seventeen "separate-school" states plus the District of Columbia—which had admitted Negro students to hitherto all-white campuses could have been counted on the fingers of one hand. The University of Maryland Law School had admitted Negroes since 1935 as the result of a lawsuit; the University of West Virginia had begun about 1940 to admit Negro graduate students, and one or two Catholic schools had enrolled a few Negroes. In the late 40's, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which had already sponsored several legal tests against public institutions, returned to the attack with renewed vigor and skill. In 1948 Negro plaintiffs won federal court decisions giving them the right to enter the University of Texas and the University of Oklahoma. There followed other suits against the University of Tennessee, Missouri, Kentucky, Louisiana, North Carolina, Virginia, and Delaware, all of which resulted in decisions favorable to the plaintiffs. Thus by 1953 all of the state universities except five (Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, South Carolina) had admitted Negro students to their graduate and/or professional schools. Due to recent litigation, two of these, Alabama and Florida, are fairly sure to enroll Negro students in 1956.

Various other public institutions, such as the state colleges of agriculture and county or municipal colleges, either yielded to legal pressure or voluntarily admitted Negroes because they knew they could be required to do so. In the meantime various church-supported institutions and some of the private schools fell in with the trend. The result of all this has been that there are now approximately 125 Southern higher institutions, formerly all-white, which are today admitting Negroes.

About 10 per cent of these integrating schools are privately supported, the rest divided about equally between church-supported and publicly-supported institutions. As for location, the schools are divided about fifty-fifty between the border states and the former Confederate states, but the variations are high from state to state: one each in Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina, up to more than a score in Texas. There is a sprinkling of junior colleges in the list, but more than three-fourths are on the senior college or university level. As for the church-supported schools, they are about evenly divided between Catholic and Protestant, with Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist colleges heading the Protestant list in that order.

FIGURES on the enrolment of Negro students are hard to come by, as most of the schools claim that "we do not keep any records by race." However, on the basis of information obtained through personal interviews on many campuses and from other sources, it is possible to make a fairly satisfactory estimate. During the current academic term there are probably about 1,000 Negro students in the integrated public institutions and about an equal number in the church and private institutions combined. The summer session, however, shows a much higher Negro attendance since this is the best time for the school teacher to pursue graduate work. In the regular and summer session combined, there will be upwards of 2,000 Negroes this year in the public institutions alone. There is wide variation from school to school. Quite a few, especially in the seaboard and mid-South states, have fewer than ten Negroes, whereas the border-state and Southwestern schools tend to have much larger enrolments—say, fifty to one hundred or more in the regular session and upwards of 200 in the summer session. In the total picture the proportion of Negro students is still quite low—in most instances not more than 1 or 2 per cent.

Until recently nine-tenths of the Negro enrolment in the public institutions was on the graduate and professional level. This was where the legal attack had been centered, for it was here that the inadequacy or even the absence of courses in the separate Negro colleges was most easily proved. When the courts ordered Negroes to be admitted to graduate and professional schools, most of the states tried to hold the line at that level. However, since the momentous decision of the Supreme Court in the public-school cases on May 17, 1954, compulsory racial segregation is discriminatory *per se* and is therefore unconstitutional. The new doctrine has already been applied in test cases brought by Negro undergraduate students in Louisiana and North Carolina. In other words, it is rapidly becoming apparent that no person can legitimately be excluded from *any* public institution on *any* level on grounds of race. Thus public institutions may expect a substantial enrolment of Negro undergraduate students in the next few years. State teachers colleges and women's colleges, most of which have escaped the integration trend because they are largely undergraduate schools, will now begin to appear on the integration list most frequently.

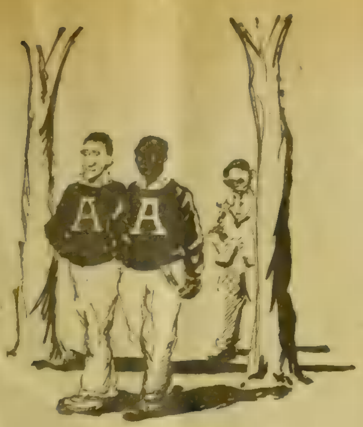
Incidentally, there is a reciprocal process of integration of white students into Negro schools which can be mentioned only briefly. Most Negro institutions—there are a hundred of them—have had the color bar, too, whether they wanted it or not. A few have for many years quietly taken in an occasional white student. Now more than twenty of the Negro colleges either have or are willing to admit some white students; one, West Virginia State College, has practically been "swamped" with 200 whites; and many more will welcome them as soon as legislators and trustees realize fully that the segregation laws are null and void.

The most remarkable thing about this revolution in Southern education and race relations is the fact that it has been accomplished so rapidly and so peacefully. In spite of fears and of dire predictions concerning bloodshed and the wholesale withdrawal of white students if ever a Negro was allowed to enter a white university, the transition was actually made in a rather calm and prosaic fashion. There are still hostile white students, of course, but they have rarely shown their hostility in overt action. In perhaps the worst incident to have occurred during the transition, when someone threw a rock and smashed a window in the apartment of a young Negro veteran and his wife who had been housed in a veterans' apartment project at Louisiana State University, the culprits found themselves very much in the minority. Other white students patroled the grounds to prevent further aggression, and some of them made friendly calls on the Negro couple to indicate their moral support.

During the first couple of years of the big change there was an attempt in several states to segregate the Negro student in various ways—in dining halls, libraries, rest rooms, and even in the classrooms. State officials took the position that the state laws requiring segregation were still in force, and they instructed the administrators of public institutions to enforce them. The administrators attempted to comply, but strikingly they found this to be difficult; most students and faculty simply tended to disregard the strictures. And doubt as to their illegality was removed by the Supreme Court when it held, in a test case brought by a Negro student at the University of Oklahoma, that the Negro, having been admitted to a school, is entitled to the same treatment as any other student.

Today about the only serious administrative discrimination remaining is in the area of dormitory facilities. While the overall picture is one of integration of the Negro students into the residence halls, there are several institutions which offer no dormitory space to Negroes or else house them in separate buildings. Usually the students have simply not pushed the question, but most administrators are well aware that in any legal test a federal court would rule in favor of the Negro.

Anyone who has watched the integration process unfold cannot help but be impressed by the evolution of administrators' attitudes and policies. At first many presidents and deans were so jittery and over-sensitive about the whole business that they actually complicated things. Now they seem to be more at ease, and they are taking pride in a new norm of equality of citizenship on the campus. As the president of one large state university put it, "The only sound policy is to let it be known that the administration treats all students alike." He added, "There is one area here that our Negro students have not yet tested out—the swimming pool. But the minute one of them wants to use it, I shall certainly have to say that he has the right to use it." It should be noted, however, that some of the presidents feel that the period of greatest strain is yet to come. They expect it when larger numbers of Negro undergraduates enroll.



NEGRO students have participated in almost every type of campus activity, and quite a few have won special recognition. In one university a Negro was elected president of the Men's Dormitory Association, in another a Negro woman was elected president of her dormitory by her white coresidents, and in still another an elderly Negro graduate student who had won a high place in the hearts of the white students was elected orator for Honors Day.

Negro students have also shared rather freely in collective social affairs such as picnics, dinners and dances given by the various class associations, honor societies, etc., to which they belong. White students have been quick to learn that they can share in such interracial "social" contacts without feeling any serious threat to their sense of personal privacy. But, while the color line has been redefined, it is still there, for in the more intimate realm of dating, partying and fraternity life the social worlds remain distinct.

The inferior segregated school background of many of the Negro students shows up in the new situation where standards are higher and competition is keener. As might be expected, the Negro student is furnishing somewhat more than his proper share of flunks and academic probations. Passing his courses is his Number One anxiety, but he does little griping about grades because he feels that on the whole he is getting a fair break. He is aware of his academic handicaps and he is working earnestly to overcome them. His professors face an intensified version of the old dilemma of a uniform standard versus a merciful attitude toward those who suffer some sort of handicap. Some of the professors frankly admit that they are grading "sympathetically."

In spite of academic deficiencies, the majority of Negro students are making good. They have won degrees in the "tough" professional schools of law and medicine, they have earned half a dozen doctorates in various graduate fields and several hundred masters' degrees, especially in the field of education. Equally important, they have won the respect of most of their colleagues and teachers.

The casual observer visiting one of the Southern coracial campuses would probably be struck by the naturalness and friendliness of the routine contacts between white and Negro in the classroom, coffee-break and bull sessions. Southerners in general like to personalize their relationships, and this "personal touch" adds to the ease of everyday school interaction on the campus even though all concerned are quite aware of a certain superficiality about it. As one Negro student who had been to college in the North before enroling in his own state university said, "At least it's better than being treated as if you were just a physical object."

And so it has happened that in less than a decade the South's system of higher education has moved from racial segregation to a high degree of integration. The transition period is over, and coracial education is getting to be old stuff to the younger generation. Many problems remain to be solved, but there is a basic decency about what has happened so far, and the general prognosis is good.

There is still a sort of Mason-Dixon Line, of course, between the integrated campus and the outside community, but even this shows signs of weakening. In quite a few cases, especially in the border states and the Southwest, movies, cafes and other enterprises on the fringe of the campus are dropping their color bars. Perhaps in five more years this whole business of segregation in places of public accommodation and amusement will be well-nigh extinct.

The dean of a theological school in one of the large church-supported universities tells the following story. His school had admitted several young Negro men. When the university football team was chosen to play in the nearby Big Bowl on New Year's Day, one of these students wondered whether he might attend the game. The dean realized that the Big Bowl was not university property and that the city's segregation law could be enforced, but he was determined that the student should enjoy his privileges without embarrassment. He went to great pains to prepare the way. He called certain city officials, he got in touch with the proper gatekeepers and ushers as well as with the officer who would patrol the section where the Negro would sit. Yes, they would all be glad to forget the segregation ordinance. All went well until the half-time intermission, when a policeman in another section of the stadium spotted the Negro. He came over, looking just a little belligerent. "What are you doing here?" he asked. "I am a student at 'X' University," was the reply. The officer seemed to doubt it, so the student pulled out his identification card. The officer looked at it, grunted, turned and started away. Suddenly he paused, then turned back toward the student, while spectators wondered what he ment to do now. And all he did was to reach down and pat the Negro gently on the shoulder and give him a little smile. He said nothing, but everyone agreed that what he meant was, "It's all right, son. I'm really glad you can be here."

LABOR AT THE ALTAR

A Marriage of Love? . . *by Sidney Lens*

OLD FATHER TIME, that venerable healer, last week sewed together the dismembered body of American labor. After twenty years, George Meany of the AFL said that the split should never have happened, and Walter Reuther of the CIO, pointing with pride to the new constitution of the merged federations which puts craft and industrial unionism on an equal level, noted that the schism would have been averted had such a concession been forthcoming two decades earlier.

But these reassuring words on a new-found amity could not altogether dispel the doubts which 1,400 delegates brought with them to the opening sessions of the AFL-CIO's founding convention. Earlier, at the separate CIO meeting, Mike Quill of the powerful Transport Workers Union had articulated the fears of many when he charged that the merger would liquidate the CIO organizationally and ideologically. "This," he said, "is not a merger with honor. We are going *into* the AFL." He accused the older federation of tolerating racial discrimination, racketeering and back-door contracts, and he viewed the new AFL-CIO constitution as a license for continuation of such practices. He chided George Meany with being only "slightly to the Left" of Senator Knowland. Many in the audience thought Quill was only grabbing headlines; nevertheless, his remarks served to fan anxieties. "His criticism's are valid, and if after making them he had still voted for unity, he would have been a great hero"—so ran the comment.

The CIO's final convention foregathered in a funereal atmosphere. One speaker after another stressed that this was the "last" CIO session. Melvyn Douglas, narrating a moving pageant of CIO history, brought tears to hundreds of eyes. Reuther tried to make clear that this was not the end but the beginning of the CIO; it seemed to some he protested too much. He and folk-singer Joe Glazer sang "Joe Hill" together, and as the convention adjourned everyone sang "Solidarity."

AT THE AFL's last separate convention the fears were more material, if less articulate. Leaders of most of the federation's trade departments protected themselves against invasion by their new partners by increasing their own terms of office from two to four years. Men who have been living a relatively inactive life, unchallenged in their authority over their own domains, were fearful that "young" upstarts from the other side of the labor tracks would force them into a whirlwind of activity and possibly threaten their status. Slogans like "organize the unorganized," "end racial discrimination," "citizenship in operation"—these were words connoting activity, and activity posed a danger to ancient and consolidated power structures.

The proposed AFL-CIO constitution might place craft and industrial unions on an "equal" basis, but as George Orwell once said, "some things are more equal than others." As the changing economy changed further, would the industrial unions overpower the craft? If housing should develop into a mass prefabricated basis, would the factories be organized on a craft or industrial basis?

There were worries in both AFL

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and CIO ranks over jobs and status. Approximately one of every three national AFL jobholders, and two of every three CIO equivalents, faced the prospect of going down a notch in position. Number 1 men were to become Number 2, and plenty of Number 2 men were to become Number 4. In the CIO many faced demotion but none promotion with the possible exception of Jack Livingston, who was to move from an auto-worker vice-presidency to director of organization for the merged federations.

YET AS THE separate conventions proceeded, and as the merged convention at the Seventy-first Armory became a reality, a new spirit imbued the 1,400 architects of unity. Now that there was no turning back the doubts subsided and hope filled the air. The AFL announced that the Negro unionist, A. Philip Randolph, would become one of its seventeen candidates for vice-president of the combined AFL-CIO; the CIO seconded this move with a Negro candidate of its own, Willard Townsend. For the first time in labor history two Negroes were honored with such high posts, and the skeptics in CIO who were concerned that jimcrow would stalk the halls of the merged federation perked up a bit. At the AFL convention a few days before, the Air Line Pilots Association had been expelled for scabbing against the strike of the flight engineers—an unprecedented act. Such dynamism bolstered the morale of frustrated militants.

Equally encouraging were signs that the united federation would indeed, as its proponents had hoped, become a polarizing center. The most sensational development along this line was the indication that agreement had been reached on a merger of the United Packinghouse Workers-CIO and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen-AFL. And present at the AFL-CIO sessions were presidents of two of the railway brotherhoods—the firemen and engineers. They talked with Meany, and everyone presumed they discussed joining the AFL-CIO.

But if militants among the union men had reason to cheer, so did the conservatives. Meany wrote an article for the New York *Times* in which he asked for a "non-aggression pact" between management and labor. He urged employers to fashion this labor-management unity as a means of fighting communism. No ringing words these, nothing to worry the austere heads of established unions who had developed fears about that "Socialist Reuther." But Meany was forced into greater militancy a few days later when the National Association of Manufacturers spurned his offer.

And so initial fears were inundated by waves of good news and good fellowship. Reuther announced that CIO unions had pledged four million dollars for an organizing drive and that more would be forthcoming. Livingston and his aides were planning the drive and pin-pointing its leaders. Parties and receptions seemed to be at an all-time high. Mayor Wagner gave a dinner for Meany and Reuther, the teamsters gave a dinner for their own Dave Beck at which two of the goliaths of labor, Meany and Beck, expressed their mutual devotion; the New York AFL and CIO bodies gave a lavish affair for all the delegates and champagne and comradeship overflowed. Reuther's rip-roaring speech at the opening AFL-CIO session was received with considerable enthusiasm by AFL men who had never heard him before.

Nonetheless there were some jarring notes. The teamsters, 1,250,000 strong and unquestionably the most strategically placed organization in the united federation, demanded admission to the AFL-CIO's new industrial-union department. The crisis was resolved when they were offered affiliation to the extent of their industrial-union membership, with their craft-union members excluded. But the taste and smell of discord was in the air—a taste and smell all too likely to recur in the months to come.

Even more distressing to many delegates was the independent role that Beck was playing. In the midst of the festivities, his office announced a pact with the independent, left-wing Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union. This followed on the heels of a similar pact with the supposedly racket-dominated independent longshoremen's union, and unilateral arrangements with the meat cutters to organize jointly in the food field and with the AFL machinists to organize jointly in auto-repair and related areas. It looked like the teamsters were determined to establish a structure independent of the federation and heedless of its policies. The figure of Beck and his important subaltern, Jimmy Hoffa, loomed large and ominous to many.

It has been promised that the oil and water of the House of Labor will mix; nature makes things difficult. During the week the industrial-union department was established. For all practical purposes it is a federation within a federation. Its elaborate structure includes a president, secretary, and provisions for twelve vice-presidents, frequent board meetings and separate conventions. It can even expel unions from the department independently of their continued membership in the federation. The industrial-union department will bask in the limelight, a reminder that the CIO is still to be heard from. This is bound to sit poorly with old-line unionists pervaded with fears and doubts.

History decreed that labor unity was a necessary and progressive step —and for the record the necessary and progressive step was being taken with enthusiasm. But the ambivalency of the men who would have to make this unity work in the days to come was symptomatic that what had taken place was a wedding without love. The CIO with its industrial unionism had not reduced the AFL to impotency, as John L. Lewis had once thought it would. Instead the AFL accepted part of the industrial-union approach and rolled with the punch. On the other hand, AFL business unionism had never engulfed the CIO; yet by a process of osmosis CIO had introduced a goodly share of conservative unionism into its bloodstream. The two strategies and the two philosophies had blended toward each other, but neither had gone over completely to the other. The gulf was still wide. A long and intense shakedown was clearly on the agenda. Always there would be the threat of new schisms and new splits. It would take a man of great genius to hold this explosive material together.

The merger is in all respects only a beginning toward unity. For though Father Time had sewn together the dismembered parts, there was no guarantee that gangrene would not set in.

TOWARD BETTER SCHOOLS

White House Conference . . *by Frances Keene*

Washington

THE White House Conference on Education, held last week in Washington, was neither representative nor democratic. In spite of these supportable allegations, it accomplished a deal of work which will have immediate and may have lasting value for our educational set-up.

For proof that the conference, heralded publicly just over a year ago, was not representative, it is enough to cite the thirteen-man Oregon delegation, all Republican, all appointed by the governor, or the New Hampshire delegation (a state in which from 45 to 65 per cent—depending on whom you're talking to—of the school-age population attend parochial schools) which turned up without any official representative of the Catholic school system. Examples could be multiplied.

Total by-passing of parliamentary procedure in favor of "group dynamics" and the refusal of Chairman Neil McElroy, of Proctor and Gamble, to set aside a final day for airing of minority views effectively hobbled democratic processes. Three instances in which serious attempts were made from the floor to question delegates on major issues were quashed by the chair as "out of order." There was no way in which delegates could register vocally opinions which differed from the reports presented after each session as conference-wide decisions.

Why, then, if this was a slickly run "package deal," did it yield much that must be accepted as of value?

The publicity accorded this conference exceeded ten to one that of any other educational gathering. Aside from well-placed advance coverage, press cards were issued to 300 representatives of various dailies and weeklies. If only 200 of these were actually writers, the number is still massive compared to the previous maximum of about twenty reporters assigned to important educational meetings.

Preceding this mammoth turn-out were meetings of local groups of interested citizens, followed some six months ago by state conferences at which education platforms were drawn up and forwarded to the President's Committee on Education, for eventual submission to the President. The ably handled promotion pinpointed two main issues, one of which very nearly ran away with the conference program itself: federal aid to education and the urgent need for recruitment of an estimated million new teachers by 1960.

Two-thirds of the 1,800 delegates were from the professional-educator field, although the percentage directly interested in education as teachers or administrators was kept at a strict 33.35 per cent, according to Conference Director Clint Pace. This limitation was played up to "reassure" a presumably alarmed public that the conference was to be something more than a group of schoolmen sitting around talking shop.

SOME criticism from within came, however, when the much-touted pyramidal structure of the conference too often catapulted professional educators into positions as table chairmen. Their function was to distill, filter or simply codify the agreed opinions of their table-mates.

As a method of handling working conferences, the progressive-selection device has been used effectively by such organizations as the League of Women Voters, but never, I believe, on so large a scale. What has drawn fire from both Left and Right in the present instance has been the lack of provision for a reappraisal period in plenary session.

The 1,800 delegates sat at 160 tables and considered six topics. Before each topic was assigned, there was a briefing by a keynoter. As the delegates repaired three times daily to their individual tables, they found work sheets with notes, often admonitory, on aspects of the topic to be discussed. For instance, Topic 1, *What should our schools accomplish?* had a work sheet headed as follows:

> You, as participants, bring varied backgrounds and different kinds of experience to a discussion of the question. Therefore it will be helpful for you to start with the first principles and then go on to more complex matters. The following questions, although they may seem elementary, are provided to help you to get to the point quickly—and to stick to those things for which SCHOOLS are primarily responsible. It is only with that institution that our question is concerned.

The last two sentences effectively checked any impulse to consider the institutions of higher education, which certainly came within the scope of a nation-wide Conference on Education, and which many delegates felt represented the key to a large part of today's educational problem. The teacher shortage is at least in part traceable to the colleges, as is the bland acceptance of mediocrity of performance in this over-worked, under-paid profession.

After the first topic had been reported on, some qualms were voiced by the labor delegates, of whom about forty were present. Earlier the labor contingent had considered, then dropped, the idea of boycotting the conference as a "cut-and-dried" affair designed merely as window-dressing for the Administration. By mid-week the labor men were still of two minds as to whether anything constructive was being accomplished. Most optimistic was Tom Lazzio, president of Local 300 of the United Auto Workers, who had been a member of the conference committe from its inception some fifteen months ago. He agreed that the discussion of federal aid was "bound to be pretty cut-and-dried" but he still felt strongly that the conference stood a

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chance of achieving "inspiring" results on a grass-roots level *provided* the delegates returned to their home areas prepared to continue and extend their discussions.

Despite individual and small group "beefs," the delegates continued to grind out an unconscionable amount of work on the remaining five topics:

In what way can we organize our school systems more efficiently and economically?

What are our school building needs?

How can we get enough good teachers—and keep them?

How can we finance our schools—build and operate them?

How can we obtain a continuing interest in education?

The topic of financing schools, of course, was the issue of the day. Despite dissenting voices from as many as seven state delegations during the closing session, the mandate which the Administration has been seeking—to step into the education picture with "limited" federal aid—was forthcoming.

Though representatives of the Armed Forces Dependent Schools program were present, the point was never made clearly that the federal government is already fully launched on a vast federal-aid program. This program, which includes kindergarten through high-school training, as well as correspondence courses and higher education, raises such immediate problems as whether schools on military bases administered by military personnel *can* teach with sufficient freedom to discuss, say, the ethical considerations implicit in our having dropped the A-bomb in the first place. It is significant that one of the points made in the conference report on topic 1 was that "All children should be free to seek the truth wherever it can be found."

Many problems of federal aid were not threshed out. Chief of them is, perhaps, the implications of such assistance in the partial financing of the vast network of parochial schools. This will ever be a hot issue, and we have in this country no "distinguished anti-clerical tradition" to fall back on—merely an absence of objective consideration of the question. The early presence of Clarence Manion, Dean of Law at Notre Dame, on Eisenhower's planning staff for the conference (he was later dropped, reportedly for his associations with Senator McCarthy), is an indication that federal aid *against* education is an ever-present threat. A particularly potent determinant in an election year might well develop from this parochial-school issue.

Of the many recommendations made for recruiting and holding "good" teachers, most significant were the "basic considerations" outlined at the beginning of the report on Topic 4. Three requirements were listed:

1. The prestige and status of teaching must be comparable to other professions within the community.

2. The salary structure must be high enough and flexible enough to compete effectively with other fields bidding for quality manpower.

3. The teacher's job must be so defined as to challenge and attract the interest of talented people.

Admission that such conditions do not obtain at present and a widespread public determination to alter the situation might do much to make possible the recruitment of the million teachers needed by 1960.

AN IMPORTANT topic left undiscussed is that of the expanding role of big business in education. Chairman McElroy, interviewed on the subject, told this reporter that he felt large-scale business involvement in education, "particularly in the financing of private schools and institutions of higher education," would continue. (McElroy's own company, Proctor and Gamble, has started its scholarship program this year.) While admitting that the growing role of business in education "may well be" to encourage students who have marked scientific aptitudes or who seem likely to enter the administrative field of business, Mr. McElroy emphasized that there was increased importance given to the humanities in even the most accelerated reputable professional programs.

What Mr. McElroy could not answer was the question many newsmen had put to members of his staff: why there was no list available of corporations with which delegates were affiliated? Some firms had given their executives time off, amounting in certain cases to half a year, to work for the conference, yet no listing of them as such was available. Responsible members of the Department of Education were also interested in a breakdown by business affiliations; they said such a list would be forthcoming within a month.

Most outspoken opponent of business's role in education was Governor Mennen Williams of Michigan. The Governor, who had come as a delegate, proposed that 50,000 scholarships, ranging in amount from $100 to $1,000, be provided for higher education, the candidates to be selected on merit and the amounts to be determined by need. This, he said, was the one effective way to insure higher education without the hand of business "holding the purse strings."

Not until after the first of the year, according to Chairman McElroy, will the President's Committee on Education reconvene to prepare the final report for Mr. Eisenhower. It will consist of the reports from the individual state conferences, the reports on the six topics discussed at the White House Conference, and a final summation, including recommendations, drafted by the committee. Asked if the first two parts would go to the President as received by the committee, Mr. McElroy said that they would not, but that "all the available documents would be included for additional study." This would seem to imply that the states' reports and the results of the conference would be submitted to the same "filtering" treatment given the individual topics at the recent meeting. What is "distilled out," to quote Mr. McElroy, may be a pretty thin brew indeed.

"The country will be in ferment over its educational problems for the next twenty-five years," says Harold Taylor, president of Sarah Lawrence College, "and some of its problems will not be solved to its own satisfaction. . . ." Admitting this fact, we can still be glad that the Administration has provided a spectacular tee-off with plenty of room to swing.

BOOKS FOR CHRISTMAS

IN THE following columns regular contributors to *The Nation's* book department list the books that have most pleased and interested them in the past year. Few books are mentioned more than once, the only repeaters being "Inside Africa" by John Gunther, "The Solitary Singer: Walt Whitman" by Gay Wilson Allen, "The Self-Made Man in America" by Irvin G. Wyllie, "Poems" by Elizabeth Bishop, "Confessions of Felix Krull, Confidence Man" by Thomas Mann, "The Accident" by Dexter Masters, "Emily Dickinson," a biography by Thomas H. Johnson, "Complete Poems by Emily Dickinson," edited by Thomas H. Johnson, and "Young Sam Johnson" by James L. Clifford. The list is thus a remarkably broad guide to the best expressions of the events, ideas and insights of our day: It contains no books "suitable for every taste," but the individual whose name cannot be suitably pencilled against one or another of these titles must have very special tastes—or no taste at all.

The literary editor, meanwhile, has a duty of conscience. For reasons that are not good enough, some books of immediate interest or lasting merit have not been mentioned in these columns. The editor is resolved to reduce these omissions to an inconsiderable minimum in the coming year, but some small amends can perhaps be made now.

At the end of the listings appears a small group of books recently published which, aside from their intrinsic merit, may have special interest for gift shoppers. Thumbnail comments are added to these in lieu of the notices they should have had.

Maxwell Geismar

Confessions of Felix Krull, Confidence Man. By Thomas Mann. Translated by Denver Lindley. Knopf. $4.50.

Three Loves of Dostoevsky. By Marc Slonim. Rinehart. $4.

The Greek Myths. By Robert Graves. Penguin Books. 2 Vols. 95 cents each.

The Crime of Galileo. By Giorgio De Santillana. Chicago. $5.75.

The River and the Gauntlet. By S. L. A. Marshall. Morrow. $5.

Joseph Wood Krutch

The Vagabond. By Colette. Translated by Enid McLeod. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. $3.

Young Sam Johnson. By James L. Clifford. McGraw-Hill. $5.75.

Man's Emerging Mind. By N. J. Berrill. Dodd, Mead. $4.

Wild America. By Roger Tory Peterson and James Fisher. Houghton Mifflin. $5.

Memoirs of Hadrian. By Marguerite Yourcenar. Translated by Grace Frick. Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. $4.

John Ciardi

The Poems of Emily Dickinson. Edited by Thomas H. Johnson. Harvard. 3 Vols. $25.

Emily Dickinson. An Interpretive Biography. By Thomas H. Johnson. Harvard. $4.50.

A Letter to Li Po and Other Poems. By Conrad Aiken. Oxford. $3.50.

Journey to Love. By William Carlos Williams. Random House. $3.

Poems. By Elizabeth Bishop. Houghton Mifflin. $3.50.

THE VERSES and illustrations on these pages are from "The Oxford Nursery Rhyme Book," assembled by Irma and Peter Opie (Oxford; $4.50). The Opies, editors of "The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes," have selected from the much larger work enough poems to carry any child through the nursery years. The book is admirably designed and printed, and the hundreds of little illustrations—almost all from old toy books and chapbooks, are as much joy as the airs and jingles.

Edgar Snow

Children of the Black-Haired People. By Evan King. Rinehart. $5.

The Accident. By Dexter Masters. Knopf. $4.

The Universe and You. By Helen Howell Neal. Carlborg-Blades. $4.

Inside Africa. By John Gunther. Harper. $6.

The Challenge of Scandinavia. By William L. Shirer. Little, Brown. $5.

H. H. Wilson

Government by Investigation. By Alan Barth. Viking. $3.

Ethical Judgment. The Use of Science in Ethics. By Abraham Edel. Free Press. $5.

Grand Inquest. The Story of Congressional Investigations. By Telford Taylor. Simon and Schuster. $4.50.

Waldo Frank

The Solitary Singer. A Critical Biography of Walt Whitman. By Gay Wilson Allen. Macmillan. $8.

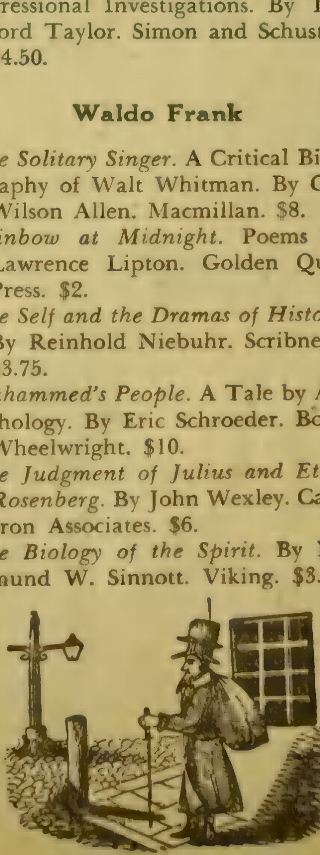
Rainbow at Midnight. Poems by Lawrence Lipton. Golden Quill Press. $2.

The Self and the Dramas of History. By Reinhold Niebuhr. Scribner's. $3.75.

Muhammed's People. A Tale by Anthology. By Eric Schroeder. Bond Wheelwright. $10.

The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. By John Wexley. Cameron Associates. $6.

The Biology of the Spirit. By Edmund W. Sinnott. Viking. $3.50.



Terence McDiddler

Terence McDiddler,
The Three-Stringed Fiddler,
Can charm, if you please,
The fish from the seas.

Jacob Korg

Hawthorne. A Critical Study. By Hyatt H. Wagoner. Harvard. $4.75.

Japanese Literature. An Introduction for Western Readers. By Donald Keene. Grove. $2.50, cloth; $1, paper.

Creation and Discovery. Essays in Criticism and Aesthetics. By Eliseo Vivas. Noonday. $5.

East-West Passage. A Study in Literary Relationships. By Dorothy Brewster. Allen and Unwin. 21s.

Frederick L. Schuman

Sex in Christianity and Psychoanalysis. By William Graham Cole. Oxford. $4.

Inside Africa. By John Gunther. Harper. $6.

The United Nations and the Maintenance of International Peace and Security. By Leland M. Goodrich and Anne P. Simons. Brookings. $6.

The Communist Revolution. By Harold H. Fisher, Stanford. $1.

History of the Cold War. By Kenneth Ingram. Philosophical Library. $5.

Stanley Cooperman

The Tree of Man. By Patrick White. Viking. $4.50.

The Night of Time. By Rene Fulop-Miller. Translated by Richard and Clara Winston. Bobbs-Merrill. $3.75.

The Recognitions. By William Gaddis. Harcourt, Brace. $7.50.

The Accident. By Dexter Masters. Knopf. $4.

The House of Dolls. By Ka-tzenick 135633. Translated by Moshe M. Kohn. Simon and Schuster. $3.50.

In a Farther Country. By William Goyen. Random House. $3.

Homecoming. By Jiro Osaragi. Translated by Brewster Horwitz. Knopf. $3.75.

Mark Gayn

France Against Herself. By Herbert Luethy. Translated by Eric Mosbacher. Praeger. $6.50.

The Russian Marxists and the Origins of Bolshevism. By Leopold H. Haimson. Harvard. $5.50.

Drinkers of Darkness. By Gerald Hanley. Macmillan. $3.50.

The Collected Stories of Isaac Babel. Translated by Walter Morison. Criterion Books. $5.

The Call to Honour. By General Charles de Gaulle. Translated by Jonathan Griffin. Viking. $5.

Carlos Baker

Andersonville. By MacKinlay Kantor. World. $5.

Young Sam Johnson. By James L. Clifford. McGraw-Hill. $5.75.

Confessions of Felix Krull, Confidence Man. By Thomas Mann. Translated by Denver Lindley. Knopf. $4.50.

Big Woods. By William Faulkner. Random House. $3.95.

The Easy Chair. By Bernard DeVoto. Houghton Mifflin. $4.

Leon Edel

The Letters of W. B. Yeats. Edited by Allan Wade. Macmillan. $9.50.

The Solitary Singer. A Critical Biography of Walt Whitman. By Gay Wilson Allen. Macmillan. $8.

The Lion and the Honeycomb. By R. P. Blackmur. Harcourt, Brace. $5.

Thackeray. The Uses of Adversity. By Gordon N. Ray. McGraw-Hill. $7.

The Moth and the Star. A Biography of Virginia Woolf. By Aileen Pippett. Little, Brown. $5.

Ding, Dong Bell

(Scottish Version)

Ding dang, bell rang,
Cattie's in the well, man.
Fa' dang her in, man?
Jean and Sandy Din, man.
Fa' took her oot, man?
Me and Willie Cout, man.
A'them that kent her
When she was alive,
Come to the burials
Between four and five.

Praise

Robinets and Jenny Wrens
Are God Almighty's cocks and hens.
The martins and the swallows
Are God Almighty's bows and arrows.

Elizabeth McCausland

Emily Dickinson. An Interpretive Biography. By Thomas H. Johnson. Harvard. $4.50.

The Stature of Theodore Dreiser. A Critical Survey of the Man and His Work. Edited by Alfred Kazin and Charles Shapiro. Indiana. $5.

The Art of Indian Asia. By Heinrich Zimmer. Completed and Edited by Joseph Campbell. Pantheon. 2 Vols. $22.50.

The New Dimensions of Peace. By Chester Bowles. Harper. $4.50.

Miss Morissa. Doctor of the Gold Trail. By Mari Sandoz. McGraw-Hill. $3.75.

Ray Ginger

Mine Boy. By Peter Abrahams. Knopf. $1.25.

Confessions of Felix Krull, Confidence Man. By Thomas Mann. Translated by Denver Lindley. Knopf. $4.50.

Complete Poems of Emily Dickinson. Edited by Thomas H. Johnson. Harvard. 3 Vols. $25.

Daniel Webster and the Rise of National Conservatism. By Richard N. Current. Little, Brown. $3.

The Self-Made Man in America. By Irvin G. Wyllie. Rutgers. $4.

Plaint

I am a pretty wench,
And I come a great way hence,
And sweethearts I can get none:
But every dirty sow
Can get sweethearts enough,
And I pretty wench can get none.

Jessamyn West

Bull Fever. By Kenneth Tynan. Harper. $5.

An Autobiography. By Edwin Muir. Sloane. $5.

The Bride of the Innisfallen and other Stories. By Eudora Welty. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50.

Poems. By Elizabeth Bishop. Houghton Mifflin. $3.50.

The Spanish Temper. By V. S. Pritchett. Knopf. $3.75.

O. Edmund Clubb

Jinnah. By Hector Bolitho. Macmillan. $3.75.

India's Walking Saint. By Hallam Tennyson. Doubleday. $3.50.

Nationalism in Japan. By Delmer M. Brown. California. $5.

Indonesia. Land of Challenge. By Marguerite Harmon Bro. Harper. $4.

William Goyen

A Good Man Is Hard to Find and Other Stories. By Flannery O'Connor. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50.

Faithful Are the Wounds. By May Sarton. Rinehart. $3.

The Alchemist's Voyage. By Calvin Kentfield. Harcourt, Brace. $3.95.

Thomas Wolfe. The Weather of His Youth. By Louis D. Rubin. Louisiana State. $4.50.

Harvey O'Connor

The Sane Society. By Erich Fromm. Rinehart. $5.

The Face of Violence. By J. Bronowski. Braziller. $2.75.

The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes. Simon and Schuster. 3 Vols. $6 each.

The Self-Made Man in America. By Irvin G. Wyllie. Rutgers. $4.

Sunset and Evening Star. By Sean O'Casey. Macmillan. $4.75.

Carey McWilliams

The Moral Decision. Right and Wrong in the Light of American Law. By Edmond Cahn. Indiana. $5.

Books of Moments. Poems 1915-1954. By Kenneth Burke. Hermes Publications, Los Altos, California. No price given.

Red Scare. A Study in National Hysteria 1919-1920. By Robert K. Murray. Minnesota. $4.75.

Rise of the Labor Movement in Los Angeles. By Grace Heilman Stimson. California. $6.

Captain Dreyfus. The Story of a Mass Hysteria. By Nicholas Halasz. Simon and Schuster. $3.50.

Closing Notes

The Easy Chair. By Bernard DeVoto. Houghton Mifflin. $4.

DeVoto was completely sane; this made him something of a sport in contemporary society. His last book is a selection from the column he wrote regularly for *Harper's;* it covers ten years. DeVoto wrote so well—which is to say that he thought so well—that the bulk of his passing comment is of undated interest.

Exploring English Character. By Geoffrey Gorer. Criterion. $5.

There is something incongruous about polling the English—every man in his castle soberly filling out the impertinent questionnaire. But Gorer used the technique with gratifying results. His sample was the public that reads *The People*—a very mass-circulation paper—and opinion purists can riddle his technique. Nevertheless, the mass portrait he has produced seems unmistakably right in its broad outlines. He treats the material informally, giving the "respondents" room to speak in their own words. What they say is evocative, often moving.

The Sweet Flypaper of Life. Text by Langston Hughes. Photos by Roy DeCarava. Simon and Schuster. $1, paper.

Despite a title that might have come off the advertising mill, this is a small work of quality. The pictures are what make it so. The story—an old Negro woman musing about her Harlem children and grandchildren, with an occasional ogle at her own youth—is perceptive and tender, but also a little cute and patronizing, as though Hughes were no longer in touch with his world. But the pictures are in touch; they are alight with affection and amusement, intimate without the clinical prying of much candid photography.

The Inmost Leaf. By Alfred Kazin. Harcourt, Brace. $4.75.

A selection from the magazine work, in the past fifteen years, of one of America's best-informed and most-communicative critics. Most of the pieces were written for the politely thoughtful general magazines, and have the tone imposed by that journalism. But Kazin is a serious worker and gets his work done even while holding to the cocktail manner.

The Selective Eye. Random House. $7.95.

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began to publish *L'Oeil* in Paris in January of this year. They achieve the considerable tour de force of producing a substantial anthology from their first nine issues. "The Selective Eye" is elegantly eclectic and, though some color plates are false, is at the high visual level of the special issues of French art magazines. Its editorial eye is more original than most, and the first collection opens a number of seductive vistas.

Two of the largest, most beautiful (and most expensive) of the current art books are "Pablo Picasso" by Wilhelm Boeck and Jaime Sabartes (Harry N. Abrams; $15) and "Primitive Art" by Edwin O. Christensen (Studio-Crowell; $15). Not judging the extensive texts (the books will soon be reviewed), the volumes are indeed "museums without walls," more beautiful and instructive than any but the most brilliantly staged of modern museums.—ROBERT HATCH.

The Friend of the Poet

DYLAN THOMAS IN AMERICA: An Intimate Journal. By John Malcolm Brinnin. Little, Brown and Company. $4.

By M. L. Rosenthal

TO THE AUDIENCES thrilled by his magnificent readings during his four American sojourns between 1950 and 1953, the dramatic, willful presence of Dylan Thomas seemed an incarnation of Dionysian and Romantic ideals. But Thomas, who had won his best audiences—of fellow-poets and appreciative critics—before ever touching our shores, was dying amid these triumphs, dying of acute and chronic alcoholism and other disorders, including a diabetic condition undiscovered until he lay on his deathbed. The "sensual strut" toward death celebrated in his poems and grotesquely speeded up by his American experiences halted pitifully before he was yet forty.

John Malcolm Brinnin, the poet and director of the Y. M.-Y. W. H. A. Poetry Center who first arranged for Thomas to come here, seeks to disprove the contention that it was the United States that really destroyed him. Originally, of course, Brinnin had no inkling of the tragic wreckage that was building up, and even less of the possibility that he might be the well-meaning vehicle of its acceleration. He is certainly right in insisting that its sources lay deep in the poet's guilt-ridden psyche and that, far from consciously exploiting his friend Dylan's precious energies, he did everything he could to protect him, to stop the pointless squandering of all his earnings, and, later, to dissuade him from undertakings that were cutting into his work.

But despite the wealth of detail he can furnish, Brinnin's view is hardly objective; he was too involved in the whole business. It was impossible to maintain an impersonal relationship with Thomas; the terrible drinking and the disorderly, self-destructive manner of life—the whole refusal to "adjust" to conventional schedules and behavior—overwhelmed the American and forced him into a new orbit. Thomas's genius included the gift of compelling affection and devotion, and for Brinnin, who gives the impression of being a fastidious, methodical person, the friendship was as disturbing as it was rewarding.

In the picture it provides of such a relationship, and for the insights it gives into what happens when a "natural" like Dylan Thomas is drawn into the world of genteel literary professionalism, Brinnin's book is invaluable. Biographers and critics will certainly seize upon its specific data concerning Thomas's life in Wales (where Brinnin twice visited him), his marriage and love affairs, the composition of "Under Milk Wood" and other works, his literary tastes, his capacity for emotional rapport with many kinds of people, and his feelings about his public appearances, about academic people, about vaudeville, and so on. Yet, with all its frankness and sympathy, it is an intolerably cruel book.

Intolerably and incredibly cruel, when one considers that Thomas is but two years dead, that his wife and children and certain of his friends must bear the brunt of these painful revelations, and that the public success of Brinnin's account will derive from the scandalized, gossip-drenched murmurings it will evoke to strengthen a legend Brinnin himself deplores. It is not only the squalor of some of these details: what the Biddles's servant said about

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M. L. ROSENTHAL, author with A. J. M. Smith of the recently published "Exploring Poetry," teaches modern poetry at New York University.

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Dylan's underwear, and how he stole some shirts when he was their house guest; how he allowed a "friend" to act as a procurer for him; how he neglected payment of his son's tuition; and how boring or disgusting he was on this, that, and t'other occasion. More fundamental even is the portrayal of Dylan's wife Caitlin as an unstable, rivalrous detractor of her husband, wounding him constantly where he was most vulnerable—in his pride and self-confidence. Here again Brinnin is baffling in the way he simultaneously pays tribute to her finer qualities, playing the part of compassionate friend, yet has his devastating say. No wonder that Caitlin writes, in the furious foreword he has allowed to be printed here, that "it is impossible to hit back at a man who does not know that he is hitting you, and who is far too cautious of the laws of libel to say plainly what can only be read between the lines." And who should know better than Dylan's friend John the truth of her reminder of a poet's "rehearsing need to withhold from the light his private performance till it is ready for showing"? A curiously double book.

Cats in the Snow

IT WAS always snowing at Christmas. December, in my memory, is white as Lapland, though there were no reindeer. But there were cats. Patient, cold, and callous, our hands wrapped in socks, we waited to snowball the cats. Sleek and long as jaguars and horrible-whiskered, spitting and snarling, they would slink and sidle over the white back-garden walls, and the lynx-eyed hunters, Jim and I, fur-capped and moccasined trappers from Hudson Bay, off Mumbles Road, would hurl our deadly snowballs at the green of their eyes. The wise cats never appeared.—DYLAN THOMAS.

On the eve of the holiday, New Directions has brought out Dylan Thomas's "A Child's Christmas in Wales." It is a small book, and attractive, taken from Thomas's "Quite Early One Morning." A merrier and more pungent celebration of the season for family reading aloud has not been written in our time. $1.50.

Selected New Books

Poetry

THE FROGS OF ARISTOPHANES. Translated by Dudley Fitts. Harcourt, Brace. $4. Fitts's handsome dedication to me prejudices me more than somewhat in his favor, but even had he spat rather than beamed, he would still have my vote as our master translator. Try reading first the Choral Episode, lines 209-268 (the Yale Frogs) for sheer roister and flavor and go (koax).

INTRODUCTORY PAPERS ON DANTE. By Dorothy L. Sayers. Harper. $4. Miss Sayers has read Dante passionately and thought about him profoundly, and her introductory papers on some of the central problems of Dantean interpretation, draw enough strength from this depth of attention to survive both her proselytizing zeal (Anglican rather than Roman) and her rather astonishing difficulties in handling an English sentence.

THE FLOWERS OF EVIL. By Charles Baudelaire. Variously translated. Selected and Edited by Marthiel and Jackson Mathews. New Directions. $6. Centenary bilingual edition. Certainly the best and probably the definitive Baudelaire in English. Complete poems, the English versions carefully selected from the best work of thirty translators. Short of such bursts of pure genius as produce an English Rubaiyat, this sort of selection seems obviously the way it should be done.

JOHN CIARDI

Fiction

SO HELP ME GOD. By Felix Jackson. Viking. $3.50. Like many scriptwriters who turn to fiction comparatively late in life, Felix Jackson has produced a well-constructed book, professional from first page to last. His novel is a sharp incident of political babbittry, with suspense, dialogue, and action used for maximum effect.

THE CHANGELINGS. By Jo Sinclair. McGraw-Hill. $3.75. A sensitive examination of social flux: the change, now occurring in many metropolitan areas, from immigrant to racial ghettos. Miss Sinclair is at her best, however, in dealing with adolescents rather than larger social problems; her book tends to be too pat, and her optimism often comes periously close to sentiment.

RUN SILENT, RUN DEEP. By Commander Edward L. Beach, USN. Holt. $3.95. Commander Beach seldom ventures out of his depth in this exciting novel of submarine warfare, dealing not so much with the human beings involved as with the subject itself. Submarines, however, are fascinating objects, and Commander Beach knows them thoroughly.

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Records of the Year

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A: Angel; B: Bach Guild; CA: Capitol; CE: Cetra; CL: Classic; CO: Columbia; EP: Epic; ES: Esoteric; H: Haydn Society; LO: London; LY: Lyrichord; OI: Oiseau-Lyre; OV: Overtone; P: Period; T: Telefunken; VA: Vanguard; VO: Vox.

Bach: Toccata and Fugue in D minor, Preludes and Fugues in A minor and D major, Allabreve in D, etc., for organ; Anton Heiller (EP). "Dorian" Toccata and Fugue in D minor, Preludes and Fugues in B minor and F minor, etc., for organ; Schweitzer (CO). Toccata and Fugue in D minor, Passacaglia for organ; Richter (LO; with piece by Liszt). Fantasia and Fugue in G minor, Prelude and Fugue in E minor, chorale-preludes for organ; Richter (LO). Italian Concerto and Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue for harpsichord; Malcolm (LO).

Beethoven: Sonatas for cello and piano; Starker and Bogin (P).

Berlioz: "Les nuits d'ete"; Steber and orchestra under Mitropoulos (CO). "Te Deum"; Royal Philharmonic, choruses, etc. under Beecham (CO). "Beatrice and Benedict" and "Benvenuto Cellini" Overtures; Suisse Romande orchestra under Denzier (LO).

Bizet: "Roma" Symphony; N. Y.

City Ballet Orchestra under Barzin (coarsely reproduced) (VO; with Chabrier's music for "Bourree fantasque," which sounds muffled).

Britten: "St. Nicolas"; Aldeburgh Festival performance conducted by Britten (LO).

Debussy: "Images" for orchestra: "Gigues," "Iberia," and "Rondes de printemps"; Amsterdam Concertgebouw under van Bienum (recorded too close) (EP).

Dvorak: Symphonic Variations Op. 78; Royal Philharmonic under Beecham (CO; with Balakirev's "Tamar").

Gershwin: Piano Concerto; Katchen with Mantovani's Orchestra (LO; with "Rhapsody in Blue," played less well).

Handel: "Water Music" complete; Hewitt Orchestra (H). Double Concerto in F; Berlin Chamber Orchestra under von Benda (T).

Haydn: Symphonies Nos. 100 ("Military") and 102; London Philharmonic under Solti (LO). Symphonies Nos. 88 and 101 ("Clock"); Vienna Philharmonic under Muenchinger (LO). Harpsichord Concerto Op. 21 and Trumpet Concerto; Erna Heiller and Eskdale with Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Litschauer (VA). "The Creation"; soloists, chorus and orchestra of Vienna State Opera under Woeldike (VA). "Lord Nelson Mass"; soloists, Vienna State Opera Orchestra and Akademie Kammerchor under Rossi (VA).

Lully: "Miserere"; soloists, choral and Akademie Kammerchor under Anthony Lewis (OI).

Mahler: Symphony No. 1; New York Philharmonic under Walter (CO).

Morley: Vocal and instrumental pieces; Primavera Singers under Greenberg, Winogron (virginals) (ES).

Mozart: Clarinet Concerto K.622; de Peyer and London Symphony under Collins (LO; with Bassoon Concerto K.191). Four Horn Concertos; Brain and Philharmonia under von Karajan (A). Violin Concertos K.216 and 218; Grumiaux and Vienna Symphony under Paumgartner (EP). Quartets K.499 and 589; Netherlands String Quartet (EP). Divertimento K.563; Pasquier Trio (H). Serenade K.203; New Symphony under Maag (LO). Symphony K.425 ("Linz"); Berlin Chamber Orchestra under von Benda (T; with Schubert's Symphony No. 5). Symphony K.385 ("Haffner"); Royal Philharmonic under Beecham (CO; with "Linz Symphony" less well played). "Cosi Fan Tutte"; Schwarzkopf, Merriman, Simoneau, etc., Philharmonica under von Karajan (A). "Don Giovanni"; Siepi, Corena, Dermota, della Casa, Gueden, etc., chorus and orchestra of Vienna State Opera under Krips (rough, lusterless sound improved by reduction of range of reproduction) (LO); London, Simoneau, Jurinac, etc., Vienna Symphony under Moralt (poorer orchestra, better singing, more agreeable sound) (EP). "The Magic Flute"; Gueden, Lipp, Simoneau, etc., chorus and orchestra of Vienna State Opera under Boehm (sound needs reduction of range (LO). "The Marriage of Figaro"; Siepi, Gueden, della Casa, etc., chorus and orchestra of Vienna State Opera under Kleiber (sound needs reduction of range) (LO).

Mussorgsky: "Songs and Dances of Death"; London and Ulanowsky (CO). "Sunless" cycle; Kurenko and Pastukhov (CA; with songs of Prokofiev and Gretchaninov).

Pachelbel: Works for organ; Noss (OV; with work by Walther).

Prokofiev: Violin Concerto No. 1; Milstein and St. Louis Symphony under Golschmann (sound is dry and edged) (CA). Music for "Chout"; Paris Philharmonica under Horenstein (VO; with "Lieutenant Kije" Suite).

Purcell: Songs; Oberlin (ES).

Rossini: "L'Italiana in Algeri"; Simionato, Valletti, Petri, etc., chorus and orchestra of La Scala under Giulini (A).

Scarlatti: Sonatas for harpsichord; Malcolm (LO); Kirkpatrick (some playing poor) (CO).

Schubert: "Geheimes," "Litanei," other songs; Souzay and Baldwin (LO). "Die Winterreise"; Hotter and Moore (A). "Die schoene Muellerin"; Dermota, unimpressively accompanied by Hilde Dermota (L).

Schumann: Etudes symphoniques for piano; Anda (T; with "Carnaval," played less well). "Dichterliebe"; Dermota, unimpressively accompanied (T).

Tchaikovsky: Piano Concerto No. 2; Nikolayeva, with poor playing by State Orchestra of U. S. S. R. under Anosov (CL). Suite No. 1; New York Philharmonic under Mitropoulos (CO; with Borodin's Symphony No. 2).

Thomson: Music for "Filling Station"; N. Y. City Ballet Orchestra

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under Barzin (VO; with Kay's music for "Western Symphony").

Verdi: "La Traviata"; only for Tebaldi's singing (LO).

Vivaldi: Twelve Violin Concertos Op. 8, "Il Cimento dell' Armonia e dell' invenzione," which include "The Four Seasons"; Barchet and Stuttgart Pro Musica String Orchestra under Reinhardt (VO).

Walton: "Facade"; Sitwell, Pears, orchestra under Collins (LO).

Wolf: Michaelangelo, "Harfenspieler," and other songs; Hotter and Moore (A).

Collections: Elizabethan and Jacobean Music; Deller, etc. (B). Choral Music of the Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries; Quartetto Polifonico (L). Motets of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries; Welch Chorale (LY). Marcello, Tartini, Galuppi, Rossini; I Musici (A 35086). Rossini, Bellini, Verdi; Simionato (L). Mozart, Donizetti; Valletti (CE 50176; with Massenet). Verdi; Gueden (LO LD-9165; with Puccini). Bellini, Verdi; Callas (CE 50175; with Ponchielli and Wagner). Callas: Coloratura-Lyric (A).

Art

A. L. Chanin

MORE AND MORE, people visit galleries and museums, and buy art books, and take art-appreciation courses or even attempt to paint. These signs of a growing interest in art, however, generally stop short at a crucial point—the purchase of an original. Yet to choose and hang the work, however modest, of a promising contemporary is an act of real participation in the affairs of art. Compared to it, the hanging of reproduced masterpieces is mere decoration. A museum is the place to see van Gogh or Degas; at home, a man should enjoy the fruits of his own taste. The holiday season, especially in New York, when a number of galleries present Christmas exhibitions geared to moderate incomes, is a good time to make the plunge.

The late Fanny Brice once said of her collection: "The fun to me in buying pictures is to spot an unknown painter who looks like a comer and see how good your hunch was. If he comes through, you're sure you're a connoisseur, and if he doesn't, you at least have the satisfaction of knowing that you encouraged a struggling artist. By steering clear of buying 'names' I have a collection which cost me practically nothing, and is now beginning to pay dividends." And it might be added that the picture that doesn't come through pays dividends also; for, once bought, and now uninteresting, it has acted as a teacher, a sharpener of taste and understanding.

Price is always a determining factor. The cheapest form of art is prints—a lithograph, an etching, a woodcut, or a serigraph. The choice is wide, from black and white, to color, and from a Picasso or Matisse, to an exciting array of contemporary Americans. Prints should not be confused with mechanically printed reproductions, turned out by the thousands. Each print is the artist's own production, conceived to function best in one of the mediums that permits limited duplication. Most artists pull a limited number of copies and then destroy the plate. America is now undergoing an extraordinary renaissance in this field. Good examples can be acquired from about $25, up to several hundred.

Drawings are next in price scale, starting at about $50, then come watercolors, oil paintings, and sculpture, generally from $200 up—and up.

The best place to buy an original is in Manhattan. More than a hundred galleries offer a vast choice; they range from the plush establishments dealing in world-famous artists for the carriage-trade, to modest galleries hopefully displaying a newcomer who may develop.

Galleries tend to specialize. Here is a brief cross-section listing, with the emphasis on moderate prices and living Americans. Galleries are not museums, but even the most austere of them welcome browsers and gladly answer questions. They don't expect you to buy, but some will accept installment payments if you are buying.

Good places to poke around in—

and quiet flows the Don . . .

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formally for new talent: Alan Gallery, 32 East 65th Street; Artists Gallery, 851 Lexington Avenue; Contemporary Arts, 106 East 57th Street; Davis Gallery, 231 East 60th Street (stress on realism); Hansa Gallery, 210 Central Park South; Meltzer Gallery, 38 West 57th Street (serigraphs); New Gallery, 601 Madison Avenue; Roko Gallery, 51 Greenwich Avenue; Salpeter Gallery, 42 East 57th Street; Sculpture Center, 42 East 57th Street; Stable Gallery, 424 7th Avenue; The Contemporaries, 922 Madison Avenue (prints).

Established names, plus some new talent: A. C. A. Gallery, 63 E. 57th Street; Downtown Gallery, 32 East 50th Street (famous names, and also folk art); Feigl Gallery, 601 Madison Avenue; Fried Gallery, 40 East 68th Street (off-the-beaten-path European and American modernists) Kraushaar Gallery, 32 East 57th Street (the classic Americans of the turn of the century, plus new work); Parsons Gallery, 15 East 57th Street *(avant-garde);* Weyhe Gallery, 794 Lexington Avenue (especially for prints); Carlebach Gallery, 937 3rd Avenue (African and Oceanic art).

For big names, and a taste for the more daring European and American styles: Janis Gallery, 15 East 57th Street; Kootz Gallery, 600 Madison Avenue; Perls Gallery, 1016 Madison Avenue; Saidenberg Gallery, 10 East 77th Street.

Very expensive: Knoedler Galleries, 14 East 57th Street; Rosenberg Galleries, 20 East 79th Street; Silberman Galleries, 1014 Madison Avenue; Wildenstein Galleries, 19 East 64th Street.

Buyers who want to make sure that their choice is right can now test it by renting originals. The largest center for this is the Art Lending Service of the Museum of Modern Art, open to museum members throughout the country. This service rents originals for a month or more; if you decide to buy, the rental paid is applied against the final price.

Beyond New York, from Boston to Beverly Hills, there is a scattering of galleries containing good, relatively inexpensive art. There are also excellent sources in the art schools of many universities and colleges. Many of these organize out-of-town exhibitions, surveys of local talent, and often surprisingly stimulating exhibitions of student work, as well as the work of distinguished art-faculty members. A generous number of small museums and local organizations also exhibit good or promising examples.

Here, at random, are some galleries, museums, and art organizations where, from time to time, living art is shown and for sale: Society of Art, *Portland, Maine;* Silvermine Guild of Artists, *Silvermine, Connecticut;* Academy of Fine Arts, *Hartford;* Kippnis Gallery, *Westport, Connecticut;* Institute of Art and History, *Albany;* The Little Gallery, *Princeton, New Jersey;* East Orange Art Center, *East Orange, New Jersey;* the Spectrum, Whyte Galleries, *Washington, D. C.;* Art Association, *Wichita, Kansas;* Kalamazoo Art Center, *Kalamazoo, Michigan;* Fine Art Center, *Colorado Springs;* Art Museum, *Oakland, California;* Hatfield, Stendahl Galleries, *Los Angeles;* Perls Gallery *Beverly Hills;* Seligman Gallery, *Seattle.*

DECEMBER is also a gala exhibition month in New York. I can't mention all the shows, but these three should not be missed:

Annual Exhibition of Contemporary American Paintings, Whitney Museum of American Art (to January 8th). More than a hundred and fifty painters in a survey which will ruffle the faint-hearted. Mostly vigorous abstractions; the best are dramatically organized, the weak ones fizzle out. Of the representational examples shown, only some half-dozen challenge the better abstractions with a fresh approach.

Jules Pascin, Perls Galleries (to December 24th). Oils, drawings, and water-colors, by one of the most sensitive artists of our time. Pascin's glowing oils, mostly nudes, brothel interiors, portraits, and some glimpses of exotic landscape, are a highly individual fusion of delicate, expressive line and drifting, shimmering color. Across his procession of hard-bitten street-girls, of sophisticated friends, or children holding bouquets, flits a melancholy, wistful mood—not superimposed, but part and parcel of his command of painting.

Timeless Master Drawings—Wildenstein Galleries (through December). Good drawings are informal revelations of an artist's basic vision. The 175 examples shown, from the fifteenth to the twentieth

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Theater

Robert Hatch

THE NEW Rodgers and Hammerstein musical opened at the Schubert to a more than million-dollar advance sale and cool notices. "Pipe Dream" offers good taste and good humor, a seductive score, lovely sets and a host of attractive people behaving with an easy self-confidence that is almost unprecedented on the musical stage. It is certainly not as big an achievement as "Oklahoma!" but I like it that the constructors of that gigantic corn opera can work so well in a quieter manner.

The danger for "Pipe Dream" was sentimentality. It derives from John Steinbeck's hobo paradise on Cannery Row, and Steinbeck is a writer compromised by facile tears. The plot, like almost all musical plots, is indeed perilously sweet, but the performers show an edge of ironic self-appraisal that keeps the tone decently dry. Harold Clurman, directing his first musical, is responsible for this astringency. He manages to say that, while it is a nice pastime to pretend that alcoholic bums are brave-hearted lads and cafe whores their admiring younger sisters, we know—and they know—that it is a pretty lie. You will notice a long-haired madman beating eccentric time to the happy rumpus, an acrid counterpoint to the innocence.

This double tone requires acting at a level not usually attempted in musical comedy, and probably the most remarkable thing about "Pipe Dream" is Clurman's successful assumption that competent acting is entirely possible on the musical stage. His people do not break character when they sing and dance, no one is permitted to act badly because he does his own specialty well. Hammerstein's book is sensible and it is sensibly performed, the dialogue being plausible and the mass jollifications being spontaneous outbursts rather than production extravaganzas. The whole show feels spontaneous, a quality that is achieved on the stage only by the most rigorous and purposeful drill.

Judy Tyler, who plays the heroine, is not remarkable pretty and she has a rough, unplaced voice. Her virtue is that she looks like somebody who might hitch-hike in dungarees along the California highways and is able to inject an element of individual decision into the inevitable boy-loves-girl story. William Johnson, playing Steinbeck's beloved Doc Ricketts, is a more conventional lyric hero. He sings well, looks fine in a beard, and acts well enough.

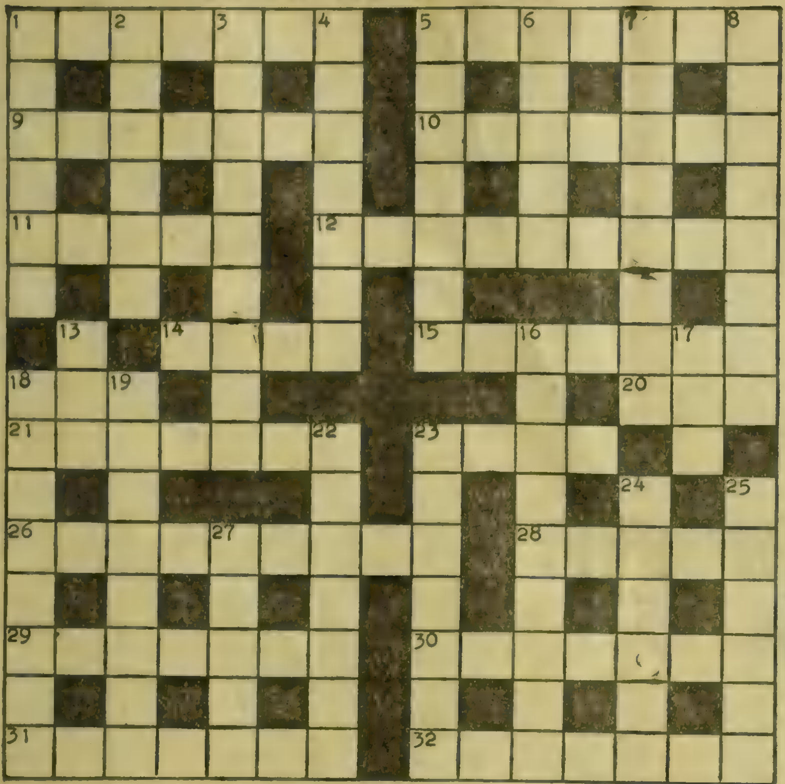
But the bums from the Palace Flop House are the real heroes of the show. Clurman keeps them working at a level of unforced buffoonery that spins the show along. They never do anything extraordinary, but they are always up to something that makes amusing sense. There are eight or ten of them, led by G. D. Wallace (straight man), Mike Kellin (tough dope), and Guy Raymond (a lanky man with a witty grace), and they should be final proof that the chorus boy is gone to stay.

Helen Traubel is the only box-office name in "Pipe Dream" and the one big problem. She is so obviously a good sport, apparently so free of primadonna snobbery in the knockabout world of show music, that it seems ungenerous to say that she finds herself on the wrong stage. In fact, she acts the motherly madam with considerable aplomb, but she can't sing the songs for beans. And since singing is her fame, she is given a lot of it to do. Her voice is a formidable instrument; here it sounds as baffled and bored as a diesel pulling a hand truck.

Jo Mielziner's several sets are light and cheerful; they are clever workmanship but unpretentious. Boris Runanin's choreography is not remarkable, but it fits smoothly into the action. Altogether, "Pipe Dream" is a civilized and intelligent amusement, and that advance should give time for word to get around.

Crossword Puzzle No. 650

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 1 down.
5 One came down to drink beside the billabong. (7)
9 Carry stone where things were baited. (7)
10 Is the beer all used up? Switch from one brand name to another! (7)
11 White poplar starts out where 10 left off. (5)
12 With the complications removed? (It's a nasty expression in a sort of undraped figure.) (9)
14 See 18 across.
15 Such things can't be overruled. (7)
18, 17 down, 13 down, 14 across, 18 down The length of the board was longer than expected, in his case. (3,3,3,4,2,6)
20 See 29 across.
21 When cool, it ices over to be rocky inside. (7)
23 See 19 down.
26 Urge on the spirit, alternately the song. (9)
28 Not the outer, but rather the lower part of 18 down. (5)
29 and 20 Home and away! (4,3,3)
30 Pull a fish back to one side! (7)
31 Not a whole nation of deserters having a hectic time! (3,4)
32 Have a reference to honor. (7)

DOWN

1 and 1 across You would probably have to arrive early at the dance! (2,4,3,4)
2 Coat of the Spanish with the label inside. (6)
3 Dangerous when tipsy, as Shaw's play proves. (5,4)
4 Thrust out. (Not a very polite way to end it!) (7)
5 Get up, sir! It's just about but not exactly, like Holmes and Marshall! (7)
6 Did they make their crossing from this island? (5)
7 The sort of fun that has to exist with a falsehood at heart. (8)
8 This bird really can't do away with 5 across finally. (8)
13 See 18 across.
16 These people were unusually observant. (9)
18 See 18 across.
19 and 23 across A begonia seems to cause a rather large burn! (9,3)
22 Perhaps it's a type of blue cod! (5,2)
23 Is it quite bright to sell the first of 31 which rises to interrupt? (7)
24 This could go in quite well, although those who drag don't always. (6)
25 One doesn't give this with 7 down. (6)
27 One lariat can be made from most of another. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 649

ACROSS: 1 THWART; 4 TUMBLERS; 10 MALARIA; 11 DEAD SEA; 12 LOSER; 13, [illegible] and 24 THE WALLS OF JERICHO; 14 SPATE; 15 RIFLE: 17 SAVORIES; 21 ASSIGNOR; 23 and 8 MAJOR SCALES; 26 RUINS; [illegible] MARKS; 30 GRUNION; 31 CONICAL; 32 TREASURE; 33 BROODS. DOWN: 1 TEMPLARS; 3 RARER; 5 UNDUE; 6 and 28 across BEARSKIN; 7 ENSLAVE; [illegible] PARTISAN; 16 ELI; 18 VERONICA; 19 RAN; 20 BRISTLES; 22 SPICULE; 25 FRIGHT; [illegible] KINER; 29 and 27 MINOR SUITS.

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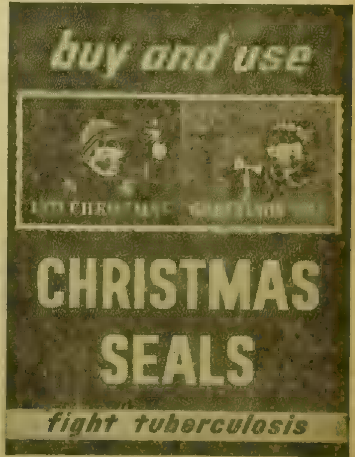

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1955
VOLUME 181, NUMBER 26

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Victory for the U.N.; Defeat for the U.S.

THE ADMISSION December 14 of sixteen new U. N. members was clearly a victory for the principle of universality, and thus for the United Nations as such. It was a diplomatic coup for the Soviet Union, which will claim credit for the achievement. The Nationalists on Formosa, precipitating the defeat of the larger New Zealand-Brazil proposal covering eighteen nations by its veto of Outer Mongolia, took a step which is best described as suicidal. And the United States suffered a diplomatic debacle for which Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., and John Foster Dulles must bear full responsibility. (Incidentally, it would seem that India should get much credit for the sixteen-nation deal. According to Senator Flanders of Vermont, visiting in New Delhi, the sequence was as follows: After the collapse of the original eighteen-nation resolution Krishna Menon, India's representative at the U. N., cabled Premier Nehru. He in turn prevailed upon Khrushchev and Bulganin, who were still in India then, to order the Soviet delegation to propose the "package deal" which excluded Outer Mongolia and Japan.)

Consider the circumstances leading up to this dramatic *coup de theatre*. The question of new members was of long standing: no applicant had won admittance since 1950. In those five years, the U. S. S. R. had consistently vetoed the applications of candidates supported by the West, insisting that its own candidates would have to be accepted at the same time; and the U. S., on its part, had as adamantly opposed any such "package deal."

It was therefore old stuff when Molotov suggested, in his opening speech to this session of the General Assembly, that sixteen nations be admitted in a package deal. But by now general sentiment had built up for breaking the deadlock. The Canadians suggested that Japan might well be added to the list. Moscow had previously opposed Tokyo's candidacy, arguing that the U. S. S. R. and Japan were still technically at war. Now they offered no opposition. Then on September 26 Spain applied for membership, and Ambassador Lodge promptly announced that the U. S. would support its candidacy.

By a standing U. N. resolution Spain was specifically barred from membership for so long as the "Franco Fascist government" might remain in power. The bloody Franco regime could hardly be termed either peace-loving, democratic or representative of the people of Spain. The U. S. nevertheless had entered upon military deals with Franco and now supported his cause—even where it appeared that the move might stop the package deal.

Unexpectedly the nations concerned—including the Soviet Union—failed to balk even at Spain, and the Canadians formulated a resolution to authorize the entry of eighteen new nations. But on November 10 the U. S. informed Canada that it would not agree to the proposed package deal, explaining that it opposed the candidacy of Outer Mongolia.

The Latin Americans, desirous of having Italy, Portugal and Spain in the U. N., deserted the American camp. On November 12 it was reported that Britain stood ready to give blanket support for the entry of all eighteen applicants. The next day, Lodge flip-flopped and told the press that the U. S. would abstain from voting on the applications of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania. He added: "It is obvious that Outer Mongolia cannot make the grade," explaining that his soundings of opinion in other delegations had led him to that conclusion. But the U. S. had finally ended its long opposition to the admission of new members en bloc. On November 14 a Soviet spokesman, looking at Lodge's press conference of the day before, said flatly, "It is eighteen or nothing."

IN THIS critical situation Nationalist China, the U.S.'s protege, came forward to announce that "if necessary" it would veto the application of Outer Mongolia in the Security Council. The world was told that Chiang Kai-shek had made this decision despite the earnest urging of President Eisenhower not to block the package deal. The world was left to assume that Mr. Lodge, who had committed his prestige to barring the entry of Outer Mongolia, was definitely not trying to play Chiang's game.

The cream of the jest lay in the circumstances that the Chinese Nationalist government on January 5, 1946, had extended full diplomatic recognition to the Mongolian People's Republic (Outer Mongolia); and that the voting of August 29, 1946, in the Security Council on Outer Mongolia's membership application was six to three in favor—with the U. S. voting *against*, and Nationalist China voting *for*. On December 13, 1955, Formosa's delegate vetoed Outer Mongolia and wrecked the first package deal.

With the principle of universality now so strikingly affirmed, Japan's candidacy will now almost certainly be paired with that of Outer Mongolia, with Moscow gratuitously given a potent lever for its negotiations with Tokyo. The desperate Nationalist gamble has alienated support that Formosa previously enjoyed in the U. N., and promises to bring to an issue earlier than would otherwise have been the case Formosa's own right to be in the U. N. The U. S., for its part, has actually injured the chances of Formosa's continuing in existence as one of "two Chinas," and finds its influence and prestige diminished even where it could usually count on sympathy and cooperation—in Latin America and the British Commonwealth. This is the high price that the American people are called upon to pay for the State Department's playing politics to the domestic right-wing gallery.

The Shape of Things

The Two-Way Squeeze

The "economic pressure" that is the stock in trade of the White Citizens Councils can be a two-way squeeze—especially in those sectors of the South where Negroes, by their labor and by their spending, provide so much of the economy's life-blood. However menial their jobs, however small their individual purchasing power, if all the Negroes of a Deep South town or county were to stay home for even one day, that area would be paralyzed.

In Montgomery, Alabama, recently an impressive demonstration of this latent strength occurred when the Negro community—some 40,000 strong—declared a boycott against the city bus lines. The incident provoking the ban was the arrest of a seamstress who refused to give up her seat at the order of a driver. The driver testified that he had twenty-two Negro passengers and fourteen whites in his thirty-six-seat bus, and he ordered the woman and others to move back to "equalize" the seating.

Such incidents have been all too frequent in "the Cradle of the Confederacy": last summer a fourteen-year-old Negro girl was dragged off a bus by three policemen and taken in handcuffs to jail because of a refusal to relinquish her place to a white man. A bus driver left his vehicle to beat up a mentally deficient Negro who had "bothered" him from the sidewalk. Drivers have been said to carry guns in their cash boxes to "settle" disputes about transfers and change-making. Because of the stored-up resentment these caused, no organization or leader can be said to have inspired the boycott. "The leaders were led," said one Negro minister. "It was a vertical thing, sweeping through all our people. It was the most amazing thing I have ever seen, and the most heartening."

On the first day of the boycott, December 5, motorcycle police escorted buses on their routes and patrolmen were stationed at major stops. But the buses rolled along, as empty as husks, while long lines of Negro workers trudged with quiet purposefulness to their jobs. Parents formed car pools to get their children to school. The Negro taxicab companies offered a special rate of a dime a person to any place in the city. Bus-line officials admitted that the boycott was 95 per cent effective.

That same day, the arrested woman was convicted and fined $14. Her attorneys announced their intention to appeal the verdict with a clear view toward getting a federal ruling on the constitutionality of segregation in intrastate transportation. That night 5,000 Negroes overflowed the auditorium and lawn of a church and voted to continue the boycott until the bus line agreed to halt the "intimidation, embarrassment and coercion" of Negro patrons.

This dramatic display of unity may well inspire the Negro residents of other Southern cities to similar action. But whether it does or not, most observers agree that it has severely discouraged the White Citizens Council's recruiting drive in Montgomery.

The Lamb Case

Edward Lamb has now been cleared of charges of subversive activities by a Federal Communications Commission examiner who recommends that his television licenses be renewed. As the first publication to call attention to the importance of the issues in this case (see *The Nation*, June 12, 1954, with subsequent comment on February 5, 1955 and July 2, 1955), we join in the general editorial commendation that has greeted the report and findings of Herbert Sharfman, the F. C. C.'s hearing officer. One aspect of the case, however, has escaped general notice. The F. C. C. originally charged that Mr. Lamb had been a member of the Communist Party or that it had evidence of such membership. Later this charge was withdrawn and a

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new one substituted, namely, that Lamb had been known to associate with Communists. It is now quite clear that, at the time the new charge was substituted, officials of the F. C. C. had not interviewed a single one of the thirty-nine witnesses who subsequently testified against Mr. Lamb. Nineteen of these, incidentally, were professional witnesses or informers. In other words, the F. C. C. was apparently willing to file the most serious charges against one of its licensees without having examined any of the witnesses later produced in an effort to substantiate the charges. Were these witnesses, one wonders, even known to the F. C. C. at the time the charges were filed? Or did the F. C. C. first file the charges and then seek out the testimony of professional informers to substantiate them? One of the witness was Louis Budenz, on whose capacity for "total recall" Mr. Sharfman has some tart comment in his report. So far as we can determine, the Lamb case is the first action in which a government agency has initiated perjury charges against one of its own witnesses—in this instance the witness Marie Natvig—*before* concluding its own case.

Turning Point or Point of No Return?

Our cold warriors had better give their undivided attention to the meaning of Operation Sagebrush on which Mark S. Watson reports in this issue (p. 550). Sagebrush completely demolished the pleasant myth that tactical atomic weapons can be used to pin-point an attack in such a fashion that the destruction need not encompass civilian centers.

The moral implications of the maneuvers were at least as important as the strategic. In his dispatches to the Baltimore *Sun* from Fort Polk, Mr. Watson expressed the opinion that in the last five years we have witnessed a revolution in American thinking on the use of nuclear weapons. From horror and revulsion, we as a people gradually came around to the point where the suggested use of nuclear weapons aroused "no appreciable opposition among civilians." But does Operation Sagebrush mean that we have reached the point of no return? Or does it mean, rather, that we have reached a turning point at which public opinion may now swing back to the horror and revulsion which prevailed in 1945 and 1946?

In a telecast on December 8, Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen told his vast audience that Christians would never be justified in using nuclear weapons in an *aggressive* war. Moral justification for use in a *defensive* war would depend, he said, on three conditions: that no other means of defense were available; that the attack was of a wicked and unprovoked variety; and that the use of nuclear weapons would be limited to purely tactical purposes. But he hastened to add that Operation Sagebrush had demonstrated that his third, and vital, condition could no longer be met; and he concluded, quite sensibly, that one could no longer find moral justification for the use of nuclear weapons, in *any* war. Is there a sign here that public opinion is indeed reverting? If so, must we not finally reach the conclusion that war itself must be rejected as an instrument of national policy?

Horizontal Benificence

It is not every Christmas season that the sum of $500,000,000 is showered on 615 privately supported liberal-arts colleges, 3,500 voluntary non-profit hospitals, and a host of privately supported medical schools. Santa Claus has never been regarded as a pauper but now he must be thought of as a billionaire. Such is our diversity as a people, and so sensitive are the reflexes which this diversity has bred, that the trustees of the Ford Foundation, if only to avoid a kind of civil war, have adhered to democratic folkways in allocating grants. Within the fields chosen, there can be no complaints based on oversight or discrimination: Catholic, Jewish and Protestant institutions have been treated with mathematically exact fairness. In George Orwell's formula, none has been permitted to think that he is more equal than any other. Based not on special but on general needs, this horizontal beneficence makes up in fairness and generosity what it may lack in imagination and selectivity. Indeed about the only criticism that can be fairly voiced is that a sum of this magnitude, free of the restraints that are invariably attached to appropriations of public funds, might have been used to finance specialized projects of the kind that usually suffer from lack of funds but are often capable of returning the largest social dividends. But this is not a season to be captious. A gift of this magnitude, horizontally distributed, should, one would think, silence the silly carping about the Ford Foundation. But its critics have rare imagination and their capacity for ingratitude must not be underestimated. They may yet turn out to be the dogs who bit Santa Claus.

Bandung Bedfellows

The spectacular antics of Messrs. Bulganin and Khrushchev in India imposed a news blackout on the visit of His Majesty King Saud of Saudi Arabia, who arrived in New Delhi on November 27. The first Arab king to visit the new India, Saud was accompanied by a party of 204 persons, including nine princes, five ministers and five officials of ministerial rank. Received with great honors, Saud was a bit too rich for the Indian taste, bestowing costly gifts on his hosts and leaving $2,000 in tips for the servants in the Raj Bhavan (Governor's Residence). In the wake of the Bandung conference, which he attended, the King became quite "anti-colonial," and his anti-colonialism has become more vocal as his dispute with the British over Buraimi oil has sharpened. Like Nehru, King Saud is displeased, also, with the Baghdad pact. A chain of nations, including Indonesia, India, Burma, Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Syria now stand in opposition to, if not in formal alliance against, this favorite among Mr. Dulles' projects. Bulganin and Khrushchev left India in a blaze of publicity but King Saud departed on December 13, after a seventeen-day tour, so quietly that the event produced scarcely a ripple in the news of the week. But it should be noted in retrospect that, according to Indian dispatches, he had sought India's support in his dispute with Britain over the rich Biraimi oil pool.

Elevated Partnership

In a recent *Fortune* article on the meaning of human life, Henry Luce proposes that man's role for the future is as "a collaborator with God, in the whole of evolution."

This concept of "collaboration with God" he says, would almost perfectly define "the American religion."

Mr. Luce is well known for his acute sense of history and it is surprising that he does not recall what happens when a people enters into partnership with the Almighty. Elsewhere in the piece *Fortune's* editor-in-chief compares what he calls The American Organization with the much less puissant Roman Empire. The late Caesars also fancied themselves as collaborators with Olympus, and it was some time before they heard the laughter of the gods.

END OF A GERMAN ERA

The Outcome of Geneva . . *by Carolus*

Bonn

FOR GERMANY an historical epoch has just come to an end. It began in 1949 when the German Federal Republic made its difficult entry into the world with General Lucius D. Clay as midwife, and its dissimilar twin, the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), was nursed into life by the U. S. S. R. It ended in Geneva where the Big Four foreign ministers, instead of reuniting Germany as they were supposed to do, confirmed its division for the foreseeable future.

In any democratic country such a disaster to national aspirations would have been followed by a parliamentary storm. But not in the Federal Republic. Harmony reigned as the *Bundesrat* met to survey Geneva's outcome. Chancellor Adenauer, just recovered from a severe illness, entered the legislative chamber and took the unprecedented step of shaking hands with Erich Ollenhauer, leader of the Social Democratic Opposition. It was, indeed, as though no Opposition existed, as if the interminable struggle between the Social Democrats and the Adenauer coalition which has marked the last few years of West Germany's political life had never taken place.

Where there was debate, it was about the irremediable past, not about the future. The government sought to shoulder the Russians with the entire blame; the Opposition more cautious, divided it. The Social Democrats pointed out that it had been the Paris agreement and the decision to remilitarize West Germany which had furnished Moscow with an excuse for wrecking the Geneva conference. Ollenhauer reproached the West for not even having put to the Russians the possibility of unifying a "neutralist" Germany, free of NATO or any other military alliance. In this he was echoing what the London *Times*, the Manchester *Guardian*, and the most important West German newspapers have been saying. The Frankfurter *Rundschau* wrote on November 23: "The Western maneuvering with half-truths and ambiguities, and the anemic lip service paid to German unity made things easy for the Soviet Union." Twelve days earlier the Manchester *Guardian* had written:

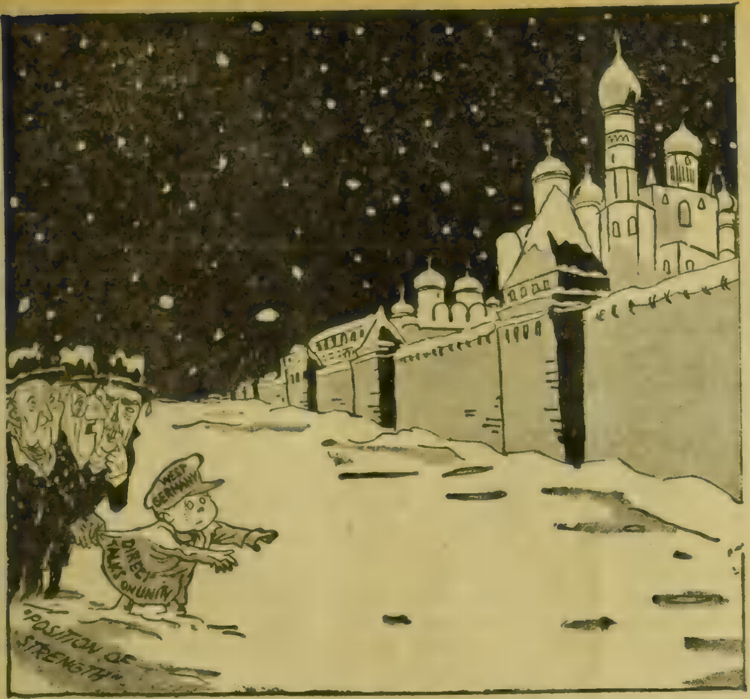
> Why don't we tell Molotov that we would be prepared to exclude German armed forces from NATO if the Soviets agreed to free elections and to limit the freedom to make decisions on Germany as a whole only with respect to federal military policies? But we did not pose the question, in the first place for the reason that the federal government in Bonn was opposed to it.

The London *Times* at one point had charged that no real negotiations of any kind had taken place at Geneva; a shrewd and respected German commentator had remarked that the West had merely dabbled its toes in the water and had never plunged in.

The Social Democrats had a case to argue in the *Bundesrat;* they never argued it. True, Ollenhauer gently chided Adenauer for the failure of the Chancellor's "policy of strength," but in the same breath he pledged his party, in effect, to support a continuation of that policy. In a speech that could almost have been made by Adenauer himself, the leader of the Opposition warned Moscow that bolshevization of West Germany would never be permitted, and that only a majority of an all-German parliament, constituted on the basis of free elections, had the authority to determine the economic and political structure of a reunited Germany.

All this was well and good, provided the shadow of the new Russian ambassador were not already darkening Bonn. Mr. Zorin, who as ambassador to Prague in 1948 was responsible for the *gleichgeschaltung* of Czechoslovakia, is at this writing packing his bags for his trip to the Rhine.

CAROLUS is The Nation's *correspondent at Bonn.*



Vicky in New Statesman and Nation (London)
Drang Nach Osten . . .

Dr. Adenauer's illness lasted seven weeks. Neither physically nor politically is he the man he was. His capitulation at Moscow so damaged his prestige with the West that all his actions since have been dictated by one thought: to win back the confidence of his Western allies. That was why, on the very day the Geneva debate on European security opened, he decreed from his sick-bed the induction into the new West German army of its first officers and men. That was why he risked a break with the Free Democrats, the second largest party in his coalition government, by "ordering" them to disavow their leader, Dr. Thomas Dehler, who was demanding direct negotiations with Moscow. But the Free Democrats, despite their inner divisions, stood by Dehler and Adenauer had to back down ignominiously on his ultimatum. The party still remains in the government.

Significantly, Dehler's most fervent supporter in this fight was the largest and most powerful of the Free Democratic provincial organizations—the Rhenish-Westphalian *Landesverband,* led by West Germany's great industrialists and their nationalistic following. For years German industrialists have been casting covetous eyes at Eastern markets. Before Adenauer's trip to Moscow, I wrote in *The Nation* that the Chancellor was a creature of West Germany's big-money clique; cannot his capitulation at Moscow, as well as to the Free Democrats, be ascribed to this fact?

WITH an eye to Western approval, the Chancellor continues to press for remilitarization. But on certain aspects of his military program, he maintains discreet silence. After two years of preparatory pro-army propaganda, only 30,000 men have volunteered for the Chancellor's new army, and of these only 10,000 are fit for service. So say the experts. In order to fill the ranks, the 20,000-man Frontier Police, which has had some training, is being incorporated. Tomorrow the Anglo-American Labor Service, composed of 150,000 civilians, will follow. What sort of an army will this be, unwanted by the masses of the German people, and which experts are convinced is useless from a military standpoint? The fact is that remilitarization of West Germany has been a great success in Paris and in Geneva but in West Germany it has been a failure.

Meanwhile Russia begins to raise an East German military force, increasing the unrest in the Federal Republic. Disquiet is spreading among West Germany's workers, who have much to complain about. They are demanding higher wages to offset inflationary prices. Their united labor movement is threatened by a new Christian labor organization financed by foreign funds. One of their gifted and more militant leaders, Dr. Agartz, a proponent of the nationalization of the coal, steel and electric-power industries, has been dismissed as leader of the Institute for Scientific Economics. Bavarian labor is demanding an extraordinary labor congress to tackle many problems considered urgent. The immediate effect of all this unrest was manifest at a recent election for union shop stewards in a large Dortmund coal and steel works. For the first time in such an election in the Federal Republic, the workers voted a Communist majority.

Meanwhile the Soviet Union's propaganda machine, aimed primarily at the labor unions and the Social Democrats, is in high gear. Yet the Russians' success in this effort will depend less on themselves than on the social and political climate within West Germany. And in this connection one is reminded forcibly of the great comeback being made by German reaction, which continues to exert increasing power in the state bureaucracy—and especially in the administration of justice. Nazi criminals regularly win acquittals or get off with ludicrously light punishment. As government employees of Hitler's Reich, they continue to receive pensions while their victims must fight for every penny of the restoration funds due them.

Moscow is using every means in its power to secure Bonn's recognition of the East German regime, and to achieve German unification at the expense of the West. The newly begun cold war for Berlin is a striking example. After all, one must strike a balance. Having taken due note of the West's wrongful policy on Germany since the founding of the Federal Republic and up to the agreement on its remilitarization, one must recall that at Geneva Molotov, too, failed to pose the questions which Dulles so carefully withheld. One cannot safely ignore the dangerous and hypocritical role the Russian leaders are now playing. To accuse the West of fascism for years on end, and then to curry favor with the feudal powers of the Near East; to charge the West with reawakening Prussian militarism, and then to elevate Prussia's Napoleonic generals into national heroes in East Germany in order to arouse the vilest kind of German nationalism: where is the difference? If in the future the German people should surrender to "national bolshevism" as in the past they surrendered to a Bismarck and a Hitler, will *that* mark progress?

This is how decent Germans are thinking today. They want to know where democracy enters the picture, and ethics, and justice. Shall we uncritically approve, when done by the East, that which we have denounced in Western conduct since 1949? It is Moscow which struck the weapons from the hands of Adenauer's West German opponents in that fateful *Bundesrat* debate. It is Moscow which created the harmony in Bonn which bodes ill for all who feel that peace, democracy and social justice are more than mere shibboleths.

CAN WE LIMIT AN "A-WAR"?

The Lessons of Sagebrush . . *by Mark S. Watson*

THE LARGEST of our postwar army and air-force maneuvers came to an end early this month and made unmistakably clear how great have been the changes in war potential—ours and others'—in the brief decade since the Allied victories of 1945. In pre-gunpowder days changes in weapons, and hence in tactics, were slow to develop. The arrival of gunpowder and the new weapons for its more efficient employment enormously accelerated the evolution of military science. Now atomic power has produced a total revolution in military thinking in a mere fraction of a human generation. And in a still shorter span of years just ahead, we can presumably count on guided missiles of an efficiency so absolute as to render obsolete most of today's marvels—and conceivably civilization as well.

Without speculating on the due-date of the intercontinental ballistic missile (I. B. M.), or even the future of the H-bomb, we have sufficient to worry about in the present thriving state of the A-bomb and its immediate relatives, the atomic warheads of army artillery and rockets. For nearly a month they were employed—or, rather, simulated—by both the Aggressor and the Defender forces, air and ground alike, in the Sagebrush maneuvers in Louisiana which engaged 140,000 officers and men plus a great deal of military equipment. The exercises attracted the attention of many of our military chiefs and of the military attaches of friendly nations, and also—not so overtly but just as certainly—the attention of less friendly nations.

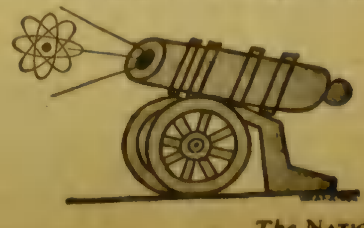
The professional findings were presented (to chosen personnel only) in official critiques at the close of the exercise, but the laymen's observations, and those of many of the professionals through their press conferences, were readily available. From such unrestricted sources it is possible to summarize certain conclusions:

1. Atomic weapons whose employment was simulated (and this means solely the fission weapons of so-called "limited" powers of destruction; the appalling thermonuclear-fusion weapons—the so-called "H-bombs"—were not simulated) have a shattering effect not only on and about the point of impact as expected, but on a great many long-respected techniques of warfare. Certain World War II standards are standard no longer and it is a grave question whether many of the counter-measures thus far developed could cope adequately with a series of atomic strikes.

2. Electronic marvels have come with a rush. But as each new device arrives, a counter-device is heralded. And as each new miracle in communications comes to hand, the opportunities to employ it increase so rapidly that the miracle of performance barely keeps pace with the insatiable demand created by new uses.

3. War-planning for the future takes on a complexity and an urgency which would stagger anyone except the bold and resourceful and determined. Do we count on using the atomic weapons? Or do we count on using conventional weapons? The answer is easy—we have to count on both, and at the same time we must press our hardest for peaceful settlement of disputes, which means using neither. This is not so paradoxical as it sounds. For however illogical war may be, and however deep man's aversion to it, we know of no long-continued peace in our world save through the existence of a military force capable of enforcing it—or at least strong enough to deter a power from gambling on aggression. In other words, while at the moment we ardently hope that war will not come, our plainly stated national policy is to have America fully equipped for war and so ready and willing to reply with massive retaliation that no foe will risk our counterattack.

There is a growing belief (based largely on hope, to be sure) that this policy will succeed, and that no nation will ever be so mad as to initiate an atomic war lest its foe, however badly stricken in the initial attack, retain enough reprisal-power to make a devastating counterattack. The H-bomb, with its incomparable horror, may prove the largest single



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factor in bringing to the world a peace which nobler things have signally failed to achieve.

But conjectures of this sort were not supported by Sagebrush, save in a theorist's extrapolation. The army and the air force, obviously carrying out national policy, made unprecedented use of atomic warheads of supposedly "limited" power, and attained their most impressive results with them. Something over 250 warheads were simulated, directed against scattered targets in the huge Louisiana maneuver area and also against much more widely scattered targets (chiefly air bases in ten states of the Southeast). When one thinks of the destructive power of each bomb (or shell, for wide use was made of warheads impelled from the 280 mm. gun and of launchers of the Honest John rocket and the Corporal and the Matador missiles) it is easy to see how vast would have been the destruction from real firing of 250 such monsters. That they are of "limited" power, and that modern firing-skills are assumed to be capable of avoiding the destruction of anything except the military target do not fully soothe the nervous noncombatant. The official assurance of what 250 real warheads would have done is an admission that "limited" is an extremely vague term. Moreover, it is an ingenuous mind which thinks that a desperate nation in a serious war would use only "limited" means to avert defeat. We will have to seek elsewhere for immunity from total war.

SAGEBRUSH made it obvious that our military training envisages the use of atomic weapons in warfare. This is not a new fact. For over a year we have been sending atomic weapons to our forces abroad. Our competent and realistic Supreme Commander of NATO forces in Europe, General A. M. Gruenther, has repeatedly stated that Allied forces in that theatre are too weak to resist for long the enormous Red forces beyond the Oder—save for our possession of the atomic weapon, the great "equalizer." In plain terms he has spoken of our need for ready ground forces at critical points for the purpose of compelling an aggressive foe to mass against them and, in massing, to provide a suitable target for A-weapons. This tactic, incidentally, was repeatedly used by the opposed ground forces at Sagebrush, which employed the mighty weapon in attack, in defense and in counter-attack with great skill.

The air force's aggressive use of the A-bomb on the very first night of the exercises was impressive. Raiders hit at Defender bases oven ten states in the effort to render them useless, to destroy Defender planes on those bases, and to make the survivors powerless to fight. As an auxiliary measure, the Aggressor raiders employed new electronic devices, here describable only as mounted in high-flying planes and sending out impulses of such power as to "blind" the Defenders' radar detection. Thus protected, the raiding planes came in at low level and theoretically put 80 per cent of Defenders' interceptor and fighter-bomber fleet out of business. This one-shot surprise started something of a national flap over the dubious effectiveness of our air-defense as a whole until two things were pointed out: (1) a low-level attack is good for only a very short distance (whereas our warning-lines are very far away) and (2) a counter-measure against this particular sort of radar-blinding is almost at hand. This counter-measure illustrates the swiftness of today's attack-and-defense cycle.

THE ground forces at Sagebrush, besides employing their own new weapons, demonstrated certain new equipment and a good deal in the way of new tactics. In both respects the emphasis is on that great mobility which is always desirable (in effect, making one small force a threat against half a dozen enemy areas). In atomic warfare this is obligatory—in order to disperse before enemy A-attack and also to reassemble swiftly at need. A prime means of accomplishing this rapid movement is aerial transport, whether by the improved helicopter or the greatly improved cargo-plane capable of taking off from turf with a short run.

Mobility also implies a communications system capable of reaching over a considerable distance to a great many small-unit commanders. Here our electronics wizards have led the way, with television cameras which portray distant scenes and actions, and with radio on so many frequencies that situation-reports and battle-orders can be transmitted simultaneously from and to a great number of widely scattered units.

Mobility also implies the need to allot responsibility to leaders of smaller units, and this calls not only for better small-unit training but for more resourceful small-unit commanders. The field division, while no smaller than it was, seems (on the basis of continuing experiment at Fort Benning, of which Sagebrush was merely one of many tests) to be headed for distribution into smaller packets than the old regimental combat team. Even the platoon may be split into smaller units than the squad, perhaps to three-man teams (for reconnaissance, support and reserve) as in Indian-war days.

BUT the main lesson of Sagebrush, if there was a main lesson, seems to be that preparation for atomic warfare, either restricted or unrestricted, or for conventional warfare, is not enough. There must be first-class preparation for both, wasteful as that may appear—all war being wasteful. Readiness for full atomic warfare is necessary primarily as a deterrent, but in any event as a last resort if deterrence fails. Readiness for efficient conventional warfare is necessary simply on the basis of a decade's experience. Not an A-bomb has been employed since Nagasaki. Yet in that period the Red world has absorbed or completed absorbing a whole series of European satellites and extended its dictatorship into China, Korea and Indo-China. It would have gone deeper both into Europe and Asia but for the free world's resistance with "conventional" weapons.

There is a logical basis for the belief that Russia and Communist China alike count on further fringe-wars to extend their powers. In that belief lies the reason for the determined building up of our own conventional combat resources. Their demonstration at Sagebrush was not so spectacular as that of the all-destroying H-weapons, but we should have learned enough of late in Greece, in Turkey, in Korea and in Indo-China to make us aware of the large threats visible today in the Middle East and likely to develop shortly elsewhere. The Red world does not sleep, and we cannot afford to. The maneuver at Sagebrush was most useful in its demonstration of the things that yet remain to be done.

PROBERS AND THE PRESS

Publishers Yield A Principle . . *by M. L. Barnet*

WITH the notable exception of the New York *Post,* editorial writers and columnists of the metropolitan press have remained silent on the New York visit, early this month, of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, and the news stories were proper to the point of primness. The public learned little more than the number of persons questioned daily in the executive sessions held on December 5, 6 and 7 before Senator Jenner or Senator Hennings.

Senator Hennings was in the embarrassing position of an equestrian artist standing on two horses going in different directions. As a member of the Internal Security group he takes part in the creation of situations which, as chairman of the Constitutional Rights subcommittee of the same parent Judiciary Committee, he must try to remedy (see p. 556). Thus, he came to New York to ask newspapermen, "Are you or have you ever been . . .?" fresh from Washington hearings at which he had reportedly given a sympathetic ear to Professor Alexander Meiklejohn's statement: "The question [by a 'subordinate agency' of the government] 'Are you a Republican?' or 'Are you a Communist?', when accompanied by the threat of harmful or degrading consequences if an answer is refused, or if the answer is this rather than that, is an intolerable invasion of the 'reserved powers' of the governing people."

Among the New York newspapers the *Herald Tribune* may have set a record—and certainly equaled one—for discretion in the handling of closed Congressional investigations. It breathed no word of the hearings for the three days they lasted, although at last summer's public sessions it had given the most lavish coverage in the city to a story that was, like the recent one, in large part an attack on its rival New York *Times.*

While the *Times* itself had nothing to say about the new attack editorially and almost nothing in its news columns, it found a stout defender—and a mild reprover—in the New York *Post,* which declared editorially:

> The basic facts . . . are that some forty newspapermen [Hennings later said thirty-five] have been summoned by the committee, and that more than half are present or former employes of the Times (which has some 700 editorial employees) . . . [The] inquiry appears primarily designed to harass and discredit a newspaper which has been a consistent critic of the methods and spirit of that committee.

With gentle suasion that generously overlooked three ousters based on employees' refusal to inform, the editorial added:

> The Times knows, as most Americans do, that this ["cooperation" by informing] is no final proof of patriotism. It is a problem of individual conscience. If the committee can force the Times to modify or even betray its own convictions under fire, it will win a victory of major dimensions.

The committee itself seemed to be sparring in an unorthodox way. After reportedly sifting some 500 names and issuing seventy-one subpoenas to newspaper people, it abruptly postponed the hearings indefinitely on November 21 just as they were about to start, and, in another unusual move, canceled all subpoenas. The excuse was that Senator Eastland was indisposed. By December 1, the Senator recovered sufficiently to address a rally of Mississippi's White Citizens Councils, but four days later he was again too sick to give his personal attention to committee business. His illness was variously announced as a cold, influenza and pneumonia. The hearings resumed without him after new subpoenas had been distributed to a whittled-down list of thirty-five.

A FIGHT—to rework the pugilistic metaphor—where spectators feel that one combatant is lying down while the other is pulling his punches, gives rise to a suspicion of "fix." In New York newspaper circles the theory has gained currency that some sort of deal has been made between the Senators and the publishers. On the other hand, publishers are no more immune than other employers to the paralyzing effect of the dread cry of "Communist, Communist!" and even without a "deal" they might consider it impossible to rally to the defense of their freedom at the risk of impugning their patriotism or offending their advertisers. Moreover, the committee's fire has been concentrated on the *Times.* The other New York publications may regard themselves as innocent bystanders wounded by shots that have missed the mark. The committee's secondary targets—the Newspaper Guild and the left-wing *National Guardian*—are such as to arouse little fellow-feeling on the part of the newspaper owners.

Information trickling out of the hearings indicated that the investigation was at least part dud. Senator Jenner admitted that the probers were "sifting the true from the false"—a process usually carried out in pre-hearing research. Witnesses

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MELVIN L. BARNET was on the financial and business-news copydesk of the New York Times *until July 13, 1955.*

were not pressed for names—lapse of memory being fairly readily accepted as an excuse. They experienced little persistency in the questioning generally, and, indeed, the rush of testimony—as many as fourteen persons were heard in one day—precluded intensive grilling. An unwonted atmosphere of cordiality prevailed between the probers and the probed. Some unlikely witnesses were summoned, including persons who had not been in the newspaper industry for fifteen years or more. An unusually high proportion of the witnesses told the Senators that they had never been Communists, and some of the denials were presumably attributable to mistaken identity. Relatively little recourse was taken to the Fifth Amendment.

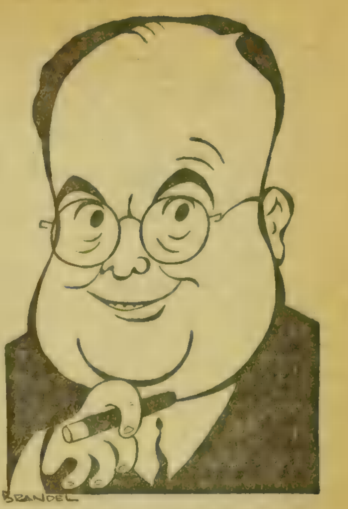
In many respects the hearings differed from those held in June and July. They also differed, it is understood, in eliciting several refusals to answer on the basis of the First Amendment (freedom of the press). As a fishing expedition the new inquiry, although less intensive, appeared to cover wider ground. Questions dealing with past and present activities in the Newspaper Guild were common, for instance. One major topic, the New York *Times,* was carried over from the earlier agenda, and this time the committee's curiosity was even more impertinent. Its questions reportedly ranged from the broad operations of the various desks to such detailed queries as who wrote a certain picture caption. The paper's Sunday department, where Harvey Matusow had once found more Communists than there were employees, was singled out for particular scrutiny.

As for the *Times* itself, its capitulation to the witch hunt in its own house, after staunchly resisting it elsewhere, may be motivated in some measure by the likelihood that, as the *Post* suggested, "its public shame can be reduced if it privately persuades its subpoenaed employees to cooperate with the committee." Among other surrender moves, the *Times* is disclosed to have assisted process servers in the distribution of subpoenas in its plant, to have brought pressure to bear on the recipients to "cooperate" with the committee, to have suggested as a probably acceptable alternative that employees unwilling to tell tales in public do so in private to the F. B. I., and finally, to have dropped two competent craftsmen for planning to invoke the Fifth Amendment. The two men—one a Guildsman and one an executive outside the Guild's jurisdiction—had made a clean breast to the *Times* of the radical past on which they proposed to remain silent before the committee, it is understood.

THE NEW Eastland inquiry, scheduled to move into open sessions late this month or sometime in January, is a resumption of the summer hearings that were supposed to represent the climax of years of study of alleged Communist influence in the press by McCarthy and other Congressional committees. But they came rather as anticlimax—despite the confession of Winston Burdett, CBS correspondent, of an exciting but ineffective espionage mission in Europe in behalf of Russia. The Senators flogged a dead Brooklyn *Eagle* (the newspaper went out of existence early this year in the course of a Guild strike) and when they wearied of that, turned to torment a bird of a different feather, the very much alive *Times.*

The futility of last summer's hearings—only four one-time Communists were exposed among the New York Guild's 8,000 members—made inevitable continuation of the investigation. However, three men immediately lost their jobs for their taciturnity before the committee. One was the *Times* copyreader, Melvin L. Barnet. The others were a reporter on the *Daily News* and the publicity director of the National Municipal League. All three firings had resounding consequences.

The publicity man obtained work with the Fund for the Republic, and the disclosure of this tidbit in Hearst's New York *Journal American* was seized by foes of the research organization as ammunition against it. The Fund felt obliged to explain



Senator James O. Eastland

that the employment was part-time, temporary, and just about over anyway, but Fund President Robert M. Hutchins later used the incident to develop the view that under certain conditions he would hire not only former Communists but even present ones.

The two newspaper firings whipped up a civil-liberties squall, and, in the New York Newspaper Guild, created a stir unmatched since the displacement of the old leftist leadership in 1947. The issue split the membership, led to a jarring right-wing assault on the middle-of-the-road Guild administration, and may have breathed the first signs of new life into dormant left-of-center forces. It also put the New York local in a state of undeclared rebellion against the national union on the broad policy matter of defending Guildsmen fired for blocking, on constitutional grounds, Congressional interrogation on communism.

The New York Guild, after a flurry of indignation over the July firings, cooled off rapidly as opposition to prosecution of the two grievances, fanned by the leaders of the *Times* and *News* units, began to make itself felt. Later Guild developments were foreshadowed in a three-point statement by *Times* unit officers on August 1:

> 1. It is the duty of every American who has any knowledge of the Communist conspiracy to cooperate unreservedly with the authorized agencies of Government.
> 2. The basic issue of Guild policy toward its members who invoke the

> Fifth Amendment before official Government agencies is a matter of such fundamental concern that it should be passed upon through a city-wide referendum.
>
> 3. The publisher in his letter of dismissal [to Barnet] fails to set forth an adequate basis for discharge. . . . If allowed to stand, it might jeopardize the job security of Guild members in cases having nothing to do with subversion. . . .

The *Times* grievance committee, in its turn, adopted the policy expressed in Point 1, and with more consistency than the unit officers had shown, rejected Point 3. In language that the *Post* likened to "a simple-minded Hearst editorial," the committee recommended in mid-September against proceeding to arbitration. The *News* grievance body took a similar stand on the companion case about the same time.

The reinstatement prospects of the two newsmen looked almost hopeless at that juncture since the executive board of the New York Guild was understood to be strongly influenced by the sentiment of the two units. But less than a month later, a majority of the board had lined up in favor of arbitration. The change of mind had taken place despite the fact that in the meantime the *Times* and *News* units had indorsed their grievance-committee recommendations.

While voting 11 to 4 for arbitration, the executive board proposed a nationwide referendum on the Fifth Amendment issue—and in lieu of that a local referendum—to reconsider the national Guild policy, unanimously reaffirmed at the union's convention last June, of "fully protecting our members in their constitutional rights." The American Newspaper Guild's international executive board, turning down the New York request for a referendum, declared specifically that the invocation of the Fifth Amendment "cannot and must not be allowed to constitute cause for discharge, nor presumption of guilt." The New York Guild thereupon proceeded to schedule a local referendum of dubious legality, for December 15 and 16 on the question: "Shall the Newspaper Guild of New York resist the dismissal of all members fired because of refusal on constitutional grounds to answer questions concerning alleged Communist affiliations and/or association before a competent government body?"

Erosion of Freedom

"... the Fifth amendment is an important and historic element in the charter of our liberties; and if it is to protect the best of us it must also stand ready to be used even by the worst. The erosion of our own freedom begins when we deprive of its guarantees those whom we most hate and despise."

—*New York* Times *editorial, "Not Excluding The Fifth," May 25, 1955.*

An eight-man minority on the twenty-four member executive board issued a strong plea for a "yes" vote on the referendum. "There are some in this union," the minority statement said, "who want to go along with the publishers and say that under certain . . . new conditions, publishers may fire employees and the Guild will not object. . . ." But the membership voted down the proposition, 3,185 to 2,064, thus putting the New York Guild into direct conflict with its parent body, the American Newspaper Guild.

MEANWHILE, despite local executive board support, the two discharge cases dating from the original Eastland hearings have had rough going. A final decision on pressing the two cases is being held in abeyance by the Representative Assembly, legislative body of the New York Guild, pending the outcome of the *Times* suit to enjoin the arbitration. That suit, in which the management has just won the first round, is based on the *Times* Guild unit's opposition to arbitration as expressed in a 337-235 vote against Barnet with 766 not participating. New York Supreme Court Justice Benvenga agreed with the *Times* that the city-wide Guild could not intervene in the case in the absence of a dispute between the newspaper and its employees.

The Guild's contract enforcement officer, M. Michael Potoker, in announcing the Guild's intention to appeal, declared: "The decree in this case defeats the very purpose of having an arbitration clause in the contract. It is more than ironic that the New York *Times*, which at one time fought to have the arbitration principle and practice generally accepted, should now have taken this step against arbitration." He added that the judge's decision was "another way of saying that, although it is the Guild local which has a contract with the *Times*, a section of that local can overrule the Guild."

Arbitration of the *Daily News* case is also far from imminent. The leadership of that local, hostile to the leadership of the New York Guild, has used the *News* firing as a springboard for a right-wing uprising. While the *Times* unit readily conceded the New York board's right to override it in the Barnet dispute, the *News* officers were reluctant to release their own discharge case from the grievance machinery in which they had kept it bottled up. As a result, the *News* management may be equipped with court arguments against arbitration that do not exist in the *Times* case.

The necessity of preserving the principle of city-wide Guild authority—and of thereby forestalling company-union trends—has been made clear to the local Guild by the *Daily News* incident, and has given determination to the union in its court battle with the *Times*. Even Guildsmen who may ultimately vote to ditch Barnet are among the strong supporters of the union's right to take him to arbitration if it wants to.

Meanwhile, the new *Times* discharge resulting from resumption of the Eastland hearings has also entered on the bumpy road to Guild arbitration. In a letter that is bound to plague America's greatest newspaper when its sense of fair play returns, Louis Loeb, *Times* attorney, told the latest firing victim:

> . . . You were discharged because of the facts which you furnished to me in the presence of your attorney in confidence, at a meeting in my office on November 17, 1955, subject to the understanding that I would pass them on to my client, the management of the New York Times.
>
> If you wish to contest this discharge, as a result of which I will be required to set forth the facts given to me, that contest instituted by you must of necessity release me from the limitations which you imposed at the time you made the statement to me.

Such are the rewards of candor at the New York *Times*.

Sean O'Casey's World

This essay on Sean O'Casey's place in the development of the modern theatre is published in anticipation of the production of Red Roses for Me *which will open in New York on December 26. Dr. Lewis, who is professor of theatre history at the University of Mexico, discusses the play in terms of its social ideas; its merit as a work of theatre art will be judged by Harold Clurman in a review to be published early in January.*

By Allan Lewis

THE THEATRE of the Western world is to a large extent removed from the interests and problems of the working class. Middle-class characters and themes dominate and the implicit assumption is that men of business or the professions are typical of all men, that human nature and social problems are general. Thus, domestic, political or psychological conflicts, including love and marriage, career, relationships between parents and children, are given an ideal setting in the dour living room of the lower-middle class or the smart drawing room of the wealthier set.

This concept is strange when one realizes that middle-class theatre is itself of recent origin. It did not come into its own until the late nineteenth century. The Renaissance marks the birth of the modern world in which the merchant, the banker and the manufacturer are the significant and motive forces. Yet Renaissance drama is of kings and nobles; when a merchant does appear he is the source of ridicule.

Shoemakers' Holiday is almost the lone example wherein the wealthy merchant is treated kindly but it was comedy, which permitted less conformity to rules, and even here the romantic lead is a nobleman. *The London Merchant* in the eighteenth century is the first successful effort to give tragic dignity to the business man and his ethics. Diderot and Lessing boldly called for a "bourgeois drama," but pronouncements did not produce plays and a feeble *Emilia Galotti* only paved the way for heroines to be daughters of shopkeepers or teachers of music. Not until Ibsen did middle-class drama achieve stature and only after a bitter struggle for acceptance. Today it is our heritage and contemporary playwrights, whether Priestley or Carroll, Sartre or Bernstein, Lillian Hellman or Arthur Miller, follow in the tradition, more refined, more subtle, more repetitious.

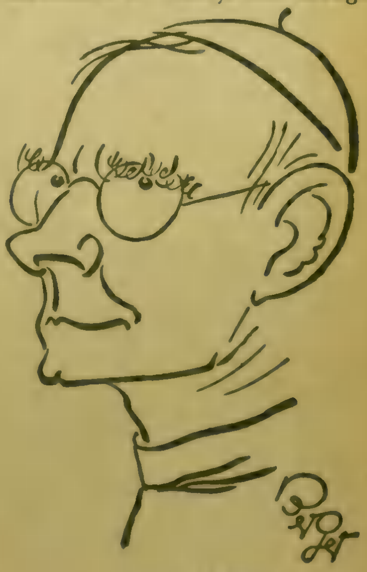
The working class, which made its historical appearance in the nineteenth century, arrived in the theatre almost simultaneously with the middle class. Zola, strongly drawn to the theatre but least successful there, was among the first to recognize audience and content changes. But what resulted were realistic sociological studies of the drab and the lowly, the sordid and the oppressed. It was a distorted and often condescending picture from the point of view of the middle-class observer, wherein the hungry and forgotten are not dignified with human tragedy, but cast beyond it. In Hauptmann's *Weavers,* for example, the revolt of the workers is blind and bestial, a savage protest against unbearable suffering, wherein characters are left unrealized. Even in *The Lower Depths,* the superb culmination of Zolaesque naturalism, Gorky by-passes the main body of workers and treats of the marginal and the derelict. In the United States, the early plays of O'Neill followed the European example, depicting sailors and prostitutes, but the overtones are romantic and O'Neill was exploiting strange sounds and places. It is suggestive that his only comedy deals with a typical middle-class family.

Not until after the first World War is there a fully-developed and conscious workers' theatre. The movement was most intense and organized in Germany, spread throughout the Western world, and resulted in a new theatre awareness. But it quickly dissipated. Out of two decades of proletarian theatre little endures in the United States or England. The theatre is again preoccupied with "universal" middle-class values. Of all playwrights today, the one who has fought consistently to develop a working-class theatre is Sean O'Casey, who despite shifting political climates, lack of production and ever-present financial difficulties, has never wavered in his beliefs.

Red Roses for Me is a mature working-class play, with all the strength and weakness, the [illegible] and power, of a distinct theatre experience. What the play says is not unusual. It follows the pattern of the strike plays so common in the thirties. But it rises above its already forgotten predecessors because O'Casey treats people with a wealth of individual characterization, a respectful dignity, a richness of poetry, while preserving a philosophical integrity that enables his working-class leader to assume the proportions of Aristotelian tragedy.

The strike has always captured the imagination of playwrights, for it is a moment of dramatic and decisive qualitative change. O'Casey does not give us the strike itself. To do so would be cinematic rather than theatrical. He is concerned with its effect on people. It is the test of the hero, Ayamonn, and is reported off stage in the Greek manner. Unlike the hero of classical tragedy, Ayamonn is neither "renowned nor prosperous," nor is his blood noble, nor his position exalted, but this working-class hero both in life and death rises to tragic stature.

The love between Sheila and Ayamonn is characteristic of O'Casey. It is not the usual love, abstracted from life. It is a love deepened, broken, reborn by the specific obstacles of actual living. Ayamonn thinks in terms of his class and himself. He would advance himself, paint, write, sing, but with the advancement of society. His thoughts



Sean O'Casey

are of Ireland. He never holds himself apart from his fellow workers. Even his Shakespeare is to get them to talk of poetry in the pubs, to make them know that Shakespeare is "part of the kingdom of heaven in the nature of everyman." Sheila is the present accepted bourgeois world. She is the daughter of a police sergeant and wooed by the inspector of the guards, not rich or important people, but middle class in thought. Sheila is concerned with self, which includes her lover but implies advancement at a cost to others, anarchic and socially irresponsible. She would have Ayamonn desert the strike to save their marriage. With more money, a little better home, a notch above the other railroad workers, they can be happy. To Ayamonn her request is treason.

Romeo and Juliet, in the youth of the modern world, were tragic figures who fell in the fight against a restricting feudal society which denied individual choice to lovers. Ayamonn, four hundred years later, is fighting against the corruption of that individualism. What would have meant survival to the "star-crossed lovers" is death to Ayamonn. The right of choice has become the law of the jungle, splintering common effort. Ayamonn fights for the individual as an element within the group. It is social thinking and feeling versus the each-man-for-himself anarchy of Sheila. The conflict of these two moralities is a major dramatic theme. Unfortunately, O'Casey does not give it full play. He is too eager to include too much—religion, politics—so that at best we get just a peek at the lovers. They are always being interrupted by the rest of society.

O'Casey is the earth-bound trade unionist with his head in the stars, a dialectical materialist with a dash of Shelley. In his early plays, the realist is dominant, but as the dream demands more room, the front parlor is pushed aside and the universe becomes the stage. Thus the problem with O'Casey is how to achieve fusion, how to harness the romanticism, how to enforce discipline, how to resolve his contradictory impulses. His partial failure gives a sense of incompleteness, often of awkwardness, yet the dynamics of this often unresolved contradiction is the source of his power and his poetry. This may account for the fact that though he disagreed with all that Yeats stood for, he felt a deep kinship with the dean of Irish poets. For there is a bit of Yeats in O'Casey, a bit of Yeats and a great deal of Gorky, a combination that makes for a most tempestuous marriage.

SOFT IMPEACHMENT

The Loyalty-Security Probe . . *by Edgar Kemler*

Washington

THE SOFT-SPOKEN Hennings subcommittee probe of the loyalty-security system is a rather startling commentary on the current McCarthy twilight. It seems incredible that only eighteen months ago, the gaudy McCarthy-army fracas was staged in the same high-ceilinged caucus room where its modest successor opened three weeks ago. Here again we find a Senator embroiled with Pentagon functionaries—only this time, instead of being charged with allegedly coddling Communists, the functionaries are being called down for denying some Communists and many non-Communists their constitutional rights. However, the Missouri Democrat and his able counsel, Lon Hocker, have so far failed to dramatize the great peril that underlies their charges as effectively as Joe McCarthy did for his. The Hennings specter of government-inspired thought-control still seems pallid by comparison with the McCarthy-image of one possible traitor-in-government holding "a razor over the nation's jugular." At any rate, none of the functionaries feel that this committee has imperiled his job, and the room that was jam-packed by its predecessor has been consistently deserted by all save a dozen reporters.

THAT Hennings isn't going anywhere in particular was indicated in his speech to the St. Louis Lawyers Association just prior to the hearings. On that occasion, he advised the Eisenhower Administration that his object was not to repeal the present security system in favor of traditional police methods, but to clean it up with reforms enabling the accused directly or indirectly to confront his accuser. However, since Attorney General Brownell and civil-service chief Philip Young had already initiated such reforms, although somewhat feebly, the subcommittee's ground has been undercut to that extent. To be sure, the Senator has not been denied occasional moments of triumph. In at least two cases involving charges of kinship with tainted parents, the subcommittee has forced the higher-ups to reverse rulings made at low echelons. Thanks to Hennings's personal intervention, Lieutenant Walter K. Novak finally received an honorable discharge from the army instead of the discriminatory general discharge, and Fred Karpoff, a research scientist, was restored to his job at the Cleveland Flight Propulsion Laboratory. Also, under Hocker's questioning, the State Department security chief, Scott McLeod, tacitly admitted that he had reversed a decision to withhold Dr. Linus Pauling's passport only because of Pauling's having received the 1954 Nobel Prize in chemistry. "We read the newspapers, too," McLeod remarked cynically.

However, while security procedure would now seem to be improving and some of its more absurd criteria about to be abandoned, its potential for ferreting out and ex-

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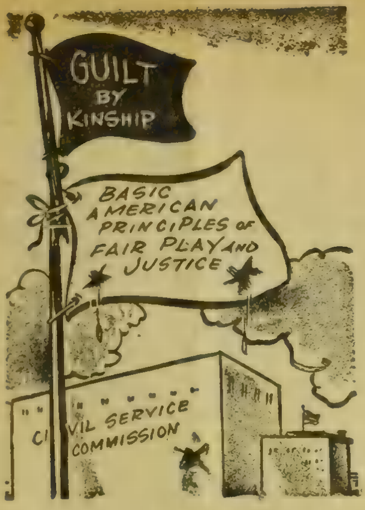
peling non-Communist dissenters is still as potent as ever. How this can be done in violation of due process and any reasonable standard of justice was suggested by civil-service chief Young, when he gave a new interpretation to a previously revealed fact. The fact is that three-quarters of the Eisenhower Administration's 3,685 "security risks" were fired ostensibly for non-security reasons such as incompetence, heavy drinking, or insubordination When this practice was first revealed by the Alsop brothers almost two years ago, it was thought to be merely a political device for raising the "security risk" count against the Truman Administration. However, Young has always said, and now perhaps may be believed, that it is not a political device but a security device for ridding the government of "undesirables" who might conceivably survive the out-and-out security procedures. While the full potential of this practice for frameups seems to have escaped the Hennings subcommittee, the dangers of the civil-service commission's giant 5,000,000-name file, by which "undesirables" are identified, did not. This file, which is kept up by forty-five to fifty clerks, was described by Young as a "grab-bag of hearsay evidence" based on newspaper clips, House Un-American Activities Committee reports, and Communist Party publications. It is used, he said, not only against present government employees, but also against past employees who might seek reemployment.

BY LONG ODDS, security reforms have cut deeper in our draft army than anywhere else in government. Ironically, this is because here the government has not been trying to exclude Communists and freethinkers as elsewhere, but rather to include them—at least for low-grade work details. In so doing, however, the army security men find themselves in an uncomfortable dilemma. On the one hand, if the army knowingly drafts a Communist and puts him to work and the Communist, in turn, does a good job as a soldier, then there's no honorable reason for not granting him an honorable discharge. That honorable discharges have not been forthcoming in such cases, explained one Pentagon expert, is because no Pentagon official would knowingly sign his name to them. On the other hand, if Communists are excluded from the draft, then *ipso facto,* they become a privileged group and draft-dodgers will be encouraged to become Communists. On November 21, Defense Secretary Wilson informed the subcommittee that he would now rather risk the second evil than the first. This, he explained quite candidly, was mainly because "the manpower pool has increased" and Communists are no longer needed. However, if Communists somehow still turn up in the army under the new rules, he said, there is still no compulsion to give them honorable discharges.


GUILT BY KINSHIP
BASIC AMERICAN PRINCIPLES OF FAIR PLAY AND JUSTICE
CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

Partymiller in York Gazette and Daily

Under Two Flags

By contrast with the military, where security is on the defensive, the Pentagon's program for security in industry is very much on the march. Here is a problem of direct concern not merely to government employees. If the present system that applies to some 4,000,000 government workers who have access to the Pentagon's classified data should be extended to the additional 16,000,000 workers involved in defense industry generally, as contemplated by the 1954 Butler bill, organized labor would be in serious trouble (see A Trap for Labor, *The Nation,* November 26). This possibility, which was eloquently voiced before the subcommittee by C. I. O. counsel, Joseph Rauh, is based on an actual distortion of security proceedings by the Westinghouse company to fire an official of the anti-Communist I. U. E.-C. I. O. Like many C. I. O.-union officials, this one had to associate with left-wingers of the United Electrical Workers in order to do battle with them; hence his vulnerability.

In a Democratic-controlled Congress the Butler bill is today perhaps a dead issue, despite heavy Pentagon endorsement. Yet even without legislative changes, and despite the program's now doubtful legality, industry is voluntarily adopting and extending the Pentagon's security practices, no doubt with the Westinghouse precedent in mind as well as to curry favor with the brass. When confronted with this shocking picture, Jerome D. Fenton, the official in charge, affirmed that the "results will defy criticism," though "the consequences bite deep." "My heart doesn't bleed for any Communists, I can assure you," he said in a complete evasion of the issues.

ONE CAN talk at length of Hennings's failure so far to cope with the heart of the problem—a failure which is primarily responsible for the public apathy displayed toward the hearings. Nonetheless, his very failures have served to point up the magnitude of the problem as well as the inadequacy of his legalistic solution. Hennings is the best defender of constitutional rights the New Deal Democrats have so far put forward. A red-cheeked, handsome man of 52, a former St. Louis district attorney, he has hid his liberal light under a barrel (except in the 1954 battle against the Bricker Amendment) until the very eve of his 1956 battle for reelection. Nor is his legalistic approach to be discounted insofar as it has enabled him publicly to champion about a score of hitherto unknown security risks. Perhaps the most shocking of these cases is that of Joseph Gaberman, one of the Pentagon's top experts in psychological-aptitude tests, whose branding as a security risk (he was an Amtorg chauffeur more than two decades ago) has made him totally unemployable. But unless the Democrats themselves show that they are willing to take some of the chances that they would foist upon the security chieftains (by taking a forthright stand against oppressive legislation, for instance) they are going to have to defend such victims for a long time to come.

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

A Violent Quest for Repose

HENRY ADAMS. A Biography. By Elizabeth Stevenson. The Macmillan Company. $6.

By Howard Mumford Jones

HENRY ADAMS considered the movement of thought from *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* to the *Education* to be a movement from unity to multiplicity. Reversing this action, his biographer must seek in multiplicity, unity. Patiently working with the ironies of a mind that made a profession of disappointment; studying the brilliance, the penetration, the learning, the pseudo-knowledge, and the guesswork of a genius forever performing before a mental mirror; estimating and penetrating the stylistic complexities of a great American writer, he must discover in this labyrinth components of temperament and mind that can be traced back to probable sources and common origins. Otherwise he remains a mere chronicler. Of course there is much to be said for the chronicler in the first instance, as is admirably evident in the sketch of Adams by Allen Johnson in the *Dictionary of American Biography.* But the publishing of Ernest Samuels's *The Young Henry Adams* in 1948 showed that the time was ripe for a larger study, and Elizabeth Stevenson has now produced it. At present it is the only thorough biography; whether it will also be the definitive biography, only time and the coming publication of the Adams family papers can tell.

Adams, says Miss Stevenson, "characteristically preferred the company of women." Not all women preferred Adams's company, but some of them did, and since she is obviously of this group, Miss Stevenson sees more deeply into the mature personality than does anybody else. Her account of Henry's childhood and youth is less excellent than later portions of her study, I think, because she wants the boy to grow up and the man to appear. She does not quote, for example, the wonderful story of young Henry being silently led to school by his grandfather, the most brilliant moment in the early pages of the *Autobiography;* she gives a perfunctory account of the Harvard years; of Henry's first trip to Europe she says: "he was the young American . . . about whom Henry James would soon be writing his earliest stories," a judgment from which I respectfully dissent. Launched on her real subject, however, she writes with wonderful acumen, full knowledge, and excellent sensibility. Her style takes on more and more the flavor of her subject, her mastery increases with the progress of the book.

The turning point for Miss Stevenson seems to be when Henry in the London legation takes to writing articles for the New York *Times* without his father's knowledge. "Unconsciously, perhaps, he was making a move toward independence of family. . . . He wanted, desperately, to be more than the son of the Minister."

THE CRUX of Adams's life was the death of Marian Hooper Adams, the central professional interest was the writing and study of history, the central intellectual concern the forging of a philosophy of man in an evolutionary universe. I shall say little of Miss Stevenson's treatment of Adams as historian. She traces the relation of husband and wife, so far as the documents permit us to see it, with grave sympathy. She notes how, as early as 1872, on the Nile, Mrs. Adams showed symptoms of depression, how Marian was "like her father, something of an anachronism—a puritan of dilettantish tastes," and how in 1880-81 a note of weariness appears "as if a tightly wound watch had begun almost imperceptibly to lose time." Implicit in the quiet happiness of the pair, a kind of tension was, I think, apparent—tension arising between the esthete and the intellectual, between the gifted amateur and the professional thinker, between a spirit hovering between austerity and delight, and a mind that regarded Thought as if Thought were a cosmic chess game. It must have been wearing to try to keep one's mind at the concert pitch demanded by that singular quintet, the Five of Hearts.

Self-destruction is usually attributed to emotional instability, but intellectual exhaustion is surely also a probable cause. Miss Stevenson cites the notes Saint-Gaudens set down as instructions for his statue:

> Adams
> Buddha
> Mental repose
> Calm reflection in contrast with the violence or force in nature.

This is cryptic; yet the contrast between Adams the activist and Buddha the contemplative is here. Does one not also have some intimation that the beloved dead had not found mental repose either in a universe of force or in a marriage in which sensibility was called upon to do the work of wit? In tragic life, God wot, affection will sometimes serve.

To argue that after his wife's death Adams devoted his talent to indicting the universe that had produced her and destroyed her is, of course, to over-simplify. Yet, once the *History* is finished, everything else of import seems to turn upon the theme of conflict between tranquility and force. The Virgin is a unity of repose, the multiplicity of the Dynamo is a multiplicity of force. Grant that in the age of Einstein the science of Adams seems naive, yet Miss Stevenson drops three illuminating remarks in this context. She writes that Adams "had grown up in an atmosphere of ardent faith . . . that science would change the world," that he studied gases and atoms "by intuition rather than knowledge," and she notes that the *Autobiography* mutes his productive years because they distracted from the general thesis that force is anarchy. Why did the objective scholar study science by intuition rather than knowledge and minimize his own achievements, except that he

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wished to cry out passionately against force and Time?

This gifted man was in some sense the child of Byron and Voltaire. There was something in him elementary as well as ironical. A hostile critic might plausibly demonstrate that, because it was outrageous of the universe to deal with Mr. and Mrs. Henry Adams as the universe had done, the scholar would condemn the universe. The rebelliousness, the self-incrimination, the irony of the mature Byron are paralleled by Adams, the principal difference being that in the American these qualities were held in restraint as judgments, not hurled at the target as weapons.

And just as Byron's passionate seeking came to a kind of repose in the Haidee episode of *Don Juan*, so in the South Seas, in Cuba, in Mexico, in any "good, rotten tropical Spanish island," Adams found momentary peace. Except that there was always the image of Robert Louis Stevenson, "rootless, declasse, exotic," to warn him against cultural instability. Miss Stevenson says somewhere: "When he stepped out of imagination of himself as an eighteenth-century Adams, he disliked his surroundings all the more" (just as Byron did), and therefore, unable either to accept or to let go, he determined to be "a sort of Cassandra, a truth teller in an inimical society, eccentric, perhaps mad, and utterly unable to leave off his discomforting thoughts."

Miss Stevenson analyzes the major works, but I think her analysis less good than her superb portrait painting. She does not, apparently, see the revealing lapse when, refusing an honorary degree from Harvard, Adams said no work of his merited it and pointed, instead, to Nicolay's and Hay's *Lincoln* as "more worthy of notice"—a strange judgment from a trained scholar, one inexplicable except on the grounds of friendship. Her treatment of the *History* has something of the air of a term paper in a graduate seminar. But this is merely to indicate that she sometimes nods. When she is completely involved with this intricate mind and more intricate personality, she could not write better or be more perspicuous. I think her *Henry Adams* is at the moment the richest and fullest portrait of the great American Enigma that we have.

With No Tragic Pose

THE WHISPERING GALLERY. By John Lehmann. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $5.

By Louis O. Coxe

THE EVENTS so crucial in the life of a man of letters born in 1907 should, by all precedent, impress a man of letters born in 1918 as trivial, wrongly analyzed or misapplied. What is less congenial to us than the immediate past, particularly that of our near-contemporaries? It seems to me one of the triumphs of Mr. Lehmann's book that the events, as he recounts and relives them, take on meaning and actuality, for the book is an honest one, unmarred on the one hand by breast-beating and cries of *mea culpa*, and on the other by efforts at self-justification. Inevitably one tends to compare *The Whispering Gallery* with Mr. Spender's *World Within World*. To do so is to adorn Mr. Lehmann's tale and to point several morals for the prepensive autobiographer. Here are no embarrassing revelations nor scandalous suggestions; we go with the author from the earliest recollections of childhood, how wonderfully Edwardian, to the eve of the second World War, through Eton and Cambridge, rubbing elbows with the great and near-great of a fascinating era. Mr. Lehmann gives us his memories and recollections with a candor that yet leaves room for a manly reticence and an aristocratic reserve that, in my opinion, make his impressions and attitudes the more cogent and appealing to a man ten years his junior and in the year 1955.

What emerges most forcibly, for one reader at any rate, is the sense of commitment thwarted by history, by the predicament of time and situation. Born into a prosperous family of considerable culture and position, the sensitive and imaginative boy finds the world he was trained to occupy changing all around him, receding from his grasp so that in the end he can stake his life and soul on literature alone, all else having failed—liberalism, the tradition, friends such as Auden and Isherwood—the defection of whom at the hour of England's crisis obviously and tragically pains Mr. Lehmann still, even in the telling. Yet one of the remarkable feats the author's integrity achieves consists in his refusal to falsify feeling in order to make more seductive his own image of himself. Whatever, and however grave, the losses he suffered, Mr. Lehmann does not pretend to having foreseen it all nor to a tragic pose; indeed, one is struck by his insistence on his own happiness and good fortune. His life at Eton shares nothing, in his telling of it, with George Orwell's *Such, Such Were The Joys;* the young John Lehmann loved the school and was apparently free to do as he pleased under the amiable rule of the late Provost M. R. James. He does not pretend that anyone warped his soul or sadistically tampered with his sexuality. One sees at last that here is the portrait of a young man who found the world out of joint indeed yet who was content to accept the doubleness of his nature and to enjoy the while he tried to do what he could for literature and literary men of his own generation.

A CERTAIN humaneness sets the tone of the book. While I for one found some of its earlier portion too usual greatly to interest me, nonetheless I found myself gradually fascinated by a tale that might well have been my own or that of many another of my age or a few years older. Bewilderment, a sense of impending disaster and of impotence before it, coupled with an enormous zest for experience and the life of the spirit: I found all these in Mr. Lehmann's book.

I hope that we get another volume soon, for beyond drawing a portrait of himself that is candid and restrained, Mr. Lehmann treats of his time and his friends with a sympathy that does not distort and an integrity that at the last puts the question to all the contemporary masters of hindsight: Could you have done any better? I was there. I saw it all. I suffered. My friends died in all those forgotten places. Can you bring them back to a world you have made new and better?

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Dreiser Under Our Skin

THE STATURE OF THEODORE DREISER. Edited by Alfred Kazin and Charles Shapiro. Indiana University Press. $5.

By John Lydenberg

IN 1928, just three years after the appearance of *An American Tragedy,* T. W. Whipple, one of the better critics of the twenties, wrote: "The importance of Theodore Dreiser as a writer is chiefly historical." Five years before that Sherwood Anderson had implied much the same in a piece of sentimental praise that sounded like a requiem: "The feet of Theodore are tramping through the wilderness of lies, making a path. . . . Those who follow will never have to face the road through the wilderness of Puritan denial, the road that Dreiser faced alone." From then on, reformers, radicals and conservatives seemed to regard Dreiser less as a novelist than as a symbol—a symbol of the past, of revolt, of the "liberation" of American literature.

Today we still tend to think of Dreiser first as a figure of controversy. We recall the noisy battles in which he was anathematized and applauded for his morals, or his philosophy, or his politics. His novels seemed incidental; what was important was Dreiser as a figure of cultural history. In this vein Lionel Trilling recently condemned "the doctrinaire indulgence which liberal intellectuals have always displayed toward Dreiser." Mr. Trilling was not primarily concerned with Dreiser, scarcely at all with his novels; instead he was using Dreiser as a symbol, a bludgeon with which to lambaste blundering liberals.

Is it true, then, that Dreiser's novels are dead, that his importance is chiefly historical? *The Stature of Theodore Dreiser* should help to answer the question. It is a collection of writings about Dreiser, of the analyses and criticisms that the editors deem most significant for an understanding of the author.

At first glance the book would appear to support Whipple. Many of the essays are concerned primarily with the man and his ideas; few concentrate on the novels as novels. But appearance is not reality. In most of the recent articles the authors were writing about Dreiser because to them his novels were very much alive. They had found that, as Alfred Kazin says in his introduction (one of the best things in the book), Dreiser "makes painful reading," that he "gets under our skin." He "puzzles and troubles us" as the world puzzled and troubled him. An early newspaper review of *Sister Carrie* got his quality almost as well as anyone has subsequently: "The impression is simply one of truth, and therein lies at once the strength and the horror of it."

Because Dreiser doesn't fit into neat critical categories, because he doesn't use literary devices that call for sophisticated explication, we don't know how to deal with his novels. They don't need explication. They are, annoyingly, just what they are. So when we want to talk about his novels, we don't quite know what to do and find ourselves talking about Dreiser himself, about Dreiser as a radical, or as an outsider, or as a mystic.

"Unfortunately," as Saul Bellow wrote a few years ago, "Dreiser is not very popular now." He is not popular among the advanced critics because the kind of puzzle he presents is not the kind their keys labeled symbol and myth can unlock. He will never be popular with the book-clubbers. But when the comforting Wouks of one decade are replaced by yet sleeker ones of the next, Dreiser will still be read—not alone for historical reasons, but because he is painful, disturbing, and there will always be a few people who ask of books not reassurance but life.

The Stature of Theodore Dreiser is an excellent collection. To any student of Dreiser it will prove indispensable. To anyone not familiar with this "loner" it will be illuminating and, possibly, exciting.

JOHN LYDENBERG is professor of English and of American Studies at Hobart and William Smith Colleges.

What Ought the Law?

THE MORAL DECISION. By Edmond Cahn. Indiana University Press. $5.

By William D. Rogers

MORALS, for some reason that escapes me, is an eclectic business. There are essays aplenty to marshalling science, mathematics, history, sociology and theology in support of moral theory. Professor Cahn's latest book attempts to drum the law into service.

It is a frank experiment in methodology. Cahn does not argue that the law supports any particular moral system. He does think that there is much in appellate court opinions in the way of "moral guides." He starts his quest of these with a stretch of discussion about the abstract similarities of the two subjects. According to him, there is something about morals that resembles the law. Morals are a collection of precepts and rules of action. So is the law. On the other hand, there is something in law that looks more or less like a moral order, or at least can discipline moral thinking. The law can supply drama, precision, decisiveness and responsibility to the exploration of moral questions.

However, the heart of Cahn's technique—and the bulk of the book—is the discussion of a series of extracted cases. Most of these are taken from appellate court decisions. They do raise some rather touchy questions: Who—passengers, crew, the feeble—"ought" to be thrown off an overloaded, sinking life boat in the middle of the ocean? Is a plaintiff barred from relief in a divorce proceeding if he is guilty of some philandering on his own? Can a barbershop owner sue another operator who opened a competitive shop for the sole purpose of driving the first out of business? Does Shostakovich have a right to keep his uncopyrighted music out of an anti-Soviet Hollywood film? And so on.

Cahn debates each of these posers and several others with a matchless mixture of insight and ambiguity. In the end he comes out vigorously for what he considers the moral answer in each case. What is moral to Cahn would be heresy to many.

WILLIAM D. ROGERS is a practicing attorney in Washington, D. C.

He holds, for instance, that anyone "who really understands the moral values in marriage will applaud" a particular New Mexico decision liberalizing divorce.

The book closes with a short note on the appropriateness of legal "procedures" for analysis of moral questions. Many lawyers will be astonished to know they have been practicing morals. Not that the book tries to prove that every substantive appellate opinion puts its hand on the jugular of a moral issue. But it certainly mines a good deal of moral gold out of cases which most lawyers would think of in terms of morally-neutral questions of business, railroad negligence, copyright law or insurance policies. So far as I know, in only one field does the law frankly and openly concern itself with moral questions. That is in decisions involving application of the federal statute that requires every applicant for citizenship to show that he has displayed a "good *moral* character" for the last five years.

Most judges hate to decide these cases. In fact, a good argument could be made that the law in general draws back as much as it can from enacting moral rules and deciding issues of morality. Take the old rule that criminal insanity was to be tested by asking the jury whether the defendant knew the difference between "right" and "wrong." This is Cahn's very first illustration of the concern of the law with morals. It has just recently been abandoned by the District of Columbia Court of Appeals as [illegible] "fallacious" test.

It is misleading to dignify litigation and law office work with moral overtones. The law really has no more to teach moral debaters than any other of the humanities—in fact, I suspect, a good deal less. If it were otherwise and if the law really had a pedagogical value, lawyers and judges would have learned their lessons long ago and the law might seem somewhat less immoral and treacherous than it does.

Coming

Eleven works of fiction by native North Africans

Reviewed by Eleanor G. Knight

Painters as Draughtsmen

DRAWINGS AND WATERCOLORS. By Vincent Van Gogh. With Notes by Douglas Cooper. The Macmillan Company. $5.50.

HENRI DE TOULOUSE-LAUTREC. Drawings and Sketches in Color. Wth an Introduction by Hanspeter Landolt. The Macmillan Company. $5.50.

DRAWINGS BY THE HOLBEIN FAMILY. With an Introduction by Edmund Schilling. The Macmillan Company. $2.95.

FRANCISCO GOYA. Drawings. With an Introduction by Robert Th. Stoll. The Macmillan Company. $2.95.

HONORE DAUMIER. Drawings. With an Introduction by Jean Adhemar. The Macmillan Company. $2.95.

JACQUES-AUGUSTE-DOMINIQUE INGRES. Drawings. With an Introduction by Jacques Mathey. The Macmillan Company. $2.95.

By S. Lane Faison, Jr.

THE TITLES listed above are the most recent additions to the two series of Holbein Art Books, entitled respectively Watercolors and Pastels, and Drawing Books. The former, larger in format and containing thirty-two color plates, is the more expensive, but both series are moderately priced for what they offer. The plates in both series are excellent and the texts combine scholarship with insight. Cooper and Landolt in particular bring new understanding to artists who have already had too many books written about them (often with plates that falsify the quality of their work). Moreover, there has been a plethora of picture books on paintings, with no account given to the painters' drawings and almost none to the process by which a work of art emerges. The public thus gains an erroneous impression that the dimension of time does not exist in this art, whether in the making or in the viewing. Careful study of a master's drawings is perhaps the best corrective to this esthetic constriction, for drawings tell us directly of an artist's struggle to transform motif into art, and observation of the process provides wonderful training for that kind of looking at pictures, which, after taking much time, can ultimately arrive at painting's sense of immediacy without missing its complexity.

All of these books are beautifully made, but the one on Van Gogh deserves special praise for the care taken to keep the text-page light, competing as little [illegible] possible with the plate opposite. Advantage is taken of the fact that text and plates are printed on the same paper: Cooper dispenses with the rather

---

S. LANE FAISON, JR., is chairman of the Art Department at Williams College.

What WILLIAM Z. FOSTER says about—

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artificial distinction between introduction and specific commentary, and when he requires more space to develop a thought he takes up to three pages instead of being limited arbitrarily to the page opposite the plate concerned.

IT IS especially important to approach Van Gogh and Toulouse-Lautrec through their drawings and studies. Van Gogh turned to oil painting only after at least four years of work in drawing and watercolor, and in these media he worked out the basis of his later style. Lautrec, as Landolt constantly emphasizes, was essentially a draughtsman, despite the expressive force of his color. Economy of statement, not high finish, is the clue to his power, and on more than one occasion the quick notation was scarcely outstripped by the more extended oil version. Study of Lautrec's sketches also clarifies the significance of his posters in his total work: these have become, in a sense, much too well known, and Lautrec regarded them as a special problem not at the heart of his struggle to lift Appearance up to Reality. Among the many interesting plates which Landolt has selected, four show us how Lautrec proceeded in lithography from black-and-white to color, via a watercolor study brushed on top of an uncolored impression.

Selected New Books

Belle Lettres

YOUNG HENRY JAMES, 1843-1870. By Robert C. Le Clair. Bookman Associates. $6.50. This biography uses lengthy quotations from letters and material gathered at the scenes of James's travels to give an especially copious background to the years leading up to his first attempts at writing. Excellent in itself, it adds little to what is already known about James's complicated childhood and youth.

THE LITERARY SYMBOL. By William York Tindall. Columbia. $4.50. According to Mr. Tindall, a literary symbol is an exact reference to something indefinite whose value lies, not in its referential power, but in its capacity for embodying meaning in itself. Symbolism, he says, is a mode of thought that is both evocative and revelatory, but ultimately mysterious. He examines the use of symbols in many modern works, showing, among other things, the influence of the Hellenistic symbolist tradition of Hermes Trismegistus on Baudelaire, Yeats, and Joyce.

OUR SAMOAN ADVENTURE. By Fanny and Robert Louis Stevenson. Edited by Charles Neider. Harper. $4. The diary of Stevenson's wife, rescued from oblivion by an enterprising scholar, gives a delightful account, in lively, if unimaginative prose, of her life in Samoa. Interpolated passages from Stevenson's letters make the book an absorbing posthumous collaboration on the primitive housekeeping, superstitious natives, and Graustarkian politics that complicated the couple's Samoan exile. JACOB KORG

Philosophy

HISTORY OF THE WARFARE OF SCIENCE WITH THEOLOGY IN CHRISTENDOM. By Andrew D. White. Braziller. $5. A timely reissue of this classic historical treatment (1895) of the conflict between theological belief and scientific discovery. Numerous fields from geology and medicine to linguistics and Biblical criticism are historically canvassed for their evidence of the dogmatic intolerance and persecution that opposed the growth of scientific knowledge. The chapter titles have a flair even in our age of slogans—for example, From Genesis to Geology, From Miracles to Medicine—but it is the detail which is really gripping. It is interesting to recall that the book was stimulated by religious attacks on the founding of Cornell University as a non-sectarian institution (White was its president), and that White himself saw the villain as dogmatic theology, from which religion had to be freed to go hand in hand with science.

THE PHENOMENOLOGY OF MORAL EXPERIENCE. By Maurice Mandelbaum. Free Press. $5. A keen theoretical analysis of selected ethical issues, of special interest to philosophers and others who want to probe sensitively into the qualities of their moral consciousness. Considerable attention is given to the sources of moral controversies and the extent to which they can be resolved. The author, while regarding moral experience as a natural phenomenon, believes that it is wrongly interpreted as a reckoning of value consequences. He pulls us back to the direct scrutiny of the experience, using an approach comparable to that employed in Gestalt psychology.

ABRAHAM EDEL

THEATRE

Harold Clurman

THE THEATRE at its best is either festival or rite. The upstart realistic theatre is only superficially a challenge to this axiom. Chekhov is a poet, Ibsen a priest. The theatre which merely reports or attempts literally to hold the mirror up to nature is a hundred times less interesting than nature. Because for many years the theatre's festivities and solemnities had become hollow and sleazy, lacking true gaiety or inspired meaning, the naturalistic theatre acquired a certain fascination. The theatre was manacled by a false realism as cheap and trite as the most pompous or meretricious theatricalism.

There are distinct signs of change among us. Many of the outstanding successes of this season are poetic and theatrical plays, ritualistic or romp-like in character. *Tiger at the Gates, The Lark, The Chalk Garden,* and now *The Matchmaker.* The last is a creative adaptation of a play by the "classic" Austrian dramatist, Johann Nestroy (1801-62) which Thornton Wilder wrote in 1938 for Max Reinhardt and called *The Merchant of Yonkers.* It was revised and revived at the Edinburgh Festival of 1954, presented last season at the Haymarket Theatre in London and is now triumphant in New York at the Royale.

Reinhardt's production was impeded by his unfamiliarity with American theatre custom—although his production brought us some delightful settings by Boris Aronson. *The Matchmaker* is directed by Tyrone Guthrie, whom nothing impedes. The most robust and imaginative of British directors—actually he is Irish—Guthrie is a playboy in the healthiest sense of the word. His art has enormous verve, a kind of Tyl Eulenspiegel prankfulness combined with a gusty *disinvolture,* unmindful of decorum or even propriety.

The direction of *The Matchmaker* strains a bit in the first act, because Guthrie excels at movement rather than in sentiment, and the play at that point needs warmth rather than impetus, but once the plot begins to twist and turn in its crazy cavortings, the show becomes a fetching marathon of joyous inconsequentialities and sweeping slapstick.

THOUGH the entire cast is excellent, the evening is largely Guthrie's and Ruth Gordon's. Miss Gordon has never given a more satisfying performance. Her clowning is impish and abandoned, at once sharp and zestful. She seems to be improvising all the time, but having seen *The Matchmaker* twice, I know how much shrewd theatrical calculation there is in her spontaneity. She has herself a ball in the part, and nobody seems to deserve it more.

The play itself is a pure farce, and therefore without verifiable content. Its meaning is in the doing of it, the sheer physical exhilaration of its theatrical pattern. Yet it distills a certain poetry and charm. There is a kind of unsentimental Saroyanesque cheerfulness about it. Saroyan tried to be hearty and gay in the midst of depression; so there is a sneaking little ache in his work which he tried his best to hide. Wilder's play reflects a time of prosperity and innocence. His style—clean, crisp, cool, graceful, all smiles ("The streets of New York are full of cabhorses winking at each other") shows no trace of shadow. A kind of happy chromo brightness—abetted by Tanya Moisewitsch's settings and costumes which for all their riot manage to be discreet—invites us to pack up our troubles and think back to that old New York—"Father's" eighties—where, so it pleases us to fancy, we might have been truly carefree.

It is a happy condition to be in for two hours or so, but in all honesty it must be said that nowadays not everyone is capable of this sort of levity. I noticed a few people in the audience whom it made restless. There are some who are too attached to the prose of their torment.

Art

A. L. Chanin

EVERY FEW YEARS the Museum of Modern Art presents an exhibition of new acquisitions. Since this museum is the leading taste-setter in contemporary art, the bequests and gifts it accepts, and the art it purchases outright, are variously scrutinized by public, artists and critics. Aside from being admired for whatever artistic appeal, the new items are checked for the evidence they can give on changes of trend, on the rise and fall of individual reputations. And the museum is judged for how well it is filling the gaps in its permanent collection, how fruitfully it is pursuing its search for new talent.

The current exhibition (on view to February 19), offers a wide range. In some fifty pieces, it moves from a world-famous "old master" of moderns, Monet, who was born in 1840, to a young American sculptor, Elbert Weinberg, born in 1928. Fourteen countries are represented, including Colombia, Canada, Brazil and Australia. A number of artists enter the museum for the first time, while star names like Picasso and Matisse (in small examples: a little canvas and two sculptures) are old, revered tenants on West 53rd Street.

The major addition to the collection is Monet's huge, late impressionist canvas, *Water Lilies,* circa 1916-1923. Paradoxically, this is at once the most old-fashioned, the least fashionable and the most daring of the acquisitions. For it has been a long time since late impressionism, with its soft interweavings of color and blurred, fluid forms, has stirred any enthusiasm among collectors and museums. The more structural art of the late post-impressionists and of the cubists, and a swarm of other traditions, almost relegated this last outburst of a great movement to the dust-bin of modern art. But the spread of a school of abstract art that works in free, fluid forms and soft color, is drawing new attention to impressionism's break with sharp contour and precise form, to its relaxed mingling of drifting color units.

A bold and canny purchase at this time, the Monet demonstrates that a great tradition retains and projects vitality, and can infuse its vision into other areas of style. Yet it would be a mistake to view this canvas primarily in terms of what it anticipates. It is what it is as well, an epic of impressionism, one of a series which preoccupied the half-blind painter in his last years. One painter has described them rather grandiloquently as the "Sistine Chapel of Impressionism." The museum's canvas fuses radiant clouds and foliage within the rippling reflections of a pool. Alive with swift-moving brush strokes, luminous color and subtle form and space relation-

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The Monet oil re-evaluates an old master. A group of German Expressionist oils enlarges our view of the tumultuous panorama of present art. Emil Nolde's lyric and emotional *Christ among the Children,* 1910; Schmidt-Roffluft's *Pharisees,* 1912; and the late Max Beckmann's brooding *Descent from the Cross,* 1917, with its Gothic-like attenuations of Christ's figure, stress a vital movement still largely absent from American museums.

Sir Thomas Beecham Conducting, by Walter Sickert, who died in 1942, brings a leading English painter for the first time into an American museum collection. Its muted tones, the odd balance of a figure in space, its informal movements, express a selective realism, tempered by a decorative harmony, which links Sickert to his years with Degas.

There are also several impressive newcomers. The Australian, Sidney Nolan, paints a stark, arresting interpretation of the death of an Australian Robin Hood in *After Glenrowan Siege.* Elbert Weinberg's beechwood carving, *Ritual Figure,* is a fresh variation on the traditional blowing of the ram's horn, or Shofar; it is also, points out the sculptor, "reminiscent of the horns blown at the battle of Jericho. . ." and plays a "general symbolic role, a call to dedication." A British sculptor presents a witty, maze-like iron wire form, *Men Fishing from a Pier.* Joseph Cornell, who composes directly with beguiling objects, is represented by an arrangement of glass ice cubes and a necklace in a box, *Taglioni's Jewel Casket.* A young Canadian, Paul-Emile, paints a vigorous abstraction, *La Guignolee.*

And the museum has strengthened its collection of established names, including Soutine, Leger, Graham Sutherland, Rufino Tamayo, Baziotes, van Dongen, Dufy, Noguchi.

THE BEST LOOK so far at Jackson Pollock's work is on view at the Sidney Janis Gallery (to December 31). Sixteen paintings provide a glance at his last fifteen years. Taken together, the paintings reveal a serious, intent painter, slowly and stubbornly working out a contribution to abstraction which has influenced not only American painters, but Canadian and European as well. Pollock's best examples are powerful, rich and bold.

In dribbling paint down his canvases—a reason for much uninformed laughter—Pollock relies on automatism, on intuitive response to accident. Yet intuition is never pure chance; it is governed by a specific personality. All the paintings, early or recent, express a coherent esthetic outlook.

A characteristic Pollock painting—take *Convergence,* 1952—is an intricate, labyrinthian maze of lustrous color, meshing and weaving in and out and across the canvas, combining into sweeping calligraphic movements and appealing textures. The impact is lyrical—not a delicate lyricism, but robust and exuberant. Whereas such paintings were seen some years ago as violent and stark, they now assume an ingratiating, almost serene mood.

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE FOUR Boccherini string quartets on Columbia ML-5047—Opp. 1 No. 2, 40 No. 2, 58 Nos. 2 and 4—and the playing of them by the New Music Quartet make this record one of the events of the year. The quartets are excellent examples of Boccherini's engagingly individual and fresh inventive writing; the performances exhibit a technical, musical and ensemble incandescence beyond anything I can recall hearing recently in the playing of other groups. The New Music Quartet plays with the beauty and transparency of blended tone that is so extraordinary in the Quartetto Italiano, but in addition with an energy and force that not only are exciting in these Boccherini pieces but—as I have heard in the concert hall—produce superb performances of Beethoven and Schubert. It is extremely regrettable, therefore, that with Beethoven, Schubert, Mozart and Haydn recorded for Columbia by the Budapest Quartet, all that this company gives the New Music Quartet to record is Schumann and Mendelssohn, contemporary works, and out-of-the-way items like Hugo Wolf's Quartet and now the Boccherini pieces. One can only hope that Victor will have the major classical quartet literature recorded by the finest string quartet now operating.

Mozart's Divertimento K.287 for strings and horns, which Toscanini performed with the NBC Symphony on Victor LM-13 with enchanting inflection of the fast movements and a powerful shaping of the Adagio as a great vocal declamation, is played on London LL-1239 by members of the Vienna Octet. This performance of chamber-music dimensions is paced and phrased well, and has only one inadequacy: the solo violin lacks the power of tone and style required by the Adagio.

The performances of Mozart's trios K.496 and 502 on Haydn Society 9001 offers piano-playing by Lili Kraus that is too percussively self-assertive and violin-playing by Boskovsky that is too pallid in tone and style, with only the less important cello part played with beautiful tone and phrasing by Huebner.

Bloch's Quintet for piano and strings, a comparatively early work, is one that loses none of its impressiveness after thirty years, and in fact seems to me to be his finest achievement. MGM 3239 offers an outstanding performance by Johana Harris and the Walden Quartet, which is superbly reproduced.

The highly individual, powerful and strange idiom of Janacek is heard in his "Mladi" ("Youth") Suite for wind sextet, and his Concertino for piano and a group of seven strings and winds—the first work being for me the more impressive of the two. "Mladi" is excellently performed by the Philadelphia Woodwind Quintet (Kincaid, de Lancie, Gigliotti, Schoenbach and Jones of the Philadelphia Orchestra) and Lester, bass clarinet; the second by Firkusny with Kincaid, Gigliotti, Schoenbach, Jones, Krachmalnick, Madison and Lifschey.

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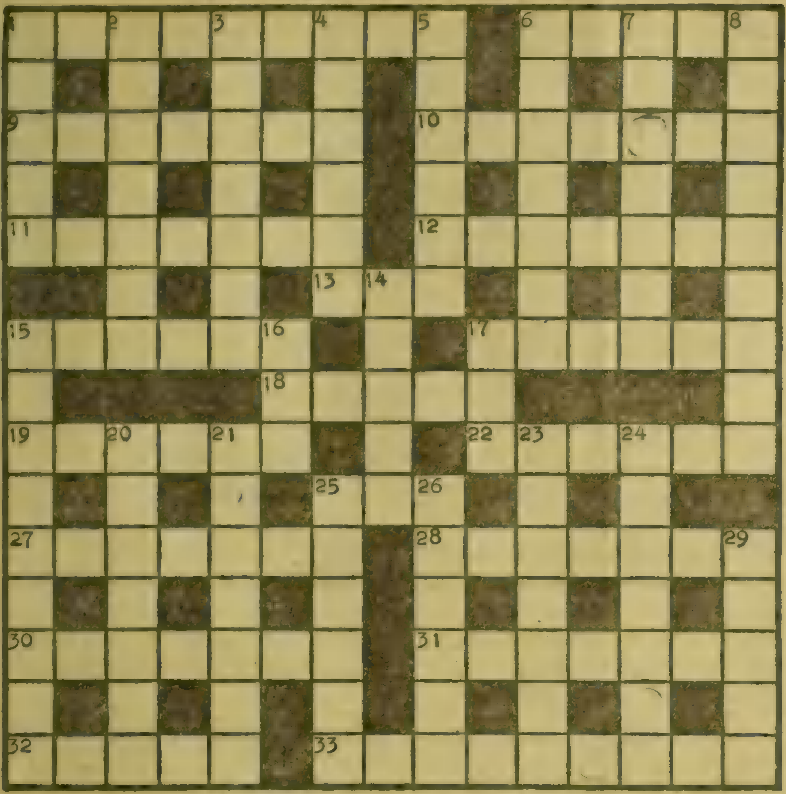
BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The sort of cruise extortionists go on. (9)
[illegible] Reject [illegible] stimulus to [illegible] direction. (5)
9 Fustian. (7)
10 Certainly not a pacifistic organization! (7)
11 Was he responsible for the sales boom? (7)
12 No, nothing like fuel is brought back by him who distrusted the wooden horse. (7)
13, 19, 8 down Implying [illegible] purchaser could have gone for their short fruit supply, but not for long. (3,2,4,2,7)
15 A third of the frontier certainly makes it obvious. (6)
17 A man who might treat one after another, by thes sound of it. (6)
18 Give up, one way or another. (5)
19 See 13 across.
22 He leaves home by degrees (to avoid the shock?). 1-5)
25 One of the 4 family made it hot for some people. (3)
27 Indian or French animal. (7)
28 This variety of Redbill could scarcely be trained! (3-4)
30 This month, everything is set up. (7)
31 His rank is eighth, when it comes avatars. (8)
32 Is the oration extremely short, at least in proportion? (5)
33 and 26 down 15 of verse. (3,6,6)

DOWN

1 Stuffed dates. (5)
2 Like a government act, usually. (2,1,4)
[illegible] Such things are peculiarly placed. (7)
4 A bad year to look up, and certainly not one for fire prevention. (6)
5 Are they on the verge of flight? (6)
6 Its serving was not necessarily confined to the Round Table. (7)
7 Let go! It seems tight! (7)
8 See 13 across.
14 and 16 II? (3,2,3,)
15 Tears all over the city with one? (4,5)
16 See 14 down.
17 Eddie's wife could be a big help to him! (3)
20 Stubborn, like a rather tough crowd. (4-3)
21 A rather shaky performance? (7)
23 In [illegible] poor condition, yet rising to be a composer. (7)
24 Perhaps a general sort of alarm, but all quiet within. (7)
25 Lock us up, in [illegible] different case. (The bill will be rather large!) (6)
26 See 33 across.
29 Arrange for a hanging. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE [illegible]

ACROSS: 5 JUMBUCK; 9 BEARPIT; 10 RELABEL; 11 ABELE; 12 UNSNARLED; 15 SUPREME; 18, 17, 13, 14 18 THE MAN WHO CAME TO DINNER; 21 OOLITIC; 26 IMPORTUNE; 28 INNER; 29 and 20 NEAR AND FAR; 30 LEEWARD; 31 RAT RACE; 32 RESPECT. DOWN: 1 and 1 across TO BEAT THE BAND; 2 ENAMEL; 3 APPLE CART; 4 DETRUDE; 5 JURISTS; 6 MALTA; 7 UNBELIEF; 18 KILLDEER; 16 PHARISEES; 19 and 23 ELEPHANTS EAR; 22 COULD BE; 23 STELLAR; 24 INHALE; 25 CREDIT; 27 RIATA.

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"I AM INNOCENT." These are the words of Morton Sobell, scientist and father of two children, condemned to 30 years in Alcatraz for "conspiracy to commit espionage."

Morton Sobell was tried with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in 1951. Although Sobell was called an "atom spy" by the prosecution, Judge Kaufman admitted to Sobell in court: "The evidence in the case did not point to any activity on your part in connection with the atomic bomb project."

Unbelievable as it may seem, there was not a shred of evidence that Sobell committed espionage. There was only the word of one accuser—prosecution witness Max Elitcher. Judge Kaufman said in his charge to the jury: "If you do not believe the testimony of Max Elitcher as it pertains to Sobell, then you must acquit the defendant Sobell."

Can Elitcher be believed? During cross examination Elitcher admitted that he had falsified a loyalty oath and feared a perjury indictment. In the opinion of radio commentator and author Elmer Davis, the testimony of Elitcher and the prosecution witnesses against the Rosenbergs is unreliable. After reading the new book *The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg,* Elmer Davis wrote the publishers: "Assuming that the record is here correctly cited (and I have no reason to suppose that it is not) I cannot believe the testimony of Elitcher and the Greenglasses, or much if any of that of Harry Gold."

"Will you help win justice for my husband and for America?"

—Asks Helen Sobell, Morton Sobell's Wife.

• It is a sign of a new spirit in our country that the Senate Sub-Committee on Constitutional Rights is holding hearings on the Bill of Rights. Join the many people asking that the Sobell case be included in the committee's investigation. Write to: SENATOR THOMAS C. HENNINGS, Jr., CHAIRMAN, SUB-COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS, U. S. SENATE OFFICE BLDG., WASHINGTON, D. C.

• Funds are urgently needed for Morton Sobell's legal appeals and to help circulate the facts throughout the country. Contribute as generously as you can.

—FILL OUT THIS COUPON TODAY—

COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL
Room D. [illegible] Broadway, New York City AL 4-9983

☐ Please send me additional information on the case. Enclosed find $_______ to aid Morton Sobell's legal appeals and to circulate the facts.

NAME ______________________________

ADDRESS __________ CITY ________ ZONE ___ STATE ______

*Checks may be made payable to Mrs. Morton Sobell or to SOBELL COMMITTEE

Did Morton Sobell's Trial Meet the Standards of American Justice?

DR. HAROLD C. UREY, atomic scientist and Nobel Prize winner: "The integrity of justice as it is administered in the United States is at stake . . . Mr. Sobell was not properly tried and the verdict and sentence were not justified."

U. S. SENATOR WILLIAM LANGER: "I pledge that everything I can do as a member of the Judiciary Committee of the U.S. Senate will be done to see that Sobell gets justice."

JUDGE JEROME N. FRANK of the Circuit Court of Appeals in a dissenting opinion: ". . . There was error, in this respect, which requires that Sobell be given a new trial."

WALDO FRANK, novelist and essayist: "Sobell is a symbol of our responsibility, and of our danger, of the tragic danger to America if we permit this injustice to be done."

JUDGE PATRICK H. O'BRIEN, Detroit, Mich.: ". . . In accordance with our inheritance as a liberty-loving nation, I urge the immediate release of Morton Sobell."

CAREY McWILLIAMS, The Nation: "Apart from the fact that Elitcher was 'on the hook' for having previously falsified an affidavit, his testimony is inherently incredible."

NANCY F. WECHSLER, New York Post: "Whether Sobell should have been convicted on the meagre record against him . . . whether the tactics of the prosecution or the demeanor of the judge impaired the fairness of the proceedings, whether the defendants were convicted and sentenced on a record which might not have produced the same results in calmer times—all these are real issues which call for honest appraisal."

WARREN K. BILLINGS, who was framed with Tom Mooney and spent 23 years in prison: "The district attorney threatened me that if I didn't testify against Tom Mooney he would hang Mooney and me too. They let Morton Sobell know that if he didn't testify against the Rosenbergs, he would rot in Alcatraz. But Sobell didn't have anything to testify any more than I had."

PROF. STEPHEN S. LOVE, professor of law, Northwestern University: "The 30-year sentence imposed upon Morton Sobell is a blight upon the reputation of American justice."

For more information . . . Write to the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, 940 Broadway, New York City, for more facts. Available now: Texts of statements by Dr. Harold C. Urey, Senator William Langer, Waldo Frank, and Warren K. Billings . . . . . . **The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg,** definitive story of the Rosenberg Sobell trial by John Wexley (672 pp., $6) . . . The full eight-volume trial transcript ($6).

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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THE Nation

DECEMBER 31, 1955
20c

Soviet Economic Competition

Can Moscow Deliver?

by Peter Wiles

The Legality of H-Bomb Tests

by Emanuel Margolis

The French Elections

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Letters

What's In a Name?

Dear Sirs: I was glad to read, in your editorial in the November 19 issue, that the alleged effort to make "capitalism" respectable by rechristening it "consumerism" has failed through consumer resistance. The renaming scheme is credited to Madison Avenue. If that report is correct, the name must have been spawned in some secret Communist cell located below the sidewalk level—the brainchild of conspirators who, after reading Veblen, thought of this subtle plan to destroy capitalism by means of semantics.

The dupes of this conspiracy—the upper-story and penthouse gentry of the Avenue—no doubt are mourning, especially as the failure follows the tarnishing and rubbing off of the similarly designed "free enterprise" label. What these publicity experts do not see is that the word "capitalism" persists because it is honest. The suggested substitutes all fail because they are dishonest. In my opinion the proper way to restore popular veneration of capitalism is to wash off the grime (or chisel it off) rather than rename the statue. However, if Madison Avenue genuinely believes that the evolving nature of the institution warrants a change, it can gain public acceptance only by going in the direction of still greater honesty. What about calling it "advertism?"

IRVING BRANT

Washington, D. C.

Middle East Crisis

Dear Sirs: The recent shipment of arms to Egypt by Czechoslovakia has alarmed many of us who were hoping for peace in the Near East. This new situation calls for an "agonizing reappraisal" of our vacillating policy in that area. While attempting to complete our alliances with the Arab nations, it was inevitable that the Soviet bloc should take advantage of every opening possible.

We must take a firm position and bear in mind that our security will not be furthered by an Arab alliance, as it would prove neither effective nor trustworthy. Egypt was not a dependable ally in the last war. The only way to insure genuine peace negotiations is to warn a would-be aggressor that Israel, too, may obtain arms. We must not stand by to see Israel defenseless in the face of a threatening Egypt encouraged by the Soviet bloc. The Western powers, in their own interest, must guarantee Israel's integrity against aggression not only on paper but in a manner that would assure swift and ready aid.

MILTON J. STEINHARDT, M. D.

Detroit, Mich.

Coming
The Big Guns: 1945-1955
A dramatic picture of America on the road to the garrison state
By Matthew Josephson

Another "Stalwart"

Dear Sirs: As an admirer of the Gilbert and Sullivan operas, I was delighted to read your tribute to the D'Oyly Carte Company in the October 15 issue. In referring to Peter Pratt, you mention that he has "inherited the roles once played by such stalwarts as George Grossmith and Martyn Green." The omission of Sir Henry Lytton's name in this connection is surprising; it was doubtless an oversight.

F. W. BURTON

Hucknall, Notts., England.

Disagree on Disarmament

Dear Sirs: John Bauer's helpful letter on disarmament in the November 22 issue leaves me skeptical. Of course, in this era of atomic and hydrogen weapons disarmament is a must if the race is to survive. But I doubt that it can be attained. Why does a nation arm? A government will tell its citizens and the world at large that it is arming for defense only. But a nation arms for the same reason that a footpad gets a blackjack—to go out and grab something. In spite of all the fine talk the Great Powers don't like the idea of disarmament. Exploitation of "inferior" races, meaning those with fewer guns than we have, would be a thing of the past. Colonialism and imperialism would go by the board, ditto Dulles's "position of strength." So I don't think the powers are quite ready to lay down the "white man's burden"—the sack of loot he brings home from the backward countries (which is one reason they're backward). No, I'm afraid disarmament is a long way off.

SAMUEL BUCK

New York, N. Y.

Dear Sirs: While I share the concern expressed in John Bauer's letter on the subject of disarmament, I don't find myself in agreement with his "peace proposal." Delegation of "police power" to the U. N. in the context of its present alignment is bound to make the U. N. an instrument of the bloc which commands the majority of the votes. The veto by Security Council members was placed in the Charter because this was foreseen, and at the time the United States supported the provision as much as the U. S. S. R.

At this stage in history, it is not only futile to believe that nations, especially large ones, will surrender their sovereignty voluntarily, it is destructive of the U. N. to press for Charter changes which would withdraw the veto. If such efforts at revision were successful, it would force out of the U. N. many nations (and not only the Soviet bloc), and we would have left a group which would be in basic agreement but it would no longer be the United Nations.

If I understand Mr. Bauer's thinking, he will say at this point: "Then no progress toward disarmament is possible." Progress is possible—emphatically so—via big-nation agreement. The best example, although some people who expected too much are turning sour, is the Geneva conference.

I would agree with Mr. Bauer—as who wouldn't—that grass-roots pressure is necessary. I would suggest as a most important step that we press our government to accept the Soviet offer to cease all atomic-bomb tests. Here is an agreement which does not require inspection and which if successfully carried out would inspire confidence and promote larger steps in the direction of disarmament.

MORRIS YANOFF

Chicago, Ill.

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THE *Nation*
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

U. N.—The Next Decade . . *by Edgar Snow*

IF THE first decade of the U. N. was largely dominated by the U. S., its second decade, which begins next week, promises a very different story. To Mr. Dulles and his U. N. delegate, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., the 1955 session of the General Assembly must seem suddenly to have turned maverick. There was, for one thing, the underestimated Krishna Menon and his role as a *deus ex machina*—utilizing the neutralist position to organize new combinations of opposition which Mr. Lodge failed to anticipate. For another, our "solid South," the Latin Americans, exhibited an unwonted fickleness. But the heaviest blow to U. S. prestige came in the closing days of the session when sixteen new members were voted into the U. N. on conditions defined by Moscow.

U. N. "intransigence" had already been demonstrated during November by the marathon vote over a non-permanent seat on the Security Council. Mr. Lodge's instructions required him to back the Philippines. This was done without prior understanding with the British and other NATO powers and despite the ten-year-old "gentlemen's agreement" which conceded the seat to Eastern Europe. It was a poor moment for a test of strength. Britain, committed to Yugoslavia, was soon joined by the Communist bloc, as well as the "Bandung powers" and some Latin-American delegates. The subsequent deadlock ran through a record thirty-five ballots in the General Assembly. Yugoslavia and the Philippines finally agreed to alternate as occupants of the seat, but this compromise was reached only after the General Assembly and Security Council had meanwhile accepted a Soviet resolution on the unexpected "package deal" on new members. In all the backstage maneuvering, it was clear that never in U. N. history had U. S. initiative and dexterity been so faltering, if not altogether absent.

Some time ago thoughtful observers realized that pressure for admission of the excluded nations could not be contained once cold-war tension began to diminish. Whenever the Russians decided to bargain with their veto in order to seat their own satellites they would be able to name the terms of the exchange—unless before that time American diplomacy had won adherents to more attractive alternatives. Indeed the present writer pointed out in these columns more than two years ago that the time was late, but not too late, to reach agreements with a majority of the non-Communist powers on membership questions. The U. S. had to face the inevitable fact that Red China's delegates would soon have to be recognized in the U. N. on the basis of the principle of universality. It was suggested, therefore, that the U. S. could still work toward a "two-China" compromise, trading the admission of Japan, India or Italy (or all three) to the Security Council for Nationalist China's retirement to the General Assembly—where both the Formosan and Peking regimes might be confined until Formosa's fate could be determined under peaceful international or U. N. auspices. Other and perhaps more practicable possibilities existed. None was pursued. When the Russians called the hour, Mr. Lodge might just as well have been taken wholly by surprise.

THE NEW admissions mean an end to the "automatic majority" in the U. N. Before the Bandung conference the U. S. might have won the support of some of the newly chosen Asian states but by now they have been committed on key questions to Asian-Arab-African solidarity, largely under Indian influence. Chiang Kai-shek's use of the veto against Outer Mongolia has all but ended his pretensions to represent China. It will take adroit U. S. manipulating to get his credentials accepted in the next General Assembly. After that he will be lucky to retain a seat even as the governor of Formosa. Mr. Dulles must also accept responsibility for the situation which now compels the U. S. either to admit Outer Mongolia and Red China to the U. N. or be resigned to the exclusion of Japan—and continued heavy Soviet pressure to drive Japan into a neutralist corner.

Aside from the extraordinary lack of U. S. policy and tactical planning exposed by the U. N. "revolt," it may also be looked upon as a reflection of post-Geneva convictions among non-atomic powers that the danger of their own immolation in a hydrogen war has greatly diminished. After long-suffering silence they may now take delight in the luxury of asserting independent opinions. But opposition to the U. S. in the U. N. probably goes beyond that. It may be an expression of various degrees of disappointment or even boredom with certain static American attitudes toward the world's peacetime needs for change.

Three or four events of the past month illustrate how insensible we are to dramatic new facts in this most revolutionary era of human history, and how far we are sometimes from understanding the mood of the nations which Senator Knowland expects loyally to follow Republican leadership. Take the General Assembly's approval of the self-determination article proposed for the U. N. Covenant—and debated for a full month (after six years of committee discussion) before the voting. Mr. Dulles's deputy had all along vehemently opposed it. The argument in our case significantly differed from that of the major colonial powers, our NATO allies. It is not that we deny that "all peoples have the right to self-determination." The clause, "The peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources" etc. was judged inadmissable by the U. S. In effect this means to reject the principle that a nation may nationalize or socialize privately owned property at the people's will. The vote of 33 to 12 put the U. S. in a minority in favor of old assumptions which colonial powers themselves disavow at home.

Then there was the case of Mr. Dulles and his gratuitous aid to Tovarish Khrushchev, about which the *Nation* has already commented (December 17). The reference is of course to Mr. Dulles' choice of Dr. Paulo Cunhua—of all people!—as the appropriate person with whom to associate U. S. policy in denouncing the "Soviet leaders now visiting Asia." By lending moral support to what he called "the Portuguese provinces in the Far East" Mr. Dulles helped confirm Khrushchev's distorted image of United States "imperialism." Asians did not fail to draw the inference that the U. S. recognizes not only Portuguese Asia but also Portuguese Africa—and all other colonial holdings on that continent—as mere "provinces" of Europe.

NOW, observe one or two other events which have nothing to do directly with foreign policy. In the state of Georgia—U. S. A., not U. S. S. R.—Governor Griffin called upon his board of regents to cancel a ball game between Georgia Tech and Pittsburgh because there was a Negro on the Pittsburgh team. After "prayerfully considering," the Georgia regents ruled in favor of total segregation in all future ball games held in states where segregation is law or custom.There is also the current attempt of the Virginia legislature to set the clock back by abolishing its proud and ancient public-school system rather than tolerate coeducation with colored children as decreed by the Supreme Court.

Such disparate facts are part of a general pattern of attitudes toward matters of human rights versus property rights, and of race and skin color, which has done the U. S. enormous harm in the U. N. It isn't that there are not other countries with attitudes more backward. It isn't that violations of human dignity far more evil don't exist behind the iron curtain. It is simply that ever since the establishment of U. N. headquarters here, and our avowed claims to "leadership of the free world," this country and all its behavior has been under the harsh revealing light of world scrutiny and comparison.

Can we as a nation consistently champion "self-determination" in Eastern Europe, yet insist that languishing colonies held as enclaves on one continent are really "provinces" of a country on another continent? Are we entitled to lecture older nations on international tolerance and cooperation when we have not yet overcome racial bigotry nor eliminated color discrimination as matters of official policy here at home?

In the past we commanded an "automatic majority" in the U. N. partly because of our dreaded thunderbolts; that monopoly has been broken. We commanded it also because of America's vast wealth and technological brilliance; but Europe has now recovered from its wounds. Technologically, Russia is drawing abreast of us; in educational opportunities it has moved ahead. We commanded a following because of our capacity to aid, and our unparalleled generosity in aiding; and for this we are still not forgotten by the poor and the weak. But the moral-political ascendancy we briefly held everywhere following World War II has now been largely dissipated—much of it lost under darkest McCarthyism. In those years the Great Doubt spread and deepened as the Administration stood immobilized while the world watched the spectacle of free men—including Cabinet members from Mr. Dulles down—tremble and appease the legions of primitive witchcraft lined up behind a cynical U. S. Senator and schoolboy clowns like Cohen and Schine.

WHILE AMERICA's easy dominance of the U. N. ends with 1955, still the loss need not mean catastrophe for ourselves or the organization. In the new U. N.—the U. N. of the seventy-six rather than the sixty nations—we shall need policies embodying far greater foresight and flexibility if we are to recover a forward-looking posture in the world. Now it is clear to all that U. N. membership is not conferred upon the morally righteous but rests solely upon the principle of universality. We helped bring this about by allying ourselves with any regime ready to verbalize support for our side in the cold war. This led us to the point where Dulles not only embraced Franco but sponsored him for U. N. membership. Just as logically it sent Russia's foremost potentates on a courting tour of India and Burma, where the philosophy and leading personalities of existing regimes are profoundly despised by all true followers of Lenin and Stalin.

Secondly, the dark-skinned nations in the U. N. now have acquired a strength which must command a new respect from all major military powers and ideological rivals. If necessary they may impose a plague on both houses of the mighty. Existing Asian-African members have been reinforced by Jordan, Libya, Nepal, Ceylon, Cambodia and Laos. They constitute the largest regional bloc—twenty-three nations—of votes. Nor is this the end. Even before Outer Mongolia, Japan, Korea and Vietnam enter the General Assembly, the Gold Coast, Morocco, Khartoum and Somaliland may soon be knocking for admission. A new permanent seat in the Security Council for one or more Asian states now becomes mandatory to reflect the new color composition of the U. N.—and the world.

Thirdly, the Latin-American vote, reduced to a quarter of the total U. N. poll but augmented as a linguistic bloc by the admission of Spain. Italy and Portugal, may drift farther away from, rather than closer toward, the U. S. All kinds of deals become possible. The Asian-Arab-African combination and the Latin Americans between them still hold a majority. Even more significant, the Asian-African bloc now needs only the enlarged Communist vote (nine powers strong), plus six independent votes, to make another majority. Among the new candidates only Spain, Portugal and possibly Italy may be relied upon to vote with the U. S. on any colonial issue.

Fourthly, the next U. N. decade may belong neither to the U. S. nor the U. S. S. R. but to powers capable of exploiting antagonisms between them. Certainly the period of cold peace or competitive coexistence now offers a buyers' market of seemingly unlimited credit for the geographically and politically in-between powers. They can hear bids from either side and—as in the case of India—take from both. But if the decade starts as the heyday of the neutralists, it can remain thus only as long as the general peace is kept.

Given the colonial condition of most of Africa, the semi-colonial condition of much of Asia, South America and Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union's new "perimeter-jumping tactics" to encourage nationalist and class wars away from her own borders, it would be surprising if the next ten years do not see a series of rebellions and revolutions. Will the U. S. be able consistently to cling to the position that suppression of civil war or colonial "provincial" revolt is a "purely internal affair" under any and all circumstances? Or will we try to persuade the U. N. to assume greater and greater authority—and thus submit ourselves, also, to its increased power as a de facto world *government?*

Speculation left aside, one thing seems certain. The answers provided by the U. N.'s second decade, the decade just beginning, won't be the answers of *anybody's* "automatic majority." And believers in democracy cannot but welcome this as a sign of growing strength and maturity in responsible internationalism.

The Shape of Things

The Satellite Sector

In addition to Mr. Wiles' article on p. 574 of this issue, much light is thrown on the ability of the Soviets to play the role of the basic provider of industrial equipment for such projects as the Aswan Dam by a report appearing in the October issue of *The World Today.* Despite its own dynamic industrialization, the Soviet Union is primarily the supplier of raw materials, food, and fuel in trade exchanges with the East European satellites. Indeed, the Soviet Union is a net importer of equipment from this area. As against $600-$700,000,000 worth of machinery imported in 1953 from the Communist area, the U. S. S. R. imported only $100,000,000 worth from the Western world. It is quite clear, therefore, that in strategic terms the Soviet Union is relying heavily on the industrial capacity and know-how of its East European satellites to make good its commitments to China, North Korea, Mongolia, and other Asian and Middle Eastern underdeveloped areas. There is, it should be noted, a highly effective specialization in the East European economies: Hungary in diesel locomotives and electrical apparatus, Poland in rolling stock and ocean-going ships, Czechoslovakia in machine tools (the industrial production of the Czechs has doubled since World War II). But it is interesting to note that although the Czechs made a net contribution to the intra-bloc pool of about $700-$800,000,000, the East Germany contribution in industrial products is even higher. Not only does this report shed considerable light on the Soviet Union's ability to make good on its commitments but it casts an even more revealing light on its political preoccupation with East Germany and the satellite countries. Any relaxation of the ideological cold war might, from the Soviet point of view, endanger the significant flow of machinery and equipment from Eastern Europe.

"Don't Call Me Moses"

The slate of candidates pledged to oppose the blacklist sponsored by the organization AWARE has won a resounding victory in the battle for control of the New York local of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (see: *The Nation,* September 3, 1955). Of thirty-five vacancies on the board, the insurgent anti-blacklisters have won twenty-seven and possibly twenty-nine positions (the ballots have not been fully tabulated). Impressed by this outstanding victory for decency and fair play we asked John Henry Faulk, spokesman for the winning middle-of-the-road slate, just how he would account for the upsurge of democratic strength in a union that seemed to have knuckled under to intimidation and job coercion. Mr. Faulk, who is that rare bird, a native Texan with a sense of moderation, told us that he had two outstanding impressions of the election: (1) that a widespread, blind, unreasoning fear of retaliation had inhibited the middle-of-the-roaders from voicing their abhorrence of blacklists prior to the elections but that (2) these elements had overwhelmed the extreme Right—and the extreme Left—once their basic convictions had been appealed to by leadership elements in whom they had confidence. This, it seems to us, is a parable to be noted by all Americans and in particular by the New York locals of the American Newspaper Guild. When we offered our congratulations to Mr. Faulk for a victory to which his own leadership had contributed, he replied: "Don't call me Moses." This too is the spirit in which all such congratulations should be acknowledged.

Loans for Christmas

The rejection by Westinghouse Electric of proposals submitted by three governors—Averell Harriman of New York, Theodore McKeldin of Maryland and George Leader of Pennsylvania—to arbitrate the strike of 50,000 workers at forty of the company's ninety-eight plants which began on October 17, is a measure of management's confidence in victory. A similar indication of confidence is the offer of $1,500,000 in $100 Christmas loans to striking employees; thousands of strikers, with union approval, have been crossing picket lines to accept the loans. Parenthetically, the "loans for Christmas" proposal is a welcome change from the "starve 'em out" type of industrial warfare. In the wake of management's rejection of the arbitration proposals, the Department of Justice moved to have the independent U. E.—one of the striking unions—branded as "Communist-dominated" in a proceeding initiated before the Subversive Activities Control Board. The fact that U. E. is currently negotiating with the I. U. E.—the other striking union—for some type of consolidation or merger may help to explain the timing of this action. The strike has a complex background (see "The Westinghouse Strike" by William Jacobs, *The Nation,* November 19, 1955) but the issues which precipitated it have now been subordinated to the larger question: will the recently united labor movement permit this strike to be lost? The conflict could have been settled weeks ago if certain A. F. of L. unions, notably the Teamsters, had supported the strikers.

Duncan Aikman

Duncan Aikman, who died on December 14, was a first-rate journalist, witty, perceptive, shrewd, wide-ranging in his interests. His newspaper experience was varied and extensive. At various times he worked on the Springfield *Republican,* the New York *World,* El Paso *Times,* Los Angeles *Daily News,* Baltimore *Sun* and, as national-affairs editor, on *PM.* He wrote for many magazines and was a frequent contributor, on a wide variety of subjects, to the *American Mercury* under the editorship of Mr. Mencken. Among his better-known books were *Calamity Jane and the Lady Wildcats, The All-American Front* and *The Turning Stream,* the last a wise and far-sighted projection of trends and currents in American life that makes even better reading today than when it was published in 1948. To his friends, "Dunc" Aikman was a delightful companion, usually full of rambunctious nonsense, author of some of the world's funniest limericks and doggerel verse, mostly on sacred themes, which he mailed out in lieu of Christmas cards. He was part of the never-written, anecdotal history of American journalism which survives only in memories and half-forgotten episodes.

THE FRENCH ELECTIONS

Issues and the Line Up . . *by Alexander Werth*

Paris

IT IS often said that the French despise parliamentary government. But this is only a half-truth. When it comes to the point, they take parliament and general elections very seriously indeed. No one can doubt this who saw the long queues which gathered in front of every registration place on the final night for registering. Some of the newspapers, especially Mendes-France's *Express,* even suggested that the government was deliberately trying to sabotage registration in dread of the young voters who have reached twenty-one since the last general election four years ago.

Although no worse time could be imagined than the beginning of January for an election (people's minds are normally fixed on the Christmas and New Year's festivities), there is undoubtedly a great interest in this one. The candidates fall roughly into three groups. In English terms one might describe them simply as Conservatives, Laborites and Communists, except that in France the matter is much more complicated.

The "conservatives" include all the parties of the classical Right, the so-called "Peasants," the Catholic M. R. P., the majority of the former Gaullists and those "Faure Radicals" who, expelled from the Mendes-France-dominated Radical Party, are now campaigning under the label of the Rally of Left Republicans, a loosely-knit organization that includes a variety of right-wing elements. (Note: if you see a French candidate calling himself "Left," don't believe it: sometimes the most die-hard conservatives call themselves "Left"—it's somehow considered more respectable and democratic.)

Among those who have been expelled from the Radical Party along with M. Faure are members of the ultra-colonialist fringe like Martinaud-Deplat and Rene Mayer, and members of the "McCarthyite" fringe like Jean-Paul David. The oddest case is that of M. Faure himself. The former Premier is a good liberal with decent instincts where colonial problems are concerned,

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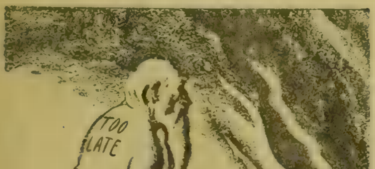
ALEXANDER WERTH is the Paris correspondent of The Nation.

and yet, by dissolving the Assembly as he did on December 1, he played into the hands of the die-hard conservatives and even of the Fascist fringe. What exactly his game is, nobody knows, perhaps not even himself—and we are not likely to know until after the election. If he has by then secured a great victory for the Right, he himself will be the first to be thrown overboard. If, on the other hand, the conservatives don't do as well as they now think they will, he may move a good deal further to the Left than where he now stands.

THE personal rivalry between him and Mendes-France undoubtedly had a lot to do with his decision to hold a snap election. He felt that Mendes-France was seeking through electoral-system reform, to dominate his party and to secure a left-wing majority for the Radicals of his own choice and for his Socialist allies. Mendes-France believes in hard-and-fast programs, in an "election platform," in a concrete housing scheme, in reform of the "drink" laws with all their rackets, and in a liberal policy in North Africa. Faure, who is a compromiser, thinks that Mendes-France doesn't make enough allowances for the easy-going ways of the French provincial, who doesn't like his habits too rudely upset.

The second major group in this election—roughly comparable to Britain's Labor Party—is composed chiefly of the Radicals who have subscribed to Mendes-France's program, together with the Socialists and a small "socially-minded" fringe of former followers of General de Gaulle. The third main group is composed of Communists and fellow travelers. The Communists urged the Socialists and the Mendes Radicals to enter into an electoral alliance with them, but the majority of the Socialists decided against it even at the risk of gaining fewer seats.

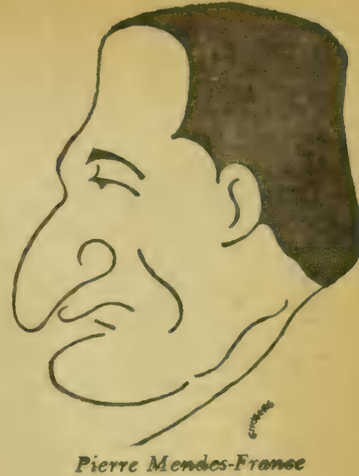


St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Two Frenchmen from Morocco

At the moment it is still uncertain how the system of alliances (familiar enough in French politics) will work in this election. In these alliances, two or more parties in a constituency agree on a single list of candidates for that constituency. It should be recalled that in 1951 an electoral law was passed under which candidates belonging to such allied parties got all the seats in a constituency (which average about five seats) if they polled more than fifty percent among them of all the votes cast. This led to the curious phenomenon that the Gaullist and Communist candidates (against whom the law was directed) failed to win a seat even when, as happened frequently, they secured three times as many votes as a successful candidate of one of the allied parties. The present indications are that the alliances—which in the last election chiefly benefited the Right, the Radicals, the M. R. P. and the Socialists at the expense of the Gaullists and Communists—are not going to play quite as important a role this time. The chief alliances are among the Right, the M. R. P. and the Faure Radicals, and between the Socialists and Mendes Radicals. There will probably be no common lists, as there were last time, between the Socialists and the Catholic M. R. P., since these two parties quarrelled over the Barange act almost immediately after the 1951 election. The act provides for state grants to religious schools, a question on which the Socialists, with their anticlerical tradition, feel very strongly. With the alliances working less effectively than last time, and with proportional representation applying in many places, the Communists are expected to win more than the ninety-five seats they obtained in 1951.

Apart from these three main groups there are some freak candidates, the most important of whom are members of the Poujade and Dorgeres organizations. These represent something very unparliamentary, not to say plainly Fascist, and are altogether pretty suspect. Dorgeres goes in for crude demagogy among the peasants, and Poujade among the shopkeepers, whom he urges not to pay their taxes. They have a particular loathing for Mendes-France who, in addition to being a Jew, is also reputed to be Enemy Number One of the 3,500,000 tax-free distillers (the wine-growers) of rural France, whom he considers more responsible than anyone else for the alcoholism in the French countryside.



Pierre Mendes-France

The chief campaign argument of the Socialists and Mendes Radicals runs as follows: "If you return to power the people who are responsible for the disaster of Dien Bien Phu and for the mess in Indo-China and for the housing shortage, things will go from bad to worse, and France will become involved in a major war in North Africa, and your son will be called up to fight the Arabs. It will be Indo-China all over again—only worse." The chief argument advanced by conservatives: "Under our rule economic conditions have been better than they were before. If the 'softies'—the Mendes men and the Socialists—take over, they are sure to lose North Africa altogether."

In this context, North Africa and housing are the two chief election issues. The most common forecast is that the conservatives will win but without obtaining a stable majority. In such a case it is likely that many of the "conservative" deputies may ultimately go over in the new Parliament to the side of Mendes-France and the Socialists.

LEGALITY OF BOMB TESTS

International Aspects . . *by Emanuel Margolis*

The U. S. will conduct further thermonuclear tests in the Marshall Islands area in 1956 and the British will do likewise in the Australian desert. These facts, together with the recent Soviet tests, prompt the question: are the tests legal under international law? The warning of the genetic dangers involved voiced by Thomas E. Murray of the A. E. C. and the U. N.'s decision to study the radioactive effects of bomb tests were made subsequent to publication of Mr. Margolis's article in the Yale Law Journal *of April, 1955.* The Nation *herewith publishes a condensed version of the article.*

THE HYDROGEN bomb shot set off by the United States on March 1, 1954, was a shot heard 'round the world. Like certain of the physical results of this thermonuclear experiment, the political "cloud" and the legal "fallout" the explosion precipitated were not anticipated fully.

A number of Japanese fishermen and several hundred Marshall Islanders were seriously injured; one of the fishermen died from radiation sickness six months later. The Marshallese detonated an explosion of their own at the United Nations by petitioning the Trusteeship Council for an end to the tests, or failing that, for guarantees of strict safety measures. A growing crescendo of world opinion asked that these tests (indeed *all* thermonuclear tests by *all* countries) be discontinued, pending careful study of the extremely serious after-effects of such detonations. What was perhaps the grimmest warning from the scientists was that of Professor Sturtevant, one of the world's leading geneticists, who calculated that *at least* (and he made every effort to be conservative) 1,800 of the 90,000,000 children born in the world last year were adversely affected genetically by radiation from thermonuclear tests. "The true value," he said, "could possibly be 100 times greater."

The political, scientific, and moral implications of these thermonuclear tests have loomed so large that little attention has been paid to the serious issues of law which the United States' tests have raised. Yet some of the oldest and most widely accepted principles of international law are involved: freedom of the seas and of navigation upon them, and freedom from interference with the lawful pursuit of maritime industries—as well as the more modern principles of law embodied in the United Nations Charter.

Freedom of the Seas. The United States has been conducting tests with atomic weapons in the Marshall Islands since 1946, employing the atolls of Bikini and Eniwetok as its main proving grounds. Preparatory to the test series of March-April, 1954, the so-called "danger area" surrounding these two atolls was enlarged, forming a rectangle of open sea around them of some 50,000 square miles. After the March 1 explosion and the exposure of the Japanese fishermen and Marshallese to harmful radiation and the continuous stream of reports from Japan describing confiscation of considerable quantities of fish by the Japanese government, the "danger area" was expanded several times in magnitude so that it encompassed some 400,000 square miles.

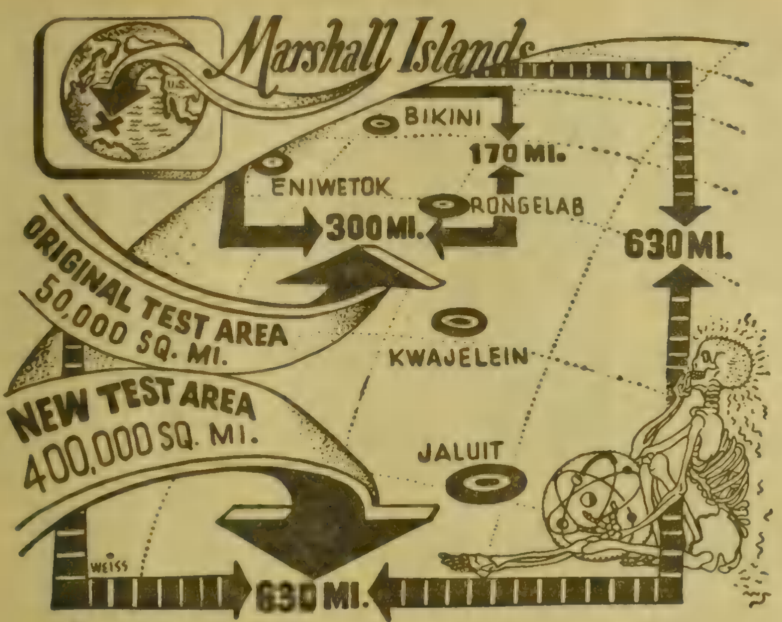
Speaking in the House of Lords, Earl Jowitt, a legal authority of great stature, called attention to the dubious legal validity of such measures. "The fact that the area which may be affected is so enormous," he declared, "at once brings this problem: that ships on their lawful occasions may be going through these waters, and you have no right under international law, I presume, to warn people off." This principle, a cornerstone of international law which was laid at the latest as far back as Queen Elizabeth (some scholars have traced its beginning to the twelfth century) is the universally recognized one of freedom of the seas and freedom of navigation upon them. Indeed, traditionally, the United States has been among its leading champions and defenders, and it is no coincidence that it occupied so prominent a place both in Wilson's "Fourteen Points" and in the Roosevelt-Churchill "Atlantic Charter."

Three centuries of historical growth have given stature and form to the principle of freedom of the seas, and four distinct legal aspects are now recognized: *a.* freedom of navigation, *b.* freedom of fisheries, *c.* freedom to lay submarine cables, and *d.* freedom of aerial movement. These "four freedoms of the high seas" are absolute, except to the extent that international custom and treaties have modified them in minor respects in order to meet the needs of an increasingly "smaller" and dynamic international society. Thus, freedom of the seas, not unlike constitutional guarantees of freedom, was never intended to mean, nor has it become, total absence of restraint.

There are laws which govern the conduct of states and their nationals upon the high seas in time of peace. Custom and treaties have established rules of the road, and laws govern jurisdiction over public and private vessels, collisions, repression of piracy, measures of self-defense, conservation of fisheries, jurisdiction over the three-mile maritime belt, and so on. International usage would also appear to be giving increasing recognition in recent years to the claims of states to jurisdiction over so-called "contiguous zones" beyond the three-mile territorial belt for purposes of enforcement of customs, immigration, sanitation, or police regulations—but these zones have rarely exceeded four leagues (twelve marine miles) from the coast.

The legal problem posed by the Pacific experiments, therefore, is whether these rules of law are compatible with the placing of hundreds of thousands of square miles of the

Old and New H-Bomb Testing Areas



Pacific Ocean "off limits" to all but United States ships and planes. Such an arrogation of authority in peacetime, albeit only for several months at a time, finds no basis in international custom or in treaties which have been the only vehicles for modifying the law of nations for centuries. The only treaty having the slightest modicum of bearing on the subject is the "Trusteeship Agreement for the Former Japanese Mandated Islands" which includes the Marshall Islands. Article 13 of this treaty authorizes the United States as Administering Authority to close off any or all of these islands, including their territorial waters. But nowhere does the agreement say anything about the sea and air space *beyond* the islands' territorial limits. The rights of other states and their nationals to use such areas of the high seas remain untouched and undiminished under this treaty.

The U. N. Charter and the Trusteeship Agreement. Another, and unquestionably more rigorous, legal framework within which the legal character of the Pacific tests should be measured is the United States' treaty obligations.

The U. N. Charter imposes upon member-states who are administering "non-self-governing territories" (including areas under trusteeship) the obligation to accept as a "sacred trust" the promotion of the well-being" of the territories' inhabitants "to the utmost"; it establishes "the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount" (Article 73).

Article 6 of the "Trusteeship Agreement for the Former Japanese Mandated Islands" is still more specific. The Administering Authority must promote the "economic advancement and self-sufficiency of the inhabitants"—a goal which is to be realized by encouraging "the development of fisheries, agriculture, and industries" and by protecting the inhabitants against the "loss of their lands and resources." It must also protect the health of the inhabitants. These duties, it should be noted, are unqualified imperatives. They are preceded by the word "shall" and are not diluted by the phrase "subject to the requirements of security" which qualifies several other key articles of the agreement. (The Pacific Trust Territory has been designated as "strategic," the only trusteeship area which has been placed in such a category.)

The thermonuclear test of March 1, 1954, exposed 236 Marshallese and twenty-eight United States personnel to radiation, as a result of an unexpected shift in the winds which placed Rongelap, Rongerik, and Uterik Islands in the path of the fall-out. Months afterward, many of them were still suffering from lowered blood count, burns, nausea, and loss of hair. Nor were all of these injuries caused directly by fall-out. Some were affected by drinking water which had become dangerous.

The loss of their lands has been almost equally painful for a far greater number of inhabitants. In their petition to the United Nations (April 20, 1954) the Marshallese pointed out that the Japanese took away the best portions of six atolls, that only one island of these atolls had been returned to them, that Bikini had been taken away as well, and that other islands had been made radioactive by the thermonuclear tests and their inhabitants subsequently relocated.

Marshallese industries have apparently suffered as well. The Bikini people, whose primary occupation was fishing, have been removed to Kili Island where there is no fishing for seven months of the year because high surf makes it almost impossible to land on the island. Kili is now called "the island of hungry people."

Such developments are hardly reconcilable with the provisions of the U. N. Charter, much less the express stipulations of Article 6 of the Trusteeship Agreement, quoted above. True, under Article 5 of the agreement, the United States has the right to station armed forces and erect fortifications there, and under Article 13 to close off part or all of the Territory for "security reasons." But these rights of the Administering Authority are coupled with duties toward the inhabitants of the area which are so clearly spelled out that their plain meaning defies distortion.

Conclusion. The United States has traditionally prided itself on its adherence to the fundamental principles of international law. We have tried to remain in the forefront of those states who insist on strict observance of treaty obligations. The facts surrounding our thermonuclear experiments in the Pacific are glaringly inconsistent with the leading role this country has played in defense of freedom of the seas, as well as our professions of loyalty to U. N. Charter principles which include "respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law."

The United States has no present intention of halting the Pacific tests, although we have promised to do everything possible to prevent further injuries or damage. The official justification for continuing the tests appears to rest on the politico-military argument that "no one could reasonably contend that the Soviets should be the only nation to conduct nuclear experiments," to quote a United States delegate to the U. N. a year ago. And a further contention is that there is nowhere else within the jurisdiction of the United States that H-bomb tests "could be successfully conducted with less danger."

In the absence of an international agreement on disarmament or, setting the sights lower, an agreement barring further thermonuclear detonations by all countries pending a U. N. investigation of their effects, the experiments will undoubtedly continue. If they do, this nation confronts the task of carrying them on in conformity with its legal obligations. Arguments of expediency couched in terms of defending the free world and human dignity become specious when placed against the clear requirements of the relevant rules of law and, by implication, of morality.

The conclusion seems inescapable: the laws of humanity suggest and the law of nations requires immediate and permanent cessation of the thermonuclear experiments in the vast expanse of the Marshall Islands proving grounds.

EXPERIMENT IN OPERA

Chicago Tries Again . . *by Howard Talley*

Chicago

IN TWO SEASONS The Lyric Theatre Grand Opera of Chicago has earned a reputation for musical competence quite frequently rising to excellence and for remarkable enterprise in obtaining renowned singers and staging new or novel works. By these means it has enlisted box-office and institutional support that makes its future, if not secure, at least promising. Considering the doleful history of opera in Chicago, this is a good start—better perhaps than many would have forecast.

Several operatic ventures, each with a different name, beginning with the Chicago Grand Opera, 1910-13, have flourished and expired in this city. The vicissitudes of opera companies since then are too varied and numerous to discuss here. One general conclusion covers them all: opera in Chicago is too delicate a bloom to survive the blasts of ill fortune from whatever source. It lacks, and always has lacked, even the minimal public enthusiasm that has kept the Metropolitan going (with recurring crises) in New York. Chicago has an impressive and even glamorous facade skirting Lake Michigan; behind are square miles of humdrum walk-up apartment houses, private dwellings, smoke-belching factories, stockyards, with, here and there, oases of parkland.

So long as opera was housed in the Auditorium on the lake front it was supported by society and by interested opera-goers to whom the Auditorium was accessible by public transportation. When Samuel Insull underwrote the deficits of his Chicago Civic Opera Company, 1922-32, he erected for it a gigantic building on the west side of the Loop. Society and commoners grudgingly followed, protesting the fierce blasts that swept up Madison Street from the Chicago River. Since the crash of the Insull empire, sporadic attempts have been made to revive opera in Chicago. The latest—and we hope it will be lasting—is the Lyric Theatre, brought into being last year by two young people, Carol Fox and Lawrence Kelly, with a young music director, Nicola Rescigno.

The Lyric Theatre based its formula for success on what was learned from the attempt to reestablish opera in 1947. In that year the Chicago Music Foundation and the New York City Opera arranged to bring the latter's productions to Chicago. This lasted for six seasons. The New York company presented generally well-rehearsed performances, some in English, with well-schooled but relatively unknown singers. Attendance rose slowly from season to season in the face of a hostile press. But the growth was not sharp enough to offset expenses. The Lyric Theatre then decided that to launch an opera company that could hope for public and private support indefinitely, it would have to provide at least a few interntaional and national stars among leading singers of lesser renown, a roster of experienced and competent singers of secondary roles, a large and well-trained chorus, a ballet group with a few premier danseurs, staging, costumes and scenery at least up to New York Metropolitan standards, an orchestra of symphonic proportions and caliber, led by a first-rate conducting staff, and a repertory of operas selected from the national schools of Italy, France and Germany which would also include one or more novelties each season.

How has the Lyric Theatre coped with this bill of essentials during the season just ended? In regard to the first, it has been remarkable, securing the services of leading La Scala singers—Maria Callas, Renata Tebaldi, Ebe Stignani, Rosanna Carteri, Guiseppe di Stefano, Tito Gobbi and Nicola Rossi-Lemeni; some Metropolitan artists, Dorothy Kirsten, Astrid Varnay, Jussi Bjor-

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HOWARD TALLEY is on the staff of the music department of the University of Chicago.

ling, Ettore Bastianini, Robert Weede and, from the Vienna Staatsoper, Teresa Stich-Randall. Unfortunately the two leading feminine stars, Callas and Tebaldi, could appear during the first two weeks only; upon their departure the box-office thermometer sagged slightly.

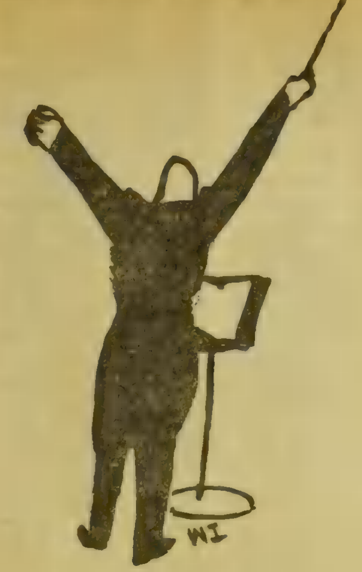
The roster of secondary singers was unusually strong for a young company. Among these, Claramae Turner, Eunice Alberts (for her role of Martha in *Faust)* Mariano Caruso, William Wilderman, Kenneth Smith and Lloyd Harris were outstanding. Mr. Wilderman had, perhaps, the best bass voice in the entire company; Andrew Foldi was the best of the locally engaged artists.

The chorus of seventy voices, augmented to 108 in *Aida,* was well trained under the direction of Michael Lepore, but lacked robustness. With such a large auditorium as the Civic Opera House to fill, they might have been allowed on some occasions, as in the "Soldiers' Chorus" from *Faust,* to come to the footlights and give out with gusto; it is customary at the Metropolitan.

THE Lyric Theatre took a big step in offering a complete ballet company in special productions featuring Alicia Markova, Vera Zorina, Sonia Arova, Oleg Briansky and Bentley Stone, with choreography by Ruth Page.

The staging of the opera and ballet productions was entrusted to William Wymetal (an old Met man), Vladimir Rosing of Eastman School American Opera fame, Aldo Vassalo, Hizi Uoyke *(Madame Butterfly)* and Richard Baldridge. Gerard Ritholz designed the ballet-masque, Monteverde's *Il Ballo Delle Ingrate* and de Banfield's one-act opera, *Lord Byron's Love Letter.* Scenery and costumes for *The Merry Widow* were by Rolf Gerard, the production staged by Hassard Short. For the standard operatic productions the company is still falling back on old sets inherited from the Civic Opera Company, with the exception of *I Puritani,* the sets for which were built in Rome and assembled in Chicago.

At first the orchestra sounded crude and ill-assorted, but it evolved into a rich and flexible instrument under the hands of the veteran Tullio Serafin, another La Scala import and formerly with the Metropolitan, and Nicola Rescigno. The orchestral work in *Butterfly, Lord Byron's Love Letter,* and, above all, in *L'Amore dei Tre Re* was good by any standard.



The repertory was not as broad as one would expect of a major, well-established company. It leaned heavily on the tried-and-true Italian staples, *Aida, Il Trovatore, La Boheme, Butterfly, Rigoletto, Un Ballo in Maschera* and *Cavalleria Rusticana,* but provided in addition excellent performances of *I Puritani,* Puccini's *Il Tabarro,* Donizetti's *L'Elisir d'Amore,* and the aforementioned *L'Amore dei Tre Re.* Gounod's *Faust* was the sole offering in French and there was no German opera at all. The sole American offering was the one-act novelty *Lord Byron's Love Letter.* The newness of the company and the limitations of its financial resources explain its one-sided repertory, a condition that should improve with time and good fortune. It speaks well for the Lyric Theatre that it had the courage in its second season to present such dubious box-office ventures as the two ballets—*The Merry Widow* and *Revanche,* based on Verdi's *Il Trovatore*—and the *Love Letter.*

Using the Metropolitan as a convenient if arbitrary standard, no production in Chicago this second season fell below the level of an off-night in the New York house, with the exception of the repeat performance of *Cavalleria.* A few others were inferior to the Met's best work, notably *Butterfly* which, although a box office sellout on the strength of Callas, did not come up to the dramatic potential of its heart-breaking story, largely because of the star's tentative and vocally ineffective performance. *Faust* was also below par, despite fine singing by Jussi Bjoerling. The nimble antics of Rossi-Lemeni as Mephistopheles did not offset his vocal deficiency in that part, and Rosanna Carteri was more pleasant to look at than to hear.

Aida, Il Trovatore, Rigoletto, L'Elisir d'Amore, La Boheme and *Un Ballo in Maschera* were superior to what the Met offers today—they were perhaps even at La Scala level. The operas not mentioned were just about at the New York par.

Though there were a few mistakes in casting that are unavoidable when you are tailoring a repertory to a few featured artists, in many of the productions even the smaller roles were taken by singers who had voices rich and full enough for the huge building. This was evidently not the case the last season, when vigorous criticism was directed toward inept performances in the smaller roles. The management has rounded out its casts with performers who at least do not excite the scorn of the spectators.

AMONG the leading singers new this year to Chicago, Renata Tabaldi comes first to mind. In *Aida* and *Boheme* she amply justified her great reputation. Teresa Stich-Randall's singing of Gilda in *Rigoletto* was so pure and effortless that I hope we shall hear her next year in more roles as well suited to her talents. The final week brought forth a sensational young star, Anita Cerquetti, in *The Masked Ball.* Junoesque in figure, with voice to match, she seems destined to become another Rosa Ponselle. When she has fully developed her high register she will have little difficulty in singing the Ponselle roles.

On the business side the picture is less bright, though not desperate. The season began with the first two weeks sold out, and with good prospect for 90 per cent houses in the remaining three. But when the stars departed after the first heady fortnight, business slumped. The public was reluctant to buy an opera, however famous, without correspondingly famous names. In almost every case, however, repeat performances had much better attendance than premieres. Thus, the first *L'Amore* was 65 per cent sold, the second 90 per cent. Even more notable was the case of *The Masked Ball*. It opened to about a two-thirds house, but the word got around that a promising young singer was appearing in perhaps the best production of the season, and the repeat performance, on the last night, was packed.

A fund of about $100,000 was raised this year from business and private sources (gifts larger than $1,000 and as small as $1) to meet the expected deficit. The books will thus balance, but just balance, and the fund-raising will have to be done all over again next year. It won't get easier, but Miss Fox and Mr. Kelly are indomitable entrepreneurs.

The audiences were interesting. As far as one could tell they were not mainly composed of the "top" layer of society. This group has died off, moved to the suburbs, or its younger members are no longer much interested in cultural enterprises, except that they go to the symphony as regularly as their forebears went to church. The downstairs section of the audience seemed to be made up of prosperous middle-class business and professional people—a group that does not belong to the North Side social set. A by no means negligible portion came from the cities and towns surrounding Chicago; there were groups from Milwaukee, Madison, Minneapolis and many other smaller communities. A good percentage of them seemed to be hearing opera in the flesh for the first time. Their enthusiasm was genuine but undiscriminating. They applauded the rise of the curtain on an act, the first appearance of a well-known singer whether or not he was singing, any retained high note, whether in the middle or at the end of an aria. History repeats itself—the audiences in the new Venetian theatres of the seventeenth century acted in the same way though more reprehensibly. A new audience has discovered opera and likes it; what effect their support will have on the old and tradition-bound art remains to be seen.

AS OF now what has the new company to look forward to next season? It has a friendly press, a favorably-disposed public. It has awakened an interest in business men who are now aware that the Lyric Theatre is good for Chicago business. It has the good will, if not the financial support, of the municipal government. It has youth and vitality, the courage and enterprise to seek new sources of revenue from corporations and some of the national foundations as well as from the general public. Though no official announcements are yet forthcoming, it is understood that the next opera season will begin October 15, well before the national election and will run five to seven weeks. An attempt will be made to secure well-known stars to appear throughout the season. The scale will become increasingly lavish, for the people of Chicago have shown again and again that they will accept nothing less.

SOVIET COMPETITION

Can Moscow Deliver? . . *by Peter Wiles*

The Soviet Union's foreign policy is keyed increasingly to "foreign aid" (see editorial note on page 567). The question arises as to whether the Russian economy is strong enough to support such a policy—either alone or with the help of the satellite states. Peter Wiles is a noted British economist and a Fellow of New College, Oxford.

IT IS a great mistake to judge economic systems only, or even mainly, by the justice or injustice with which they distribute wealth among individuals and classes; by their adaptability to consumer demand or their economic "rationality"; or by the political and social relationships to which they give rise. The most important criterion is more materialistic and less sophisticated: how much does the economic system produce per head? For the principal object, after all, of economic activity is to satisfy human wants; and these being almost limitless, the best way to satisfy them is to produce a great deal of everything.

Perhaps the most important fact in all modern economics is that the rate of growth of productivity is higher in the Soviet Union than in any important non-Communist country even at the period of its maximum development, let alone now. The best performance by a large non-Communist economy over a long period appears to be that of Japan between 1912 and 1937, when its productivity grew by about 3 per cent per annum. The Soviet economy showed an increase of approximately 5.5 per cent annually before the war and has been growing by about 7.5 per cent since 1948. In mining and manufacturing alone—and this sector usually outstrips all others in any economy—the figures are: Japan, 7 per cent; U. S. S. R., 12 per cent.

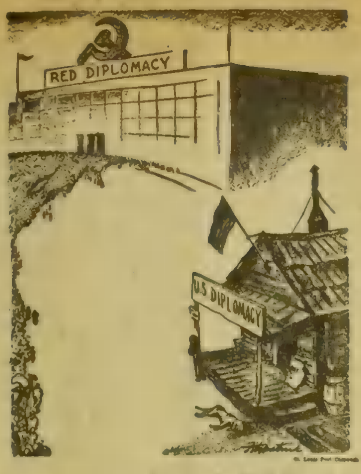
The overwhelming Communist superiority in industry leads to an overall superiority in the national income. The effect of compound interest is very great over a few decades. Thus, growing 3 per cent per annum faster than the United States, the U. S. S. R., starting with half the United States national per capita income, could catch up in twenty-three years.

What is the cause of this superiority? There is nothing comforting here to the anti-Communist. It is not just because the satellites have been exploited: their own economies are expanding at an almost equal rate, and Soviet exploitation is offset by Soviet subsidies to China. In any case this would not explain prewar Soviet growth. Again it is not because the Soviet economy, technically stagnant until well into the twentieth century, had only had to apply methods known elsewhere to cover in one easy technical leap a century of hard-won Western progress. For such a leap is beset with every social and economic difficulty: all backward economies stand equally before it, but only those under Communist rule have managed it.

The reasons for Communist industrial progress are to be sought in Communist industrial efficiency. First, there is the planning system itself: targets are set, in physical or financial terms, which each ministry, trust, factory and individual worker must beat. The targets are raised year by year, and the obligation to surpass them has quasi-legal force. This is the principal aim and result of the whole planning system. Nor does the legal stick exclude the monetary carrot. Taxes are not highly progressive: the highest marginal rate of income tax is only 13 per cent, and direct taxes fall most heavily on food, not manufactured luxuries. Third, the system of ownership helps efficiency. Factories can, in theory, be combined, processes transferred from one to another, and specialization and standardization imposed by mere fiat. There are no obstacles of property law, shareholders' vested interests, etc.; all industry is treated as one big trust.

Fourth, communism wholly emasculates the trade unions. The influence exercised by a labor monopoly over wages, hours, conditions of work, apprenticeship, hiring, craft demarcations, indeed over almost everything, is restrictive. At almost no point can a union raise efficiency: it can at most—with significant exceptions in the American garment trades—not hinder it. All these obstacles are swept aside under communism. The union follows mechanically the party line on industrial matters. It loses all bargaining power except in the field of welfare outside of working hours; it becomes a cheerleader, an organizer of productivity and promoter of enthusiasm. If the authorities want the norms raised they get the trade unions to get the workers to propose it "spontaneously."

Fifth, new industrial techniques cannot be resisted by deliberate inertia or wilful ignorance, as is done so often by trade unions or capitalists in free countries. There is but one authority to be cajoled into experiment and browbeaten by demonstration. Admittedly this one authority may be frightened and thus suppress a good new method altogether. But the more serious danger in practice is the very slow spread of methods proved correct by the best firms. This danger the system of central direction minimizes. Also trade secrets are forbidden: it is sabotage to conceal a technical discovery from the authorities or those whom, in other circumstances, one would call competitors. The inventor is liberally rewarded from state funds, and may not in practice take out a patent. Technical education, too, equals in quality and far surpasses in quantity the best Western examples.



St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Never underestimate the competition

Sixth, while competition still exists the object in a Communist society is not to divert profits from the other man to oneself (and not every measure conducive to this end benefits the community), but to be more efficient and productive than the next man. "Socialist competition" is not a fight but a race, and greater production is a direct, not an accidental or circuitous, result.

Seventh, savings are extracted much more successfully from the population by taxes than by lure of interest rates in a free economy. It is true that when the military and the police have had their due the Communists have not very much more left for investment than others. The U. S. S. R. invests a fifth or more, the U. S. and Great Britain about a sixth, of their net national incomes in defense. In the U. S. S. R. industry gets a much larger share and construction a much smaller share of the capital available than in other countries, so that to some extent Soviet industrial growth is the obverse of the Soviet housing shortage; but this does not remove the Soviet system's superiority in raising capital, nor explain why the whole national income, as opposed to that derived from industry only, has grown faster.

Eighth and last is the whole ideology of communism. Second only to class war, material progress is the criterion of value and the content of history. "Full communism," history's last stage, is a state of productivity so great that out of the ensuing plenty all men's desires can be satisfied according to need, without money or accounting. Yet this fantastic Utopia is taken very seriously: it is official dogma that the U.S.S.R. is even now moving toward "full communism," and the speeches of party bigwigs often end in a peroration on this theme. As Christian medieval Europe was building the City of God, so is the U. S. S. R. building material progress.

EXPERIENCE teaches that the thesis I am advancing rouses ugly passions and is easy to misunderstand. First, it should be clear that the thesis connotes no political sympathy with communism whatsoever; merely a certain respect for facts. Next, the rates of Soviet growth here given are not capied from official Soviet data; indeed, they fall far below such claims. Foreign observers build their figures on the Soviet national income carefully from its basic constituents, using the most reliable data available in each case. Documents captured by the Germans prove that, at least until the war, the vast bulk of Soviet published figures correspond precisely with the figures the Soviet planners themselves were using. The German documents reveal no falsification or bias in the statistics not already brought to public notice by complaints in official Soviet technical journals.

But what of falsification a lower levels? Suppose the Soviet planners were themselves deceived? Soviet managers and accountants very often cook their books, since if they cannot appear to have achieved the virtually impossible they lose their bonuses, perhaps their jobs, perhaps even their freedom. Sophistical as it may seem, this objection goes to prove beyond any doubt a slight underestimate in the rate of growth. For it is clear that in the early chaotic phases of planning, and again of postwar reconstruction, the opportunities and the need to cook the books were much greater. Later on, in the late thirties or again today, the banks and the auditors, not to mention the police, were more efficient; and the need to raise one's income by dishonest means was less. So if the extent of falsification probably diminished, the later figures were less exaggerated than the earlier ones, and the rate of growth is understated.

MISUNDERSTANDINGS arise because the word "productivity" might mean either output per man-hour of work or output per head of population. In more recent years the difference, though great, is not overwhelming. Thus, Colin Clark arrives at a growth of output per man-hour of work of over 4 per cent per annum in peacetime, while my own reckoning was 7.5 per cent per head of population. These are both very formidable figures, and could doubtless with some trouble be reconciled. In earlier years, 1928-37, the difference between the two measures of the rate of growth of productivity is much greater. For in this period growth was achieved by conscripting into industry the wives of industrial workers and the underemployed peasants from the countryside—a process that certainly raised output per head of the population very fast, but may well have actually lowered the average efficiency of a worker. It should be noted, however, that an economy which can put up enough factories to set such hordes of idle hands to work in so short a time is *ipso facto* efficient. The precise measure of the efficiency of the Soviet industrial system in that early period was its capacity to expand the number of factories and mobilize the labor force, in a way that no other backward country has found possible. Now that the surplus hands are absorbed, we perceive that their longer training and experience, combined with the other advantages of the system which I have set out, are raising production both per man-hour and per head of population at a frightening rate that no other developed country finds possible.

But take the spate of criticism in the Soviet press of this or that organizational shortcoming: Socialist competition has been reduced to a farce and a formality in Stalinabad, managers are extremely slack about introducing new techniques in Stalinogorsk, costs are inflated by nepotism and idleness in Stalino. Surely this shows that the organization itself is not efficient, by the Communists' own admission? I think not. For one thing these self-criticism campaigns are often deliberately exaggerated, in order to bring people up sharply. For another, self-criticism is precisely one of the system's stimuli. What we see here is the central power actually at work, bringing pressure to bear on the backward enterprises. One can infer the disease from the fact of treatment, but not the failure of the doctors. It is as if one looked at a free economy and deduced from the number of bankruptcies that it was inefficient. But bankruptcy is precisely the free economy's penalty for inefficiency, and the threat of it makes everyone else do better.

THEN, finally, it is useless to point to the U. S. S. R.'s low level of consumption. Consumption is growing, as it happens, very fast. It is no mean achievement, however high the starting point, to have nearly halved the cost of living since 1947, while slightly raising wages. Consumption fell so catastrophically before the war, and is so low today, and may fail to grow in the future, because of the failure of *agriculture*. It is correct that Tsar Nicholas fed his subjects better than Khrushchev. It is correct that this is largely due to the unpopular and inefficient way in which the Communists insist on organizing agriculture—and also to their predilection for ground-nuts schemes and their refusal to invest large sums in farm buildings, fertilizers, etc.; albeit agricultural productivity, as opposed to production, has grown quite a bit. Manufactured consumer goods, on the other hand, are comparatively cheap and plentiful, and the supply of them grows rapidly.

The non-Communist world's situation with regard to all this seems to me by no means desperate. Certainly perfect *laissez-faire* could not generate such growth, but in many respects the Communists have gone too far, and the free democratic countries do not need to imitate them precisely. Their governments have much more power than is required for economic growth. It is not nationalization the democracies need, but state power to rationalize: that is, to amalgamate enterprises, to enforce specialization upon branch factories, to standardize products, to dissolve restrictive cartels and trade associations, and so on. Most of these things occur under private enterprise, only much too rarely and slowly. In my view the whole formal and legal structure of private ownership can and should be maintained, but there should be occasional changes, imposed from above, of management and organization. In planning, again, what matters is that certain standards of efficiency be enforced, not that this or that particular product be produced or price charged. A central efficiency audit is a much more practical and less threatening proposition than a 100 per cent central plan; yet for economic growth it is much more desirable. Even with trade unionism, some aspects are less deleterious than others. The cherished right to strike for higher wages is a minor nuisance on the whole; it might possibly suffice to do away with the major evils —restrictive practices, apprenticeship conditions and craft demarcations. For while higher wages affect merely the value of money, restrictions affect the quantity of output. Indeed many American and German trade unions have reached already this comparatively harmless state.

CERTAINLY, then, it is urgent that something be done, lest Communist industry out-produce the free world's. But this is a challenge to our will-power and forms of organization that we can surely meet. I believe that the political, human, and moral costs of Communist economic progress can be avoided by good sense and good-will. We can also rely upon the superiority of our agriculture, and, if we may lift our eyes from mere economics for a moment, on many other advantages besides. There is no call to wring our hands, but still less to put our heads in the sand.

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Spengler's Marionettes

HITLER. By Otto Dietrich. Translated by Richard and Clara Winston. Henry Regnery Company. $3.95.

THE KAISER. A Life of Wilhelm II. By Joachim von Kurenberg. Translated by H. T. Russell and Herta Hagen. Simon and Schuster. $5.

BISMARCK. The Man and the Statesman. By A. J. P. Taylor. Alfred A. Knopf. $4.75.

By Frederick L. Schuman

IN *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* Oswald Spengler postulated a sequence of leader-types which he deemed characteristic of the transition from late "culture" to early "civilization" and thence toward decay. The steps of the Spenglerian descent are suggested by his table of "Contemporary" Political Epochs: Climax of Absolutism; Victory of Money over Landed Property; Domination of Money ("Democracy"); Formation of Caesarism; Victory of Force-Politics over Money; Increasing Primitiveness of Political Forms; An Imperium of Gradually-Increasing Crudity of Despotism; The World as Spoil. . . .

Spengler's scheme, like Toynbee's, derives from Greece and Rome. Its relevance to our own civilization is still debatable, despite Spengler's astonishing prophecies. But its applicability to modern Germany is striking. Spengler knew his Germans and, like Heine before him, foresaw what they would become.

The Germanic degeneration is starkly illumined in these new biographies of three leaders who dominated the Reich during the past century: Otto von Bismarck (1815-1898), Wilhelm von Hohenzollern (1859-1941), and Adolf Hitler (1889-1945). The biographers are A. J. P. Taylor, able historian, Fellow of Magdalen College, and University Lecturer in International History at Oxford; Joachim von Kurenberg, Junker, diplomat, and writer of many biographies, who died in 1954; and Hitler's Press Chief who wrote his recollections in 1946, while interned in a British camp, and departed this life in 1953.

Dietrich's book is less biography than reminiscence and *apologia pro sua vita,* reeking with the self-pity and feigned astonishment at self-hypnosis that are typical of other accounts by coworkers who were "deceived" by Der Fuehrer. Yet it furnishes new insights even beyond the scope of Alan Bullock's definitive biography of 1953. Kurenberg, "official" biographer of the last Kaiser, gives us a detailed story, at once critical, sympathetic and inconclusive, of the pompous monarch with the withered arm. Taylor, with his usual skill, paints a vivid portrait of the Iron Chancellor as a man of paradoxes. Readers less learned in European politics and diplomacy may be puzzled at times by Taylor's allusions and absence of documentation. His portrayal is nonetheless masterly.

BISMARCK, often typed as a stolid militarist, warmonger and Machiavellian schemer, here appears as a sensitive civilian and nervous opportunist, lonely, intolerant of criticism and successful in his major ventures less by design than by chance and the mistakes of his foes. Bismarck supported royal prerogatives and held liberals in contempt; nevertheless, Taylor makes out a persuasive case for his role as a constitutional reformer and builder of a *Rechtstaat.* "All he had in common with Hitler was a determination to make his will prevail, but parliamentary statesmen, too, have not been free from this weakness—or strength." Like other Junkers, he used public subventions to buy an estate and make himself an industrialist; he manufactured spirits and paper and used influence to secure government contracts. Always more the bourgeois than the aristocrat, he valued wealth above blue blood and power above both. Yet he used power, not for gain, vainglory, or crusading, but for the unity of the Reich and the peace of Europe.

In March, 1890, after twenty-eight years, he moved out of his modest and disorderly quarters at 76 Wilhelmstrasse, taking with him his 13,000 bottles of wine. His perennial bluff at resigning had been called by the young Kaiser—who, by alienating Russia, frightening Britain and rattling sabers on three continents, was destined to bring Bismarck's work to ruin.

Kurenberg's lively and compassionate account of the last Emperor, with a useful foreword, notes and appendices by Quincy Howe, is a drama in the grand manner of a ruler who was half-genius and half-clown, charming, intelligent, shallow, obstinate, opinionated, sentimental and bombastic. The story of this tinsel symbol of a tragic nation and a tragic era would be high tragedy were it not the tale of an absurdity, at first an anachronism and finally a holocaust. Kurenberg is quite right to contend that most Germans shared Wilhelm's enthusiasms for "shining armor" and "a place in the sun" and to imply that devotion to false gods was not a Teutonic monopoly. A year before he died the aged exile, in the interest of his revenues and at the instigation of his pro-Nazi wife, Hermine, congratulated Hitler, whom he detested, on the conquest of France.

The nemesis of the Second Reich shared one weakness with the builder and wrecker of the Third: inability to remember Kant's dictum, quoted by Kurenberg: "Flattery is the real destroyer of those who are great and powerful." Otto Dietrich's memoirs are unconsciously centered on this theme. Dietrich himself and all of Hitler's entourage and, indeed, the whole of the neurotic *Kleinburgertum,* abetted by the industrialists and the Junkers—all united in a pathetic quest for salvation through a Savior with a Sword

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—worshipped a scoundrel and mountebank as a deity and thereby made him a devil. The resulting hell must be explained away by the survivors in terms of incomprehension and betrayal. Although he plainly was not a party to the secret decisions of the elite, Dietrich's picture of the administrative chaos of the wartime Reich and of the political bankruptcy of Hitler's rule over Europe is a mighty indictment of power devoid of responsibility, wisdom and morality. For the rest, Dietrich's contribution is one of anecdotes and gossip, focussed on Hitler as genius, megalomaniac and schizophrenic. "In submitting to his leadership, the people enthroned his demon."

"War alles falsch?" ("Was everything wrong?") asked the embittered ex-Kaiser in Doorn. By the pragmatic test of results, as well as by the ethical test of human dignity and decency, much was false in the Kaiser Reich, whatever the merits of its founder, and all was false in the Nazi Reich. Each of these volumes is a provocative contribution to fuller understanding of the falsehood. All those who suffered from, and finally prevailed against, the Germanic madness of the twentieth century show signs of comprehension. Whether the new Germany comprehends, or merely laments failure without knowing its sources, only the future can tell.

Hindsight for the Future

A DEMOCRAT LOOKS AT HIS PARTY. By Dean Acheson. Harper and Brothers. $3.

By H. H. Wilson

THE FORMER Secretary of State has written an enlightened and interesting brief for his party. In at least one section he has gone beyond his party and shown more courage and intelligence than one is accustomed to see displayed by political leaders. His book divides into three principal sections. The first seeks to explain why he became a Democrat and others should; the second analyzes the factors which should guide the conduct of foreign affairs; and the third is an evaluation of the unexpected consequences of our loyalty and security programs.

Though the first two sections could serve as party pamphlets and will convince only the true believers, they are not lacking in wisdom and shrewd observation.

Repeatedly the Democratic Party, says Mr. Acheson, has come up with great leaders who have left a lasting impression on the party. In contrast, he suspects that the Republican Party has preferred mediocrity of leadership and its really great leaders have left no mark on party policy. This may be a function of Republican conviction that Congress is capable of leadership, a "chronic inclination of the party to divorce power from responsibility," and a tendency to regard government as being no more than "an administrative process, like good bookkeeping." In his judgment the Democratic Party displays a greater hospitality to intelligence. It may be that "a policy of doing as little as possible requires less brains than one of anticipating trouble and of doing whatever is necessary."

FOR masterful skill in skating over thin ice and giving a touch of reality to the implausible, it would be difficult to surpass Mr. Acheson's discussion of the role of the South within the Democratic Party. Such diplomatic genius should satisfy Governors Shivers and Byrnes without convincing others. He has discovered Southern conservatism to be "an invaluable asset," presumably because "it gives the assurance that all interests and policies are weighed and considered within the party before interparty issues are framed." This makes the Democratic Party "one of the strongest cohesive factors in American life."

Two chapters on foreign affairs defend policies established under President Truman and continued reluctantly, Acheson believes, by Republicans. Perhaps the most significant observation is that major war is no longer a feasible means of accomplishing national purposes. Atomic war "is not an instrument of policy. It is the negation of plan and purpose beyond itself." This leads to the conclusion that we must have a type of military establishment able to use force "without involving the world in nuclear warfare." At the same time we must create in the non-Communist world the ability and unity necessary to resist expansion of Sino-Soviet power. Because the Republican Party would put first the balancing of the budget at a much lower figure, Mr. Acheson insists it cannot provide essential leadership. In rebuking the present Secretary of State he selects his "policy of instant retaliation" as an "almost classic illustration of the way a leader among free nations should not proceed."

In some respects Mr. Acheson's analysis of the loyalty-security program is the most impressive we have had. Certainly it has not been matched by any other prominent political figure. It reveals Mr. Acheson as a man of stature able to afford both the luxury of integrity and the exercise of intelligence. Almost the only reservations this reviewer has are derived from Mr. Acheson's acceptance of certain dicta taken from Professor Stouffer's *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties.* The data in this study are impressive within limits, but they in no way sustain the conclusion that "great social, economic and technological forces" are working for tolerance, unless this be equated with apathy and indifference. The Truman Administration perpetrated the system of secret-police surveillance of American citizens. "I was an officer of that Administration and share with it the responsibility for what I am now convinced was a grave mistake and a failure to foresee consequences which were inevitable." An obsessive fear of subversion produces the "one comprehensive evil . . . the compulsion toward conformity," without dealing with the danger of espionage or sabotage. In the illusory search for total security our misnamed "security system" has weakened the nation and created insecurity. Refusing to be sidetracked by escapist concentration on procedural reforms, Mr. Acheson sees that we must restore "an underlying political environment of faith in the freedom and dignity of the individual. Without that environment, legal changes are ineffective and frustrated."

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A Key to Kabuki

THE KABUKI THEATRE OF JAPAN. By A. C. Scott. The Macmillan Company. $6.75.

BALLET ANNUAL NO. 10. Edited by Arnold L. Haskell. The Macmillan Company. $4.50.

By P. W. Manchester

NOT MANY of us have had an opportunity to see the almost legendary theatre arts of Japan in their own habitat, and the majority of us never will. This book is probably the next best thing, because A. C. Scott seems to have overlooked nothing in what he modestly hopes will be a "useful handbook," but which is actually a meticulous and fairly exhaustive study of the Kabuki theatre, together with a briefer description of the No drama and doll theatre, both of which have had considerable influence on the development of Kabuki style.

In the first two chapters the essential background is mapped out. The Kabuki theatre grew out of the gradual rise of a merchant class which became more and more powerful as the ruling warrior class declined, and itself began to decline, after well over two hundred years, with the restoration of Imperial rule in 1868. Almost everything to be seen in the theatre today has its origin in that period which, in Japan, linked the Middle Ages with the modern world.

Mr. Scott also sketches in [illegible] essential features of Japanese domestic life without which it is practically impossible for the Westerner to have any sense of identification with an art which, elaborately stylized as it is, symbolizes for its own people a complete way of life.

Every aspect of the Kabuki theatre is covered; the music, the dance, costume and stage properties which play as important a part in the drama as the words and actions, and of course the acting technique. The art of the onnagata, or female impersonator, is dealt with at considerable length. Women are still banished from the stage of the Kabuki theatre, though in fact a woman was the first of all Kabuki dancers. The technique of the Kabuki dance is taught in various schools outside the theatre proper, and here women may and do perform it.

All kinds of fascinating pieces of information are sprinkled throughout the book. We learn that the instantaneous removal of kimona after kimona, which is a feature of certain dance plays as we saw from the visit of the Kabuki dancers and musicians last season, is done very simply by having them basted on with thread so that they can be swiftly removed by an assistant; that the shaved forehead, a feature of many of the wigs, dates back to the time when this was done by order to prevent actors from appearing too attractive, and that the ribbon which often covers the bare patch was the onnagatas' way of hiding the enforced baldness.

We have, too, the explanation of the observation invariably made by Westerners after witnessing a performance of No drama, namely that the audience seems largely itinerant, coming in and going out as it pleases. It appears that all No performances consist of at least three, and more probably five, entirely different plays, each in a different style. Obviously the spectators come in for the play or plays which interest them most.

A. C. Scott has written (and most admirably illustrated) this book out of a deep love and admiration for an art with which he was intimately associated for two years. He says, sadly, that economic conditions are slowly killing the Kabuki theatre, which is no longer the theatre of the people, and that the younger actor must look elsewhere, mainly to the cinema, for his living. How familiar and how melancholy it sounds.

If the Kabuki actors are, as he seems to feel, members of a dying race, at least they could hardly wish for a better monument.

THE NEW *Ballet Annual* does an indispensable job of putting into an easily obtainable and permanent form information about the main dance events all over the world during the past year. There are a lot of good pictures, the pages devoted to the Diaghileff Exhibition in London being of considerably more than passing interest, as is a vivid portrait in words of the late Constant Lambert by the English artist-designer Michael Ayrton. This isn't the best of the Ballet Annuals but it does not have to be ashamed of itself.

MISS MANCHESTER is managing editor of Dance News.

A Flat Sort of Realism

TEN NORTH FREDERICK. By John O'Hara. Random House. $3.95.

By Stanley Cooperman

WHEN John O'Hara looks at an object—a doorknob or a face—he does not see it for itself alone. In the case of the doorknob he sees a particular kind of metal with a particular patina cleaned at particular times and bought at a particular place for a particular purpose. When he looks at a face he lists its name, what it does for a living, and whom it goes to bed with.

The process is simple enough, and since the world is full of doorknobs and faces, O'Hara is never at a loss for something to do. In his new novel, *Ten North Frederick,* he repeats the process for 408 pages. One must admire his staying power and admit the "realism" of his narrative. It is, after all, as accurate as the statement of ingredients on a bottle of catsup.

Cataloguing the sexual hypocrisies, quirks and assorted frustrations of the aristocracy in a medium-sized Pennsylvania town, O'Hara is disturbed by the falseness of appearance. He tells the reader that the social facade is false, and documents the charge with data showing where, when and in whose bedroom it is rendered false. After demolishing appearance, there is the problem of presenting reality. O'Hara attempts to solve this by listing as many points of information as his narrative will support. There is nothing vague in his book, neither nuance, modulation nor complexity.

The inventory, however, is a

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measure of O'Hara's limitations as a novelist. Unable to give any significance to events, unable to recreate experience, he issues external descriptions followed by series of "facts." The result is profoundly dull; after a characteristic listing of informative notes, one expects something more—some dimension of meaning. It never comes. Ultimately the details themselves become ludicrous—as when one asks an individual the time and he replies: "about twenty-eight and one-half minutes past three." When this mental set becomes predominant in a novel, under the illusion that what is being produced is "real," the result is altogether inadequate, both as art and as realism.

In *Ten North Frederick* John O'Hara has produced journalistic fiction without the social insight of Dreiser or the lyric sensitivity of Hemingway, and achieves documentary effects only with considerable strain. Rhetoric—even bloated rhetoric—is preferable to this plodding, dull man with the hard-boiled posture who does nothing with words, thinks in cliches, and speaks —in crude asides that break into the narrative—as pompously as any Babbitt.

Victoria's Gentleman

THACKERAY: THE USES OF ADVERSITY. By Gordon N. Ray. McGraw-Hill. $7.

By Jacob Korg

IN ACCORDANCE with his wishes, no biography of Thackeray was undertaken for many years after he died. One critic, observing that the great author's acquaintances were disappearing, lamented the fact that the chance of an authoritative Thackeray biography was dying with them. But it is hard to believe that even his intimate friends could have known as much about Thackeray as this biography reveals. He lived at a time when nearly every fact worth knowing about the private lives of educated people found its way into a letter or a diary. Gordon Ray, who has collected manuscripts by and about Thackeray for many years, has drawn his extremely detailed information from a large quantity of these first-hand sources.

Thackeray: The Uses of Adversity is the first installment of a massive two-volume work; it follows the novelist's development up to the time of *Vanity Fair*. It sees the first part of Thackeray's life as a *Bildungsroman* whose hero's character is gradually formed by his experiences. With the sensitiveness to atmosphere and personality which only an expert knowledge of a period can give, Professor Ray succeeds admirably in tracing the effects of Thackeray's various environments upon him. Charterhouse School taught him to value the virtues of upper-class society and frustrated his first attempts to distinguish himself intellectually. At Cambridge he won his first honors as a parodist and acquired a taste for lively and expensive idleness. The fortune he expected to inherit melted away just before he came of age; ever afterward he remained interested in the problem of people who, like himself, happened not to possess the wealth they were well qualified to enjoy.

FAILURE at college, poverty, the insanity of his wife and the comparative degradation of having to scrape together a living as a comic journalist did not crush Thackeray. On the contrary, he remained master of a really astonishing abundance of facetious humor, and became one of *Punch's* most valuable early contributors. However, these experiences did deepen and mellow his view of life, preparing him for the task of writing *Vanity Fair.*

Neither Matthew Arnold nor F. R. Leavis rank Thackeray as a great novelist, and he is, of all the important Victorians, the most difficult for modern readers to accept as a major artist. Perhaps the reason for this is his whole-hearted attachment to what now seems a merely contemporary social code.

Unlike Jane Austen and Henry James, who were aware of the psychological dimensions behind social behavior, Thackeray was content to describe social behavior with masterly authenticity and leave it to speak for itself. There is no doubt that he spoke with overwhelming force to a public that accepted the code of the gentleman as a living ideal, believed in the supreme value of the "domestic affections" and concerned itself with social proprieties and class distinctions. But to the modern eye his novels often seem to deal with matters of form or decorum rather than with real issues.

Professor Ray has no doubt of Thackeray's greatness, though he acknowledges that it is not the fashionable kind, but he has reserved his general critical interpretation for the next volume. The discussion of *Vanity Fair* which closes this one is a scholarly account of its contemporary importance. Thackeray's masterpiece, it is pointed out, transformed Victorian fiction; it shattered burdensome conventions, established realism as the dominant mode of the English novel and embodied, in its balanced structure, a distinction between the incidental and the essential in the Victorian ideal of the gentleman. All this, says the author, made Thackeray's greatest novel "quite as revolutionary a book in the development of Victorian fiction as *Ulysses* has proved to be in the development of modern fiction."

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The Orbits Around Freud

SCHOOLS OF PSYCHOANALYTIC THOUGHT. By Ruth L. Munroe. The Dryden Press. $7.50.
THE SANE SOCIETY. By Erich Fromm. Rinehart and Company. $5.

By Waldo Frank

Miss Munroe writes: "I am a psychologist, writing . . . for fellow psychologists, for social workers, for social scientists in variety, for doctors whose work lies outside the realm of mental disorder, for laymen with the patience to follow a lengthy, semi-technical account of ideas they hear about frequently. . . ." The highest praise she could win, and has earned, is the fact that she has succeeded. Here, in clear, conscientious, objective form, is a progressive ana-

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WALDO FRANK is a distinguished novelist and cultural critic.

lytical description of the thought which has proliferated since Freud opened a new world to man's mind, sixty years ago. But Dr. Munroe is too wise to reach for the will-o'-the-wisp of absolute objectivity and impartiality. At the close of each chapter, differentiated from the text by double columns, she places what she calls "critical comment"; and here she reveals her own judgments which are remarkable for perspicuity and tolerance of positions other than her own.

After a general "Overview" which discusses the basic concepts of psychoanalysis, determinism, the unconscious and the genetic approach she proceeds to Freud and the Freudians (her own territory). Next come Adler, Horney, Fromm and Sullivan. Finally, Jung and Otto Rank. Perhaps she is unfair to Jung, but for a good reason, since she discusses him essentially as a psychologist, whereas Jung's importance rests rather in the fields of psychic paleontology and epistemology—realms in which the Freudians have too timidly followed him. On the other hand, she has done much-needed justice to Rank, whose great contribution is his unitary concept of self and of will, based firmly on German philosophy (particularly Schopenhauer)—a synthetic approach which Freud's positivism precluded. The reader who seeks a general view of this vast and still pristine field of human knowledge, and who is ready to read 600 pages of sober and sound prose, cannot err in procuring Dr. Munroe's volume.

DR. FROMM has long been distinguished among the leading psychoanalysts by his dynamic and critical approach to our Western society and by his defense of the neurotic's discrepancy from a social order in which alienation of *the human* has become axiomatic. In a sense, Fromm is the analyst par excellence of our cultural neurosis. In this book, he becomes openly—one might say passionately—the social critic. And in an epoch which takes seriously the masked complacencies of David Riesman, dished up in pedantic and not remotely original terms, a book such as this is doubly welcome. Fromm's critique of the capitalist ethos is courageous and keen. He leads constantly to the frontiers of that basic metaphysical view of man's nature which alone can validate a positive methodology. And so constantly, he draws back, failing to take the step across the frontiers which would make his contribution really creative. At the end, he falls into exhortation. As when he says: ". . . we can unite in firm negation of idolatry and find perhaps more of a common faith in this negation than in any affirmative statements about God." But much eloquent analysis has led up to this anticlimax.

Selected New Books

Sociology

SOCIETY. By Robert Ezra Park. Free Press. $5. The third and final volume of the collected papers of a pioneer American sociologist. Edited by his successors at the University of Chicago, the book comprises Park's more important articles and essays on collective behavior, news and opinion, and sociology and modern society. All twenty-one items are readable and most are still pertinent.

SCIENCE AND SOCIAL ACTION. By W. J. H. Sprott. The Free Press. $3.50. The Josiah Mason Memorial Lectures delivered at the University of Birmingham in 1953. Using social action rather than social relations or society as the basic concept, Professor Sprott reviews theory, method and research findings, leaning heavily upon American sources. The lectures seldom go beyond the introductory sociology textbook level except in style.

FLIGHT AND RESETTLEMENT. By H. B. M. Murphy and others. Unesco, Columbia. $3.50. Thirteen specialists on population and migration discuss the problems of refugees and displaced persons since the end of World War II, with an unusual emphasis on mental health problems in forced migration.

THE FEARS MEN LIVE BY. By Selma Hirsh. Harper. $2.75. A popular summary of what social scientists think they have learned about prejudice, especially as manifested in the "authoritarian personality." Useful for those unable or unwilling to examine Studies in Prejudices, the five-volume source of most of the ideas and data.

PROTESTANT-CATHOLIC-JEW—By Will Herberg. Doubleday. $4. "An essay in American religious sociology." The author's thesis is that both the religiousness and secularism of the American people derive from virtually the same bases. He leans heavily on such sociological concepts as the "triple melting-pot" for his analysis of the major religious groups. Not as original a contribution as the author's earlier Judaism and Modern Man, but probably more readable.

THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW. By C. Vann Woodward. Oxford. $2.50. An historian's short, plausible explanation of the not-so-distant origins and evolution of segregation and their impact on current race relations.

MILTON L. BARRON.

Belle Lettres

DANIEL DEFOE. A Study in Conflict. By Brian FitzGerald. Regnery. $4. The author of Robinson Crusoe is described as a versatile and energetic man. He was a businessman, a diplomat, a courtier, a pioneer journalist and a humanitarian. Defoe was an advocate of the populace, and when he was pilloried for one of his pamphlets, the people of London cheered him, drank his health and hung the pillory with garlands. A scholarly and colorful biography.

CREATION AND DISCOVERY. Essays in Criticism and Esthetics. By Eliso Vivas. Noonday. $5. Typical of the philosophic problems treated in these absorbing essays is that of literature as knowledge. There is a paradox in the fact that literature deals with the world of objective fact, yet seems at the same time to establish a self-sufficient realm. Thus, it is both discovery and creation. Professor Vivas concludes that, although literature can convey knowledge, its more important role is that of organizing experience into coherent forms, thus serving as "one of the conditions of knowledge."

JAMES JOYCE AND THE COMMON READER. By William Powell Jones. Oklahoma. $3. Intended as a guide for the uninitiated, this volume offers summaries and explanations of most of Joyce's works. Although it makes use of previous studies of Joyce, it does not pretend to give more than a simple treatment of a complicated author.

JACOB KORG.

THEATRE

Harold Clurman

I HAVE SEEN Pirandello's *Six Characters in Search of an Author* so many times—in France, Italy, England and here—that I am no longer sure I can evaluate it. What is certain is that it is a play which, to employ a French expression, marks a date.

Pirandello was the first playwright to dramatize the post-1918 sense of the splitting of the ego. Turgenev in one of his novels voiced the nineteenth-century feeling that "the heart of another is a dark forest"—meaning that it is difficult for men to understand one another; twentieth-century literature after the first World War increasingly stressed the notion that men cannot know themselves because man is not one but many; that there is hardly any dominant "I" in any man, but only a collection of disparate and often alien impulses.

Pirandello found an entertaining and theatrically original way of putting this sense of the atomization of human personality on the stage. Men cannot really comprehend one another or even be sure that they exist coherently for themselves—except through a work of art in which the artist, serving as god to his own material, fixes the truth and permits us to see men steadily and whole.

This is an essentially tragic view, although in Pirandello it takes on a hysterical and grotesque aspect, one might say almost a strident "laugh, clown, laugh" quality. Pirandello's work is a kind of tragic *commedia dell' arte*. His characters are puppets, his structure, for all its deliberate mystification, is schematic, and his tone a mingling of sideshow laughter with a shriek. The feeling one is usually left with after seeing a Pirandello play is one of disturbance: the writer appears to have been grinning with pain, and one is chiefly aware of his mordancy.

In the new revival at the valuable Phoenix Theatre, Tyrone Guthrie aims at having fun with Pirandello: the play's tragic center strikes one as an intrusion on a farce. The theatre folk, a director and his company, are rendered as mountebanks, and some of the stage business—particularly in the rehearsal scene in which the director, the most asinine of the lot, is shown to be incapable of entering a set without wrecking it—is hilarious. But though the play lends itself to a great variety of treatments, Mr. Guthrie's seems to me the least relevant. It eliminates almost every vestige of the play's anguish, destroys the tension between two worlds presented—reality and illusion.

I HAVE a further objection to the production. The theatre world itself (the world of make-believe) has its own pathos. A theatrical company is not necessarily composed of imbeciles. Actors are frequently vain and silly people but they nearly always have a certain naive credulity which is honorable because it is creative. Pirandello's text indicates this, and the actors' fumbling efforts toward understanding make their situation in the play almost as touching as the passion of the "six characters" to make themselves understood.

This is not to say that the production is without merit. On the contrary, it is brilliant. If I were giving a course in stage direction, I would instruct my students to study this production carefully for its resourcefulness and invention. How to make shock entrances and exits while no one in fact enters or exits, how to visualize every line or idea: "Man has dignity" somebody says as he is forced to crawl between another person's legs, "I am master here" the director says as he falls over the furniture; to make more graphic the caged feeling of the older son in the play, Guthrie has him stand under a ladder that somehow seems to imprison the boy in a mesh of taut nerves. All this, and how at all times to keep the stage alive with fluid, expressive movement, may be learned and enjoyed in this production.

But as a critic I am obliged to point out that this directional brilliance is used here for false ends because, for one thing, the director has no true sympathy with his text except as a scenario for his talented exercises.

Individually Kurt Kasznar, Michael Wager, Betty Lou Holland and some others are better than capable. Whitfield Connor in the crucial role of the Father could carry more weight if he were given a little more help. In any case, there can be little doubt that the play's truth has been sacrificed for high jinks.

Art

S. Lane Faison, Jr.

Pittsburgh

THREE YEARS AGO what had become a fusty sampling of all kinds of painting being done the world over took a radically new turn. Gordon B. Washburn, the new director of the Department of Fine Arts of the Carnegie Institute, in 1952 selected for the Pittsburgh International Exhibition of Contemporary Painting what he felt was most expressive of a period characterized by rapid flux and change. Contemporaneity was for Pittsburgh "the keynote for the development of a city which must never forget her role in the present, however wisely her citizenry might also preserve the great achievements of a human past." Thus Mr. Washburn offered the hope, rather archly perhaps, that the exhibition might play a part in upholding in artistic terms Pittsburgh's great industrial tradition.

Whether the citizenry of Pittsburgh rose to the challenge is open to some question. But in broader national terms the response was encouraging, if measured by critical reviews, museum purchases, the subsequent exhibition of a large segment of the show in San Francisco and the introduction to an extensive American public of such important younger European painters as Fritz Winter, Hann Trier, Leonardo Cre-

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S. LANE FAISON, JR., is chairman of the Art Department at Williams College.

monini, Vieira da Silva, William Scott, Raoul Ubac and Alfred Manessier. Most of these painters were seen again two years later at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, and all of them have reappeared in the second of Mr. Washburn's Internationals, which has just closed after being on view since October. The work of these artists was again among the most impressive shown. In my opinion, two of the three finest paintings were Manessier's *Crown of Thorns*, its tightly locked harsh blue labyrinth triumphantly projected against a ground of glowing oranges and reds, and Winter's *The White Line*, coiled tensely within a powerful massing of trip-hammer forms which are echoed deep within its pervasive blue space. The first of these, as many readers will recall, received the first prize; the second attracted no special mention from the jury. The third of my choices—it seemed to me the finest of them all—was by one of the jurors, and hence not in competition: *Underwater Hunter* by the Italian, Afro, a soft-keyed poem of aqueous distances traversed by luminous dark forms held together in shadowy suspension by their transparence and by their bold scale.

Just to have seen these three pictures was worth the journey to Pittsburgh, even though few of the remaining 325 were in the same class. From this trio I feel confident in asserting that painting in our time has engendered artists in France, Germany and Italy who are no longer engulfed by Kandinsky, Klee, Picasso, Braque and their fellows of two earlier generations, as are so many of their contemporaries.

Lest I seem to downgrade American production, much of which was extraordinarily fine, I name the following, whose exhibited work struck me as among the most coherent on view: Julien Binford, William Brice, John Ferren, John Hultberg, Willem de Kooning, Corrado Marca-Relli, Robert Motherwell, Jackson Pollock, Tom Rowlands, Ben Shahn, Lundy Siegrist, Hedda Sterne and Joyce Wahl Treiman. This extremely miscellaneous list is based exclusively on my reaction to the single work shown by each painter. It includes newcomers as well as artists of established reputation, Californians, New Yorkers, one artist from Illinois and an Ohioan living in Pittsburgh. It ranges from the rather slight but accomplished elegance of Binford to the searing but disciplined frenzy of de Kooning's *Woman VI*, from the new delicacy of Motherwell's paradoxically mural *Je t'aime* to the newly atmospheric grandeur of Hedda Sterne's *New York Number 15.*

AS I have suggested on other occasions, there is little point in proclaiming that American painting leads the world, or on the contrary that it lags behind production elsewhere. What should make us glad is that all over the world fine painters are at work. In addition to the trio cited at the outset, the following can be listed with enthusiasm: Bazaine (France), Birolli (Italy), Cremonini (Italy), Hartung (Germany), Matta (Chile), Miro (Spain), Nicholson (England), Okada (Japan), Richards (Britain), Scott (Britain), Tamayo (Mexico) and Trier (Germany). Again, this list was compiled from my reactions to exhibited works, and not with a view to international coverage. It could easily be extended, but not indefinitely, by citing established artists whose work is often more impressive than the examples shown in Pittsburgh: Brooks (U. S.), Davis (U. S.), Giacometti (Switzerland), Graves (U. S.), Singier (Belgium-France), Soulages (France), Tobey (U. S.), Ubac (France), Villon (France) and Werner (Germany).

Nevertheless the three dozen artists so far mentioned were responsible for little more than a tenth of what was on view. There were some other good paintings, but after they were accounted for, the quality plunged sharply. The exhibition as a whole suffered from repetitiousness, from scarcely absorbed modern cliches, and from merely competent work which in fifty years it will be nearly impossible to date in the middle of the twentieth century. I would like to be clear on this point: Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* is contemporary with Leonardo's *Adoration of the Magi*, and, despite profound differences of expression, each drew deeply from the experience of their age. The same can be said of a late Rembrandt and a Vermeer of Delft. On a similar basis I have not hesitated to join Ben Shahn with Willem de Kooning in the same sentence, whatever each may think of the other's work. Both say something valuable to me about the world I live in. On the other hand, Stuempfig and Koch do not seem to have come to grips with our present, while Connelly appears to pretend that Antonello da Messina is still with us. Wyeth's portrait of a boy is a brilliantly observed bit of Americana, but its forms are so devoid of invention that the picture makes no contact with history. Henri Focillon once said in another connection, *il faut prendre date.* To become dateless, we may freely translate, a work of art must have a date; otherwise it is merely dated. While my illustrations of this point are taken from American paintings at Pittsburgh, examples abound from most if not all of the twenty-two other countries represented.

This exhibition was less distinguished than the one of three years ago, but to say this is in no sense to agree with the tenor of much of the criticism which greeted the opening last October. The International offers us an opportunity to take stock of what is being done, and though this function is now partially taken over by smaller shows in New York and elsewhere, it is still our best opportunity. It would be shocking if we were to yield to Venice and to Sao Paulo the responsibility for assembling what might be called a visual counterpart of the United Nations.

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Music and Records

B. H. Haggin

THE TIME when prima-donna sopranos dictated tempos to the conductor was, I had thought, long past; but in a recent Metropolitan *Aida,* as in *Otello* last year, Tebaldi showed off her voice in phrases which she lingered over with no regard for the damage to their continuity, while Cleva held together the orchestra that was thrown off its stride. To say that this happened at the Metropolitan in the year 1955, that it was tolerated by a manager who has acted in many ways to tighten artistic discipline there, that it was rewarded with frenzied applause and yells by the audience, is to describe an appalling deterioration in performance and taste. And this deterioration showed itself further in a Rhadames, Mario Ortica, with a voice that was unattractive in timbre, constricted and tremulous; and in the yells with which the audience also responded to his bawling. Better singing was done by Nikolaidi, the Amneris, though with a voice that has lost its former richness and power, and by Norman Scott as Ramfis; the best singing by Bastianini, the Amonasro.

Tebaldi's hideous costume, which transformed her tall, bulky figure into an assemblage of bulges, her hair-do, her occasional attempts at stylized pose and movement—all these were new additions to the other unsuccessful features of this production. It may be difficult to achieve a triumph scene that an audience of today can take seriously, but Rolf Gerard's scenery and costumes seem to me worse-looking, and the scenery worse-contrived for the staging of the scene, than they might be; the stage direction, originally by Margaret Webster, includes such avoidable absurdities as Rhadames remaining seated in his litter after the king and his daughter have risen in his honor; and even the old-fashioned dances one used to see were not as laughable as the ones devised by Zachary Solow, which give me the impression all his work has done—of being produced, in the absence of the power of real creative invention, by sheer desperation.

The day after the Metropolitan performance I received the new Angel recording (Album 3525-C) of a Milan Scala *Aida,* with singing by Callas that was in striking contrast to Tebaldi's, not merely in its unusual vocal timbre, but in its unfailing concern for the musical phrase—a concern which shows itself in Callas's insistence on singing the concluding phrase of *O patria mia* without a break, as it is written. In this aria her voice and phrasing are exciting most of the time, but the sustained high C at the climax wobbles and is made strident by the effort to hold it. Similar exciting singing, similarly flawed occasionally, is heard in the rest of the Nile scene, and in the entire opera. Tucker's voice—cold, but agreeable, clear, steady and powerful—is like balm to the ear after Ortica and Del Monaco; Barbieri and Gobbi are excellent; and Serafin conducts effectively. The recorded sound of the orchestra is dry.

I have only now heard the earlier Angel recording (Album 3503-B) of *Lucia di Lammermoor,* with powerfully expressive singing by Callas in which her remarkable voice has more of its original bloom; excellent singing by di Stefano and Gobbi; and efficient conducting by Serafin. The chorus and orchestra are those of the 1953 May Festival in Florence.

Columbia didn't record the Metropolitan's production of the original Mussorgsky *Boris Godunov;* and on ML-4999, "Famous Operatic Monologues," it now offers George London's performances of the Rimsky-Korsakov falsifications of "I Have Attained the Highest Power" and "Ah! I Am Suffocating," together with Sachs's "Was duftet doch der Flieder" and "Wahn! Wahn!" from *Die Meistersinger,* Ford's "E sogno?" from *Falstaff,* "Pari siamo" from *Rigoletto,* and Iago's "Credo" from *Otello.* I find London's beautiful bass-baritone voice a little light in color and weight for the *Boris* excerpts; otherwise the singing is very fine; and Morel provides excellent accompaniments with the assembled orchestra. Excerpts from *Thais* and *Emperor Jones* are also on the record.

Angel 35231 offers a straightforward and effective performance (except for the momentary slowing up near the end) of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony by von Karajan and the Philharmonia Orchestra, with dry, edged recorded sound that remains dry in the first movement even with a 10,000-cycle cut-off. The record also offers Leonore's "Abscheulicher!" and "Komm, Hoffnung" from *Fidelio,* which require a dramatic soprano voice that Schwarzkopf doesn't have, but which she sings very beautifully with the same orchestra and conductor.

Von Karajan's performance of Beethoven's Fourth with the Philharmonia on Angel 35203 is mostly too slow in pace. Schwarzkopf's performance of "Ah! perfido" with the same orchestra and conductor is also on the record.

Angel 35258 offers the four *Fidelio* overtures played by Klemperer and the Philharmonia—the "Leonore" Nos. 1 and 2 played less effectively than the "Fidelio" and "Leonore" No. 3. The harsh sound of the Leonore" No. 1 and the distortion near the ends of sides require a 10,000-cycle cut-off.

It is long since I have heard the solo part of Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto played with such fine musical taste—which is to say without the usual mannered phrasing—as by Grumiaux with the Vienna Symphony under Moralt on Epic LC-3173. A good performance of Dvorak's Violin Concerto by Magyar with the same orchestra under Loibner is also on the record.

Ives's Symphony No. 3 and Richard Donovan's Suite for String Orchestra and Oboe, neither of which I find interesting, are played well by the Baltimore Little Symphony under Stewart on Vanguard 468.

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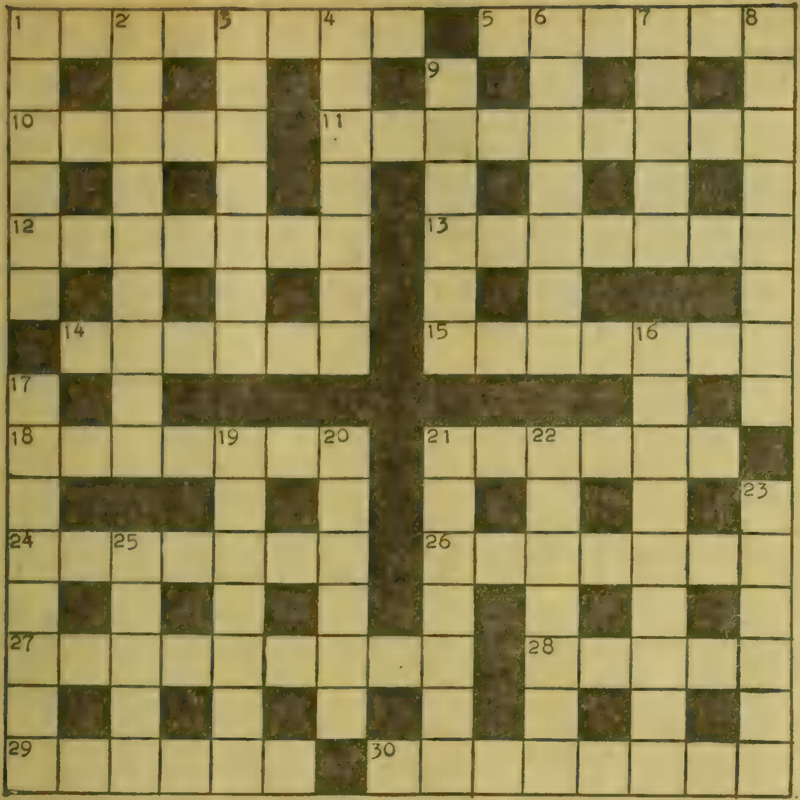
Crossword Puzzle No. 652

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 17 down A sign that there may be someone waiting 28 and 10. (8,4,4)
5 Perhaps a horse plant. (6)
10 See 27 across.
11 Approves coercive measures. (9)
12 The drink has something almost too fluid in it, hence it's of no account. (7)
13 No clues permit of such advice. (7)
14 Simple but spiritual surroundings for me. (6)
15 and 7 down They certainly wouldn't be characterized by 1 and 17. (7,5)
18 14 might be plain, but this certainly isn't. (7)
21 and 8 down Implying [illegible] few feet must have been used up first. (2,4,4,4)
24 Is it a feature about me which suggests a working body? Quite the contrary! (7)
26 A rather flimsy tune? (4,3)
27, 28, and 10 across Bill evidently can't be pushed by one with a pipe. (2,7,2,3,5)
29 Is eager for a time to get two points. (6)
30 A cameo might make play hang rather loose. (8)

DOWN

1 Comparatively lengthy goodbye. (2,4)
2 The sort that want to get ahead limit debts. (9)
3 "Life with Father"? (7)
3 Rather pretty feature to the writer of the "Beggar's Opera". (7)
6 Turns to get credit thus. (2,5)
7 See 15 across.
8 See 21 across.
9 Criticizes (in anticipation of an opening?) (6)
16 Lynx-cat, i.e, not [illegible] truly authentic variety. (9)
17 See 1 across.
19 Crown-fighter. (7)
20 Summon me up, as an agent in time of danger. (6)
21 A figure can go to this for a change. (7)
22 Pig, in no shape for judging. (7)
23 Bore in front of this (at the bottom of the block, too!) (6)
25 Antony complained about his rent. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE 651

ACROSS: 1 SHAKEDOWN; [illegible] SPURN; [illegible] TWADDLE; 10 WARCLUB; 11 DRUMMER; 12 LAOCOON; 13, 19, [illegible] YES WE HAVE NO BANANAS; 15 TIERCE; 17 INTERN; 18 YIELD; 22 A-BOMBS; 25 COW; 27 CARIBOU; 28 ILL-BRED; 30 INSTALL; 31 KRISHNA; 32 RATIO; 33 and 26 WEE WILLIE WINKIE. DOWN: 1 SATED; [illegible] AS A RULE; 3 ENDEMIC; 4 OLEARY; 5 NEWELS; 6 SIRLOIN; 7 UNLOOSE; 14 and 16 EYE TO EYE; 15 TOWN CRIER; 17 IDA; [illegible] HARD-SET; 21 VIBRATO; 23 BELLINI; 24 MARSHAL; 25 CURLEW; 29 DRAPE.

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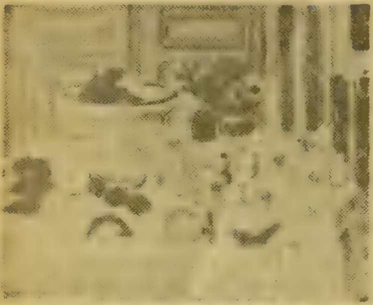

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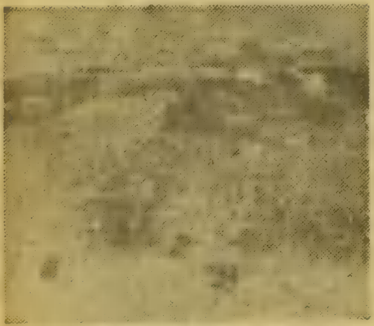

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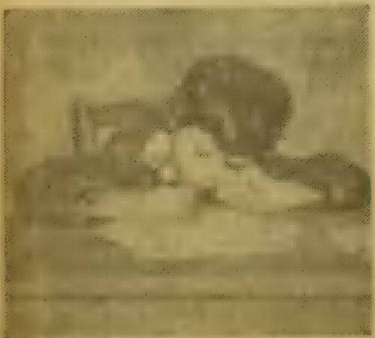

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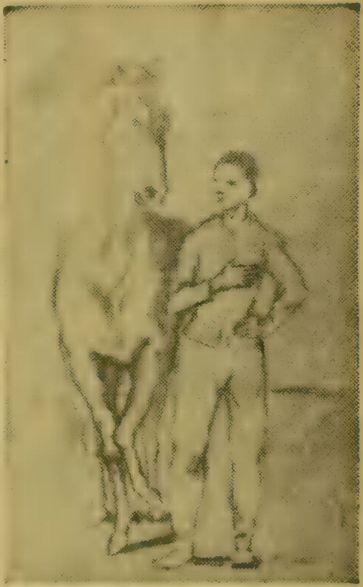

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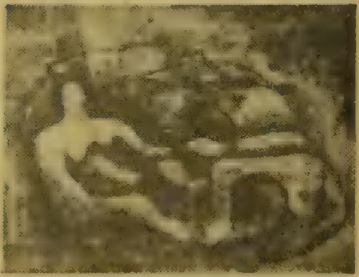

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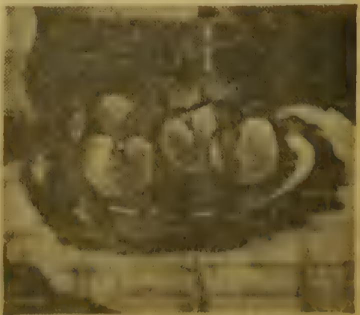

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